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THE HISTORY

OF

THE ANGLO-SAXONS

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

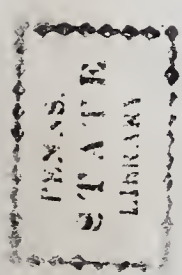
BY

SHARON TURNER, F.A.S., R.A.S.L.,

AUTHOR OF "THE SACRED HISTORY OF THE WORLD."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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THE HISTORY

OF

THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

CONTINUATION OF

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER IX.

Ethelred the Unready.

Ethelred succeeded on his brother's assassination; but the action which procured his power was too atrocious to give all the effect to the policy of his adherents which had been projected. Dunstan retained his dignity, and at least his influence; for what nation could be so depraved as to patronize a woman, who, at her own gate, had caused her king and son-in-law to be assassinated! In attempting to subvert Dunstan by such a deed, she failed. After no long interval, he excited the popular odium, and the terrors of guilt, so successfully against her, that she became overwhelmed with shame, and took shelter in a nunnery, and in building nunneries, from the public abhorrence. 978.

The reign of Ethelred presents the history of a bad government, uncorrected by its unpopularity and calamities; and of a discontented nation preferring at last the yoke of an invader, whose visits its nobles either invited or encouraged. In the preceding reigns, from Alfred to Edgar, the Anglo-Saxon spirit was never agitated by danger, but it acted to triumph. By its exertions, a rich and powerful nation had been created, which might have continued to predominate in Europe with increasing honour

and great national felicity. But within a few years after Ethelred's accession the pleasing prospect begins to fade. The tumultuary contests in the last reign between the monks and the clergy, and their respective supporters, had not had time to cease. Dunstan acquiring the direction of the government under Ethelred, involved the throne again in the conflict, and the sovereign was placed at variance with the nobles and parochial clergy. The measures of the government were unsatisfactory to the nation. The chiefs became factious and disloyal, and the people discontented, till a foreign dynasty was at last preferred to the legal native succession.

Ethelred was but ten years of age when he attained the crown. His amiable disposition gave the tears of affection to his brother's memory; but Elfrida could not pardon a sensibility which looked like accusation, and might terminate in rebellion to her will, and the disappointment of her ambition. She seized a waxen candle which was near, and beat and terrified the infant with a dreadful severity, which left him nearly expiring. The anguish of the blows never quitted his remembrance. It is affirmed, that during the remainder of his life, he could not endure the presence of a light.[a] Perhaps the irresolution, the pusillanimity, the yielding imbecility, which characterized him during his long reign, may have originated in the perpetual terror which the guardianship of such a mother, striving to break his temper into passive obedience to her will, on this and other occasions, wilfully produced.

As her power declined, the feelings of the nation expressed themselves more decidedly. The commander of Mercia, and Dunstan, attended by a great crowd, went to Wareham, removed the body of the deceased sovereign, and buried it with honour at Shaftesbury.[b] Dunstan might now triumph: though his opponents might equal him in daring, they were his inferiors in policy.

After a flow of prosperity uninterrupted for nearly a century,
980. England, in the full tide of its strength, was insulted by seven Danish ships, which plundered Southampton and Thanet. The same vikingr, in the next season, ravaged in Cornwall and Devonshire.[c] In the year following, three ships molested the isle of Portland.[d]

The reappearance of the Northmen excited much conversation
988. at the time.[e] Another attempt of the same sort was made at Wecedport, where the English gained the field of burial,

[a] Malmsb. 62. [b] Flor. 362. Sax. Chron. 125.

[c] Flor. Wig. 362. Sax. Chron. 125. Tib. B. 1. As Olave Tryggvason was at this time marauding on the English coast, and at last reached the Scilly isles, he may have been the sea-king who renewed the invasion of England.

[d] Flor. 363. Sim. Dun. 161. [e] Malmsb. 62.

though Goda, the governor of Devonshire, and the brave Stenwold, fell. In this year, Dunstan died.[f] He had enjoyed his power during the first ten years of Ethelred's reign, but the civil dissensions, which he appears to have begun and perpetuated, unnerved the strength of the country. The vices of the sovereign increased the evil.

Within three years afterwards, formidable invasions of the Danes began to occur. A large force, commanded by Justin and Gurthmund, attacked Ipswich.[g] They advanced from an unguarded coast, through an unguarded country, as far as Malden. Brithnoth, the governor of Essex, collected some forces to oppose them, but he was defeated and slain. 991.

The measure adopted by the government on this event, seems to have produced all the subsequent calamities. Instead of assembling the nobles with an army sufficient to chastise the invaders, the council of Ethelred advised him to buy off the invaders! Siric, the successor of Dunstan, reasoned, that as they only came for booty, it would be wiser to give them what they wanted. Ten thousand pounds were accordingly disgracefully granted as the price of their retreat.[h] Whether the king's ecclesiastical advisers were afraid of calling out the chiefs of the country, with their military arrays; or, like most clerical statesmen, were incompetent to devise the wisest public measures; or whether the nobles, in their contempt for the king and his administration, were not displeased at the invasion, and therefore did not oppose the payment, cannot now be certainly known; but no measure could have been taken more likely to excite the Northmen to new depredations on a country that rewarded an invader for his aggressions.

The payment is noticed by the annalists as having produced the evil of direct taxation. We now pay that, says the chronicler of the twelfth century, from custom, which terror first extorted for the Danes.[i] The impositions were not remitted when the necessity had disappeared.

Ethelred has been painted to us as a tall handsome man, elegant in manners, beautiful in countenance, and interesting in his deportment.[j] The sarcasm of Malmsbury gives his portrait in a sentence: he was "a fine *sleeping* figure."[k] He might adorn a lady's cabinet; he disgraced a council.

[f] Flor Wig. 364. Sax. Chron. 126. Dunstan died in the year 988. The MS. Chron. Tib. B. 1, and B. 4, merely mention his death, without the printed addition of his attaining heaven. Siric was consecrated to his see. The preceding year was memorable for its diseases.

[g] The printed Chronicle leaves the place an imperfect blank. The MS. Tib. B. 1, and B. 4, have both Gypeswic; and see Flor. 364.

[h] Malmsb. 62, 365. Sax. Chron. 126. Fl. 365. The Saxon Chronicle makes Siric the author of this counsel.

[i] Hunt, 357.

[j] Flor. Wig. 362. Matt. West. 378.

[k] Rex—pulchre ad dormiendum factus, p. 63.

When wiser thoughts had sway, the right means of defence were put in action. Powerful ships were constructed at London,
992. and were filled with selected soldiers;[l] but all the wisdom of the measure was baffled by the choice of the commander. Alfric was the person intrusted to command the Anglo-Saxon fleet.

Alfric, in 983, had succeeded his father in the dukedom of Mercia.[m] Three years afterwards, from causes not explained, but probably connected with the dissensions abovementioned, he was expelled from England.[n] In 992, he was appointed to lead the new fleet, with another duke, and two bishops, whose addition to the military commission, implies the prevalence of ecclesiastical counsels, and perhaps some mistrust of the nobles. Their instructions were to surprise the Danes in some port at which they could be surrounded. The judicious scheme was foiled by Alfric's treason. When the Danes were traced to a station which admitted of the enterprise, he sent them word of the intention, and consummated his perfidy by sailing secretly to join them. The Anglo-Saxons found the enemy in flight, but could only overtake one vessel. The rest did not, however, reach their harbours unmolested; a division of the English fleet from London and East Anglia met them on their way, and attacked them with a bravery natural to the island. The capture of Alfric's vessels crowned their victory, but its ignominious master escaped, though with difficulty. The king barbarously avenged it on Alfric, by blinding his son Algar.[o] The treason of Alfric and his companions seems inexplicable, unless we suppose it to have been an effect of the national divisions or discontent.

This exertion, though its end was so disgraceful, had driven the enemy from the southern counties. The northern districts
993. were then attacked. An armament stormed Bebbanburh, and afterwards, turning to the Humber, filled part of Lincolnshire and Northumbria with their depredations. The provincials armed to defend their possessions, but they confided the command to three chiefs of Danish ancestry, who with fatal treachery fled at the moment of joining battle.[p] Another indication of the discontent of the nobles and the unpopularity of the government.

In 994, the breezes of the spring wafted into the Thames two warlike kings, Olave Tryggva's son, king of Norway, and Svein king of Denmark, in a temporary confederation. They came with ninety-four ships. They were repelled at London; but though their force was unimportant, they were able to overrun

[l] Flor. 365. In 992, Oswald, the friend of Dunstan died. Sax. Chron.
[m] Flor. 363. Sax. Chron. 125. [n] Flor. 363. Sim. Dun. 161.
[o] Flor. 366. Malmsb. 62.
[p] Sim. Dun. 162. Sax. Chron. 127.

the maritime part of Essex and Kent, and afterwards Sussex and Hampshire, with successful outrage.[q] The progress of so small a force, and the presence of two kings accompanying it, may induce the reflective reader to suspect that they did not come without some previous concert or invitation from some part of the nation. But on this occasion, when a small exertion of the national vigour could have overpowered the invaders, Ethelred again obeyed a fatal advice. He sent to offer tribute and provisions, and to know the sum which would stop their hostilities! Sixteen thousand pounds was the sum demanded, by fewer than ten thousand men, for the redemption of England.[r] Can we avoid inferring treason in his councils? That the nobles should patronize such a measure looks like a scheme for abasing the power of their ecclesiastical opponents, who still governed the royal mind; or of changing the dynasty, as at last took place, from Ethelred to Svein. Infatuation without treachery could hardly have been so imbecile, as to have bought off an invader a second time, when the nation was so powerful, and the enemy so inferior.[s] 994.

Olave was invited to Ethelred's court, and, upon receiving hostages for his safety, he went to the royal city, where the king received him with honour. During his visit, he received the Christian rite of confirmation, and had rich presents. When he departed for his country in the summer, he promised to molest England no more, and he kept his word.[t]

The army of Svein, on the last capitulation, had wintered at Southampton. After three years' respite, it resumed its hostilities, sailed along Wessex, and doubling the Land's End, entered the Severn Wales, and afterwards Cornwall and Devonshire, were infested. Proceeding up the Thamar, they leaped from their ships, and spread the flames as far as Lydeford. The monastery of Tavistock fell amid the general ruin. Their ships were laden with the plunder, and the invaders wintered in security near the scenes of their outrage.[u] 998.

Resuming their activity with the revival of vegetation, they visited the Frome, and spread over great part of Dorset. Advancing thence to the Isle of Wight, they made alternate insults on this district and Dorsetshire, and compelled Sussex and Hampshire to supply them with provisions.[v] But was the powerful

[q] Sax. Chron. 128. Flor. Wig. 366. Sim. Dun. 162.

[r] Sax. Chron. 129. Flor. 367.

[s] The sermon of Lupus, preached about this time, implies the insubordination of the country, and its enmity to the clergy. He calls the nation "Priest-slayers," and robbers of the clergy, and laments the seditions that prevailed. See it ap. Hickes's Diss. Epp. 99–106.

[t] Malmsb. 63. Sax. Chron. 129. Sim. Dun. 163.

[u] Sim. Dun. 163. Sax. Chron. 129. Malmsb. 63.

[v] Sax. Chron. 129. Sim. Dun. 164.

nation of England thus harassed with impunity? When its enemies even stationed themselves on its coasts in permanent hostility, was no exertion directed to repress them? The answer of history is, that often was the Anglo-Saxon army collected to punish, but as soon as the battle was about to commence, either some treason or some misfortune prevented. They quitted their ranks, and gave an easy triumph to the half-welcomed Danes.[w]

In the next year, the Danish army, almost naturalized in England, approached the Thames, and, turning into the Medway, surrounded Rochester. The Kentishmen assembled to protect their city, but after a furious battle they yielded their dead to the invaders, who, collecting horses, almost destroyed the west of Kent.[x]

A naval and military armament was now ordered against the invaders.[y] But again the consequences of the national disaffection occurred. The commanders, as if befriending the invaders, interposed wilful delays in the equipment of the force. The fleet, when ready, was merely assembled; day after day drawled on without exertion, and injured only those who had been assessed to provide it. Whenever it was about to sail, some petty obstacle delayed it. The enemy was always permitted to increase and unite his strength; and when he chose to retire, then our fleet pursued. Thus even the very means which, properly used, would have cleared the British ocean of its oppressors, only increased the calamity of the nation. The people were called to labour to no purpose; their money was wasted as emptily; and by such mock preparations, the enemies were more encouraged to invade.[z] When the Danish forces retired, the army of Ethelred almost depopulated Cumberland. His fleet set sail to coast round Wales and meet him; but the winds repelling them, they ravaged the Isle of Man as the substitute.[a]

A powerful diversion happened this year in favour of Ethelred; for the quarrel between Svein and Olave attained its height. Assisted by a Swedish king,[b] and the son of Hakon Jarl,[c] Svein attacked Olave by surprise, near the Island of Wollin, with a great superiority of force. The bravery of Olave could not compensate for a deficiency of numbers. His ship was surrounded; but, disdaining to be a prisoner, he leapt into the sea,[d] and disappeared from pursuit. Popular affection,

1000.

[w] Flor. 368. Sim. Dun. 163. [x] Sax. Chron. 130. Matt. West. 386.
[y] Flor. 369. [z] Sax. Chron. 130. [a] Flor. 369. Sax. Chron. 130.
[b] Sweden was at this time in the hands of many kings: "Isto tempore multi erant Uplandiarum reges, suæ singuli provinciæ imperitantes—Heidmarkiæ imperium tenuere duo fratres—Gudsbrandaliæ Gudrodus; etiam Raumarikia suus erat rex; suus quoque Thotniæ et Hadalandiæ nec non suus Valdresiæ." Snorre, vol. ii. p. 36, 37.
[c] Theodorie, c. 14, p. 23. Ara Frode, p. 49. Snorre details the confederacy against Olave, i. p. 334–345. Saxo gives the Danish account, lib. x. p. 191.
[d] Saxo. 191. Snorre, 345.

unwilling to lose its favourite, gave birth to that wild rumour which has so often attended the death of the illustrious, that the king had escaped the fray, and was living recluse on some distant shore.[e] Authentic history places his death in this battle.[f]

This diversion was made more complete by the Northmen also molesting Normandy.[g] But the interval brought no benefit to England. The Danes returned in 1001, with their usual facility. The same measure was adopted notwithstanding its experienced inefficacy; and twenty-four thousand pounds was the third ransom of the English nation.[h] No measure could tend more to bring on the government the contempt of the people.

1002. Massacre of the Danes.

The year 1002 has become memorable in the annals of crime, by an action as useless as imbecility could devise, and as sanguinary as cowardice could perpetrate. On the day before St. Brice's festival, every city received secret letters from the king, commanding the people, at an appointed hour, to destroy the Danes there suddenly by the sword, or to surround and consume them with fire. This order was the more atrocious, as the Danes were living in peace with the Anglo-Saxons. The expressions of Malmsbury imply even an endeared amity of connection; for he says, with correct feeling, that it was miserable to see every one betray his dearest guests, whom the cruel necessity made only more beloved.[i] To murder those we have embraced, was a horrible idea, congenial only to Ethelred and his counsellors.

The tyrannical command was obeyed. All the Danes dispersed through England, with their wives, families, and even youngest babes, were mercilessly butchered.[j] So dreadful was the excited spirit, that Gunhilda, the sister of Svein, who had married an English earl, had received Christianity, and had voluntarily made herself the pledge of Danish peace, was ordered to be beheaded

[e] Theodoric, 24. The tale must have made impression, for Theodoric declares, he knows not which relation was the truest.

[f] Ara Frode dates it 130 years after the fall of Edmund in East Anglia, or in 1000, c. vii. p. 49. The conquerors shared Norway. Snorre, 348.

[g] Sax. Chron. 130.

[h] Sax. Chron. 132. Both the MS. Chronicles have 24,000*l.*

[i] Malmsb. 64. The Saxon Chronicle says that Ethelred ordered it, because it had been reported to him that they had a design to murder him first, and then all his witan, and thereupon to possess his kingdom without opposition, an. 1002. See Miss Gurney's translation of it, p. 158.

[j] Matt. West. 391; Sax. Chron. 133; Flor. 370; Sim. Dun. 165; Hoveden, 429; Rad. Dic. 461; Malmsb. 64; Hunt. 360; Brompton, 885; Knyghton, 2315; Walsingham Ypod. 18, unite in stating that all the Danes in England were killed. That only the Danish soldiers in English pay were killed, appears to me to have no foundation. Gunhilda and her family were not Danish mercenaries, nor were the women and children of whom Wallingford speaks, whose loose authority has been put against all the rest. We find that Edgar admitted many Danes into England; many more must have settled out of the different invaders in Ethelred's reign. To what Danish families the cruel order extended, cannot now be ascertained. I can-

by the infamous Edric. Her husband and boy were first slain in her presence. She foretold the vengeance which would pour upon the English nation, and she joined her lifeless friends.[k]

Great villany has been supposed to proceed from great mental energy perverted. But Ethelred evinced an absolute incapability of the most common associations of human reasoning. That Svein would return in vengeance was a natural expectation; and yet the person appointed to rescue England from his fury was Elfric, whom the king had banished for his misconduct, who had proved his gratitude for his pardon by an enormous treachery; whose son the king had in return deprived of eyesight; and who now by some new intrigue was restored to favour.

Svein did not long delay the provoked invasion; he landed at
1003. Exeter, and by the treachery of the Norman governor, whom the king had set over it, he obtained and dismantled it.[l] He proceeded through the country to Wilts, avenging his murdered countrymen. The Anglo-Saxons, under Elfric, met him. The instant that the battle was about to join, Elfric affected a sudden illness and declined the contest. Svein, availing himself of their divisions, led his army through Salisbury to the sea-coast laden with plunder.

In the next year, 1004, Svein came with his fleet to Norwich, and burnt it. Ulfketul, the commander of East Anglia, proposed to buy a peace; yet finding the enemy advancing and plundering, he made one exertion against them,[m] but they regained their ships. A famine now afflicted England, and the Danes returned to the Baltic.[n]

Ethelred had, in 1002, married Emma, the daughter of Richard I., the third Duke of Normandy.[o] The king's infidelity and neglect was resented by his high-spirited queen.[p] The insult was personal, and her anger was natural; but that her father should avenge it by seizing all the English who happened to pass into his dominions; by killing some and imprisoning the rest,[q] was an act of barbarity, which announces the contempt into which England had sunk.

not think that it could possibly include those whose ancestors came into England in Alfred's youth, and who settled in East Anglia and Northumbria, because the four or five generations which had elapsed, must have made them Englishmen. How many perished cannot be explored. The crime of the schemers depends not upon the number of the victims.

[k] Matt. West. 391. Malmsb. 69.

[l] Flor. 371. [m] Flor. 372.

[n] Flor. 372. Sax. Chron. 134. The famine is a strong evidence of the extent of Svein's vindictive ravages.

[o] Sax. Chron. 132. He had married an earl's daughter before, who brought him Edmund. Ethel. Abb. 362.

[p] Malmsb. 64.

[q] Matt. West. 382. Walsingham narrates that Ethelred attempted an invasion of Normandy, which ended very unfortunately. Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 16.

Never was such a nation plunged into calamity so unnecessarily. The means were abundant of exterminating Svein, and such invaders, if a government had but existed with whom its people would have co-operated. The report of Turketul to Svein gives us an impressive picture of the English condition: "A country illustrious and powerful; a king asleep, solicitous only about women and wine, and trembling at war; *hated by his people*, and derided by strangers. Generals, envious of each other; and weak governors, ready to fly at the first shout of battle."[r]

Ethelred was liberal to poets who amused him. Gunnlaugr, the Scalld, sailed to London, and presented himself to the king with an heroic poem,[s] which he had composed on the royal *virtues*. He sang it, and received in return a purple tunic, lined with the richest furs, and adorned with fringe; and was appointed to a station in the palace.[t] By a verse which remains of it, we may see that adulation is not merely an indigenous plant of eastern climates or of polished times, but that it flourishes hardily, even amid Polar snows, and in an age of pirates.

> The soldiers of the king, and his subjects,
> The powerful army of England,
> Obey Ethelred,
> *As if he was an angel of the beneficent Deity.*[u]

The history of successful devastation and pusillanimous defence, is too uniform, and disgusting to be detailed. In 1006, the Danes obtained 36,000*l.*[v] In 1008, the feeble king oppressed his subjects with a new exaction. Every 310 hides of land were assessed to build and present one vessel, and every eight hides were to furnish a helmet and breastplate.[w] The hides of England, according to the best enumeration of them which exists,[x] were

[r] Malmsb. 69.

[s] Gunnlaugi Saga, c. vii. p. 87.

[t] Gunn. Saga, p. 89. When he left Ethelred, in the following spring, the king gave him a gold ring which weighed seven ounces, and desired him to return in autumn, p. 99. The Scalld was lucky. He went to Ireland and sang. The king there wished to give him two ships, but was told by his treasurer, that poets had always clothes, or swords, or gold rings. Gunnlaugr accordingly received fine garments and a gold ring, p. 103. In the Orkneys a poem procured him a silver axe, p. 103. In Gothland he got an asylum of festivity for the winter, p. 105. At Upsal he met another poet, Rafn, and, what was worse, when both had sung, the king asked each for his opinion on the other's composition. The catastrophe need hardly be mentioned. Rafn told Gunnlaugr, that there was an end of their friendship, p. 115.

[u] Gunnl. 89.

[v] The printed Sax. Chron. p. 136, says 30,000*l.* The MS. Chron. Tib. B. 1, and B. 4, have 36,000*l.* Flor. 373; Mailros, 154; Hoveden, 430; Peterb. 34; Al. Bev. 114; Sim. Dun. 166; and Rad. Dic. 462, also give 36,000*l.*

[w] Sax. Chron. 136.

[x] The very ancient catalogue which Spelman copied into his Glossary, 353; and Camden into his Britannia, presents to us a detailed account of the hides in Eng-

243,600. If we take this as the criterion, the taxation produced an additional force of 785 ships, and armour for 30,450 men.

Ethelred had now selected a new favourite in Edric; a man of low birth, but eloquent, plausible, and crafty. He is noted for excelling all men in perfidy and cruelty. He was made Duke of Mercia in 1007.[y]

The fleet, the product of the new assessment, assembled at Sandwich, in 1009. Brihtric, the brother of Edric, and as ambitious and deceitful, accused Wulfnoth, the father of Earl Godwin. Wulfnoth fled, and carried twenty ships with him, and commenced pirate. Brihtric pursued with eighty ships, but a tempest wrecked, and Wulfnoth burnt them. These events destroyed the confidence and the courage of the rest of the fleet. It dispersed and retired.[z] The annalists add, that thus perished all the hopes of England.

In 1010, the triumph of the Danes was completed in the surrender of sixteen counties of England, and the payment of 48,000*l.*[a] Thus they divided the country of Ethelred, as his father Edgar, the first patron of the civil dissensions, had shared it unjustly with the ill-used Edwin.

The next invasion of Svein was distinguished by the revolution of the government of the country, in 1013. The people gradually seceded from Ethelred, and appointed the Dane their king. The Earl of Northumbria, and all the people in his district, the five burghers, and all the army on the north of Watling-street, submitted to his sovereignty.[b] He ordered them to supply provisions and horses, and committing their hostages and his ships to his son Canute, he commenced a visit of decisive conquest to the south. Oxford and Winchester accepted his dominion; but London resisted, because Ethelred was in it.

Svein marched to Bath, and the Duke Ethelmere, and all the western thanes, yielded themselves to him. The citizens of London at last followed the example.

Terrified by the universal disaffection, Ethelred sent his

land. Gale has published one almost similar, but not quite. Rer. Ang. vol. iii. p. 748.

[y] Flor. Wig. 373.

[z] Flor Wig. 374. Sax. Chron. 137, 138. In mentioning Wulfnoth, the printed Saxon Chronicle adds, that he was the father of Earl Godwin, p. 137. The MS. Chron. Tib. B. 1, has not these words, nor the Tib. B. 4, nor the Laud MS. which Gibson quotes. As he only marks the Laud MS. to be without, I presume that his other MSS. had them.

[a] Flor. 375–378. Sax. Chron. 139–142. For a particular description of this dismal period, see Osberne's Life of S. Elphegus, who was taken into Canterbury and killed, because 3000*l.* were not paid for his ransom. They hurled bones and skulls of cattle upon him till one struck him on the head with an iron axe. Gurney, Sax. Chron. 170. Was he one of the counsellors of Ethelred who were obnoxious to the Danish partisans?

[b] Sax. Chron. 143.

children into Normandy,[c] and privately withdrew to the Isle of Wight,[d] where he passed his Christmas; after which, on hearing of their good reception by his queen's brother, Richard, he departed also himself, and was kindly received.[e]

The new sovereignty of Svein was severe in its pecuniary exactions,[f] but it was short. He died, the year after his elevation, at Gainsborough.[g]

This event produced a new change in the Anglo-Saxon politics. The Danish soldiers in England, the Thinga-manna,[h] appointed Canute, the son of Svein, for their king;[i] but the English chieftains sent to Ethelred to offer him the crown again, on condition that he should govern rightly, and be less tyrannical.[j] 1016.

Ethelred sent his son Edward to make the required promises of good government.[k] Pledges were exchanged for the faithful performance of the contract; every Danish king was declared a perpetual outlaw,[l] and in Lent the king returned.

Canute had now to maintain his father's honours by his sword. Confronted by a powerful force of the English, he sailed from East Anglia to Sandwich, and landed the hostages which his father had received for the obedience of the English. But in revenge for the opposition of the nation, he brutually maimed them of their hands and noses.[m] They were children of the first nobility.[n] Canute then retired to Denmark, to watch his

[c] Sax. Chron. 143, 144. Flor. Wig. 379, 380. Malmsb. 69. This author remarks, that the Londoners did not abandon the king till he fled himself. He says of them in high panegyric: "Laudandi prorsus viri et quos Mars ipse collata non sperneret hasta si ducem habuissent."

[d] Cumque clandestinis itineribus. Malmsb. p. 69.

[e] Malmsb. 70. Flor. 380.

[f] Hermannus, who wrote in 1070, thus describes his pecuniary exactions: "Sueyn insuper lugubre malum scilicet ubique ponit tributum quod infortunium hodiequc luit Anglia, multum felix, divcs *ac dulcis nimium si non forent tributa*." MS. Tib. B. 2, p. 25.

[g] The annalists are fond of stating, that he was killed by St. Edmond; Snorre adds a curious comparison. "Just," says he, "as Julian the Apostate was killed by *Saint Mercury*." Saga Olafi Helga, c. ix. p. 10.

[h] The body of troops who, during Svein's prosperity, and the reigns of his posterity, becamc stationary in England, are called Thinga-manna by Snorre, tom. ii. p. 15. The Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, p. 100; and the Knytlinga Saga (Celto Scand. p. 103) say, they received appointed stipends. Their commander, Hemming, kept the conquered country in subjection to Canute. Two of their orders were, not to disperse rumours, and not to go beyond their city of a night. Trygg. Saga. p. 100. Celto. Sc.

[i] The Sagas state Canute to havc bccn but tcn years of age at Svein's death. But this is a mistakc.

[j] Flor. Wig. 381. "They assured him, that no one was dcarer to them than their natural lord, if he would govern them more righteously than he did before." Gur. Sax. Chron. 173. About this time occurred the war against Brian, king of Connaught. See the Niala Saga in Celto Scand, 107–116, and 120–129. I mention it, bccause to this battle belong the poetical vision of the Northern destinies, and the Scaldic Ode, which Gray has so vigorously translated in his Fatal Sisters.

[k] Flor. 381. He said, "that he would amend all that had been complained of, if they would return to him with one consent and without guile." Sax. Chron. G. 173.

[l] Sax. Chron. 145. [m] Flor. 382. [n] Malmsb. 71.

interests there, and provide the means for stronger exertions to gain the crown of England.[o]

To make head against Canute, Ethelred dispersed, around the neighbouring countries, high promises of reward to every warrior who would join the English standard:[p] a great number came to him. Among these was Olave, the son of Harald Grænski, a Norwegian sea-king, who, in 1007, at twelve years of age, had begun his maritime profession under a military tutor.[q] He afterwards obtained the crown of Norway, and the reputation of a saint. He arrived in England in the year of Svein's death.[r]

Canute called to his aid Eric the Jarl, one of the rulers of Norway, and one of the sons of Hakon the Bad,[s] and sailed to England. His abilities made his advance the march of victory. The perfidious Edric crowned the treasons of his life by flying to Canute with forty ships. Wessex submitted to the invaders, and gave hostages for its fidelity.[t]

The hostilities of the contending parties were now fast assuming the shape of decision. To Canute's well-arranged army, Edmund, the son of Ethelred, endeavoured to oppose a competent force; but the panic of the king, excited by rumoured treachery, disappointed his hopes. Edmund then roused the northern chiefs to predatory incursions, but the energy of Canute prevented success. The Danes marched through Buckinghamshire to Bedford and then advanced to York. Uhtred, the earl of Northumbria, and the people abandoned Edmund, and gave hostages to Canute.[u] Leaving his friend Eric Jarl in the government of the country, Canute returned to his ships. At this crisis, the death of Ethelred released England from its greatest enemy.[v]

[o] Encomium Emmæ, written by a contemporary, 167. Svein's body was carried to Roschild, and buried. The autumn closed with an inundation of the sea, which laid the towns and country for many miles under water, and destroyed the inhabitants. Flor. 382. Malmsb. 71.

[p] Snorre Olafi Helga, c. vi. p. 6. [q] Snorre, p. 3.

[r] Snorre, p. 9. Knytlinga Saga, p. 103.

[s] Knytlinga Saga, p. 10. Eric had gained great fame in two battles: one against Olave, Tryggva's son, the other against the Jomsburgers. Snorre, ii. p. 23. Svein had given Norway to Eric and his brother Hakon. When Eric came to England, he left his brother Hakon to govern all Norway, whom St. Olave expelled. Snorre, p. 211. Hakon was drowned. Ib. 321.

[t] Sax. Chron. 146.

[u] The Knytlinga Saga gives a particular description of Canute's exertions, interspersed with many quotations from the scalds, Ottar the Swarthy, Hallvardr, and Thordr, 104–107. Among the nobles who came with Canute were, Ulfr Jarl, the son of Sprakalegs, who had married Canute's sister, Astrida. Heming, and his brother, Thorkell the Lofty, sons of the Earlstreet Haralldr, were also in his army. Ib.

[v] We have a contemporary picture of the internal state of England during this reign, in the Sermon of Lupus, one of the Anglo-Saxon bishops.

"We perpetually pay them (the Danes) tribute, and they ravage us daily. They ravage, burn, spoil, and plunder, and carry off our property to their ships. Such is their successful valour, that one of them will in battle put ten of our men to flight. Two or three will drive a troop of captive Christians through the country from sea to sea. Very often they seize the wives and daughters of our thanes, and cruelly

CHAPTER X.

The Reign of Edmund Ironside.

AT length the sceptre of the Anglo-Saxons came into the hand of a prince able to wield it with dignity to himself, and prosperity to his people. Like Athelstan, he was illegitimately born; but his spirit was full of energy; and his constitution was so hardy, that he obtained the surname of Ironside. It was his misfortune that he attained the crown in a stormy season; and, before his character and talents could be duly known or estimated, he had to conflict with a king perhaps greater than himself. Had Edmund, like his father, acceded to the crown of a tranquil, united, and thriving nation, the abilities of a Canute might have been foiled. But Edmund succeeded to the care of a divided people, half of whose territory was in the occupation of his enemy. He had no interval of respite to recruit his strength, or reform his country. He was dishonourably killed in the full exertion of his abilities. 1016.

An important struggle ensued between Edmund and Canute for the possession of London. It was long besieged in vain, sometimes by a part of Canute's forces, sometimes by all. London was at this time defended, on the south, by a wall which extended along the river.[a] The ships of Canute, from Greenwich, proceeded to London. The Danes built a strong military work on

violate them before the great chieftain's face. The slave of yesterday becomes the master of his lord to-day, or he flies to the Vikingr, and seeks his owner's life in the earliest battle.

"Soldiers, famine, flames, and effusion of blood abound on every side. Theft and murder, pestilence, diseases, calumny, hatred, and rapine dreadfully afflict us.

"Widows are frequently compelled into unjust marriages; many are reduced to penury and are pillaged. The poor men are sorely seduced and cruelly betrayed, and, though innocent, are sold far out of this land to foreign slavery. Cradle children are made slaves out of this nation, through an atrocious violation of the law for little stealings. The right of freedom is taken away: the rights of the servile are narrowed, and the right of charity is diminished.

"Freemen may not govern themselves, nor go where they wish, nor possess their own as they like. Slaves are not suffered to enjoy what they have obtained from their allowed leisure, nor what good men have benevolently given for them. The clergy are robbed of their franchises, and stripped of all their comforts."

After mentioning many vices, he adds, that "Far and wide the evil custom has prevailed of men being ashamed of their virtue; of good actions even incurring contempt; and of the public worship being publicly derided." Sermo Lupi ap. Hickes, Dissert. Epist. p. 99–106. Elfric, another contemporary, thought the state of things so bad, that he believed dooms-day to be approaching, and the world very near its end. MSS. Vit. St. Neot.

[a] Stephanides, in his description of London, written about 1190, so declares: "Similiterque ab austro Lundonia murata et turrita fuit," p. 3. Lond. 1723.

the south bank of the river, and drew up their ships on the west of the bridge, so as to cut off all access to the city. Edmund vigorously defended it a while in person; and when his presence was required elsewhere, the brave citizens made it impregnable.[b]

During the siege, Edmund fought two battles with the Danes in the country; one at Pen in Dorsetshire; the other, the most celebrated, at Scearstan, about midsummer.

Battle at Scearstan.

Edmund selected the bravest soldiers for his first line of attack, and placed the rest as auxiliary bodies; then noticing many of them individually, he appealed to their patriotism and their courage, with that fire of eloquence which rouses man to mighty deeds. He conjured them to remember their country, their beloved families, and paternal habitations: for all these they were to fight; for all these they would conquer. To rescue or to surrender these dear objects of their attachments, would be the alternative of that day's struggle. His representations warmed his soldiers; and in the height of their enthusiasm, he bade the trumpets to sound, and the charge of battle to begin. Eagerly his brave countrymen rushed against their invaders, and were nobly led by their heroic king. He quitted his royal station to mingle in the first ranks of the fight; and yet, while his sword strewed the plain with slaughter, his vigorous mind watched eagerly every movement of the field. He struggled to blend the duty of commander and the gallant bearing of a soldier. Edric and two other generals, with the men of Wilts and Somerset, aided Canute. On Monday, the first day of the conflict, both armies fought with unprevailing courage, and mutual fatigue compelled them to separate.[c]

In the morning the awful struggle was renewed. In the midst of the conflict, Edmund forced his way to Canute, and struck at him vehemently with his sword. The shield of the Dane saved him from the blow; but it was given with such strength, that it divided the shield, and cut the neck of the horse below it. A crowd of Danes then rushed upon Edmund; and, after he had slain many, he was obliged to retire. Canute was but slightly wounded.[d] While the king was thus engaged, Edric struck off the head of one Osmear, whose countenance resembled the king's, and raising it on high, exclaimed to the Anglo-Saxons that they

[b] Sax. Chron. 148; Flor. 385; and Knytlinga Saga, 135–137. The verses of the scallds, Thordr, and Ottar the Swarthy, are cited on this subject. Snorré gives an account of Saint Olave, the Norwegian sea-king, assisting in the struggle at London. The principal achievement of Olave was to destroy the fortified bridge from Southwark, which he calls a great emporium to the city, which the Danes defended. The effort, somewhat romantic, is sung by Ottar and Sigvatr. Saga af Olafi Helga, p. 11–13.

[c] Flor. Wig. 385, 386.

[d] I derive this paragraph from the Knytlinga Saga, p. 130. Ottar the Swarthy celebrates the battle, and places it near the Tees, p. 131, in Johnstone's Celto Scandicæ.

fought to no purpose. "Fly, ye men of Dorset and Devon! Fly, and save yourselves. Here is your Edmund's head."[e] The astonished English gazed in terror. The king was not then visible, for he was piercing the Danish centre. Edric was believed, and panic began to spread through every rank. At this juncture Edmund appeared receding before the pressure of the Danes, who had rescued Canute. He saw the malice, and sent his spear as his avenger: Edric shunned the point, and it pierced two men near him. But his presence was now unavailing. In vain he threw off his helmet, and, gaining an eminence, exposed his disarmed head to undeceive his warriors. The fatal spirit had gone forth; and, before its alarms could be counteracted, the army was in flight. All the bravery and skill of Edmund could only sustain the combat till night interposed.[f]

The difficulty of the battle disinclined Canute from renewing it. He left the contested field at midnight, and marched afterwards to London to his shipping. The morn revealed his retreat to Edmund. The perfidious Edric, discerning the abilities of the king, made use of his relationship and early connection (he had married Edmund's sister, and had been his foster-father) to obtain a reconciliation. Edmund consented to receive him on his oath of fidelity.[g]

Edmund followed Canute to London, and raised the siege of the city. A conflict soon followed between the rivals at Brentford.[h] Both parties claim the victory.[i] As Canute immediately afterwards beleagured London again, the laurel seems to have been obtained by him. Baffled by the defence, he avenged himself on Mercia, whose towns, as usual, were committed to the flames, and he withdrew up the Medway. Edmund again urged the patriotic battle at Otford in Kent, and drove him to Shepey. A vigorous pursuit might have destroyed all Canute's hopes; but the perfidious counsels of Edric preserved the defeated invader.[j]

When Edmund withdrew to Wessex, Canute passed into Essex; and thence advancing, plundered Mercia without mercy. Edmund, earnest for a decisive effort, again assembled all the strength of England, and pursued the Dane, who was retiring to his ships with his plunder. At Assandun, in the north part of Essex, the armies met. Edmund arranged his countrymen into three divisions, and, riding round every rank, he roused them, by his impressive exhortations,

1016. Battle of Assandun.

[e] Flor. Wig. 386. [f] Flor. Wig. 386.

[g] It is the Knytlinga Saga which informs us that Edric had brought up Edmund: "Cujus tamen nutricius iste Heidricus fuit," p. 139.

[h] Flor. Wig. 387. Sax. Chron. 149. The Knytlinga Saga quotes the verses of the scalld Ottar on this battle, p. 134.

[i] Florence and his countrymen give the victory to Edmund. The Knytlinga Saga says, Canute conquered; and adds, that the town was destroyed, p. 134.

[j] Flor. 387. Snorre mentions, that St. Olave fought at Canterbury; and quotes Ottar the Swarthy upon it, p. 14; but I cannot be certain that it was at this period.

to remember their own valour, and their former victories. He entreated them to protect the kingdom from Danish avarice, and to punish, by a new defeat, the enemies they had already conquered. Canute brought his troops gradually into the field. Edmund made a general and impetuous attack. His vigour and skill again brought victory to his arms. The star of Canute was clouded; when Edric, his secret ally, deserting Edmund in the very hour of success, fled from the field with the men of Radnor, and all the battalions he commanded. The charge of Canute on the exposed and inferior Anglo-Saxons was then decisive. The valour of Edmund was forgotten. Flight and destruction overspread the plain. A few, jealous of their glory, and anxious to give a rallying point to the rest, fought desperately amid surrounding enemies, and were all cut off but one man. In this dismal conflict the flower of the nobility of England perished.[k]

The betrayed Edmund disdained the death of despair, and attempted new efforts to rescue his afflicted country. He retired to Gloucester; and, such was his activity and eloquence, that a fresh army was around him before Canute overtook him. Edmund then challenged Canute to decide their quarrel by a single combat.[l]

Some authorities assert that they fought; others, that Canute declined the meeting; but the result was, that a pacification was agreed upon between the princes; and England was divided between them. Canute was to reign in the north, and Edmund in the south. The rival princes exchanged arms and garments; the money for the fleet was agreed upon, and the armies separated.[m]

The brave Edmund did not long survive the pacification. He perished the same year. The circumstances attending his assassination are variously given. Malmsbury mentions, that two of his chamberlains were seduced by Edric to wound him at a most private moment with an iron hook; but he states this to be only rumour.[n] The king's violent death, and its author, are less reservedly avowed by others.[o] The northern accounts go even

[k] Malmsb. 72. Flor. Wig. 388. Sax. Chron. 150. The Knytlinga Saga, and the scalld Ottar, notice this conflict, p. 134. Snorre places one of St. Olave's battles in a place which he calls Hringmaraheide. He says, this was in the land of Ulfkell, p. 13. This expression somewhat approximates it to the battle of Assandun, for Ulfkell governed the eastern districts of the island; and Dr. Gibson places this conflict at Assington in Essex. Camden thought it was Ashdown, in the north part of that county.

[l] I follow Malmsbury in ascribing the proposal to Edmund, p. 72.

[m] Flor. Wig. 389. Sax. Chron. 150. [n] Malmsb. 72.

[o] As Hunt. 363; Matt. West. 401; Hist. El. 502; Hist. Ram. 434; Petrob. 37; Ingulf, 57; and many others. Hermannus, who wrote within fifty years after this event, says, "Noete siquidem sequentis dici festivitatis Sancti Andreæ Lundoniæ perimitur insidiis Edrici Streane perfidissimi ducis." Cotton Lib. MS. Tib. B. 2. The encomiast of Emma says, he was long and greatly lamented by his people, p. 171.

farther. The Knytlinga Saga and Saxo carry up the crime as high as Canute. They expressly state that Edric was corrupted by Canute to assassinate Edmund.[p]

A remarkable character began his progress to greatness in this reign: this was the famous Earl Godwin, who possessed a power little less than sovereign for three reigns, and whose son Harold was the last of the Anglo-Saxon kings. His origin has never yet been mentioned in English history; but as the rise of poverty to grandeur is always an interesting contemplation, we will state the short history of Godwin's elevations.

1016. Rise of Earl Godwin.

That Godwin was the son of a herdsman, is a fact recorded in the MS. Chronicle of Radulphus Niger. This author says explicitly what no other has mentioned, "Earl Godwin was the son of a herdsman." It adds, that he was brought up by Canute."[q] How the son of a Saxon herdsman came to be brought up by Canute, the note will explain.[r]

[p] "Erat tunc temporis inter Anglos vir potens, Heidricus Striona nomine. Is a rege Canuto pecunia corruptus est ut Jatmundum clam interficeret. Hoc modo Jatmundus rex periit." Knytl. Saga, p. 139. To the same purpose Saxo, "Memorant alii Edvardum clandestino Canuti imperio occisum," lib. x. p. 193. Snorre says, "Eodem mense Heinrikus Striona occidit Edmundum regem." Olafi Helga, p. 24. Adam of Bremen says he was poisoned, p. 31.

[q] It is a MS. in the Cotton Library, Vespasian, D. 10. In the second side of page 27, it says, "Godwinus comes filius bubulci fuit." It adds, "Hic Godwinus a rege Cnutone nutritus processu temporis in Daciam cum breve regis transmissus callide duxit sororem Cnutonis."

[r] The Knytlinga Saga gives us that explanation which no other document affords. One of the Danish chieftains, who accompanied Canute to England, has been noticed to have been Ulfr, the son of Sprakalegs, who had married Canute's sister Astrida. In the battle of Skorstein, between Canute and Edmund, he fought in Canute's first line, and pursued part of the English fugitives into a wood so eagerly, that when he turned to rejoin his friends, he saw no path; he wandered about it only to bewilder himself, and night involved him before he had got out of it. In the morning he beheld near him a full-grown youth driving cattle to their pasture. He saluted the lad, and inquired his name: he was answered, "Gudin," or Godwin.

Ulfr requested the youth to show him the tract which would lead him to Canute's ships. Godwin informed him that he was a great distance from the Danish navy; that the way was across a long and inhospitable wood; that the soldiers of Canute were greatly hated by the country people; that the destruction of the yesterday's battle at Skorstein was known around; that neither he nor any soldier of Canute's would be safe if the peasants saw him; nor would the person be more secure who should attempt to assist an enemy.

Ulfr, conscious of his danger, drew a gold ring from his finger, and proffered it to the youth, if he would conduct him to his friends. Godwin contemplated it awhile; but that greatness of mind which sometimes accompanies talents even in a lowly state, glowed within him; and, in an emanation of a noble spirit, he exclaimed, "I will not accept your ring, but I will try to lead you to your friends. If I succeed, reward me as you please."

He led Ulfr first to his father's humble mansion, and the earl received an hospitable refreshment.

When the shades of night promised secrecy, two horses were saddled, and Ulfnadr, the father, bade the earl farewell. "We commit to you our only son, and hope, that if you reach the king, and your influence can avail, you will get him admitted into the royal household. Here he cannot stay; for, should our party know that he pre-

CHAPTER XI.

Canute the Great.

Canute, from his warlike ability, surnamed the Brave; from his renown and empire, the Great; from his liberality, the Rich; and, from his devotion, the Pious;[a] obtained, on Edmund's death, the sovereignty of all England at the age of twenty.[b] 1016.

The Northerns have transmitted to us the portrait of Canute: he was large in stature, and very powerful; he was fair, and distinguished for his beauty; his nose was thin, eminent, and aquiline; his hair was profuse; his eyes bright and fierce.[c]

He was chosen king by general assent; his partisans were numerous in the country, and who could resist his power? His measures to secure his crown were sanguinary and tyrannical; but the whole of Canute's character breathes an air of barbaric grandeur. He was formed by nature to tower amidst his contemporaries; but his country and his education intermixed his greatness with a ferocity that compels us to shudder while we admire. In one respect he was fortunate; his mind and manners refined as his age matured. The first part of his reign was cruel and despotic. His latter days shone with a glory more unclouded.

His first policy was against the children of Ethelred and Edmund. One of his scalds, Sighvatr, sings, that all the sons of

served you, his safety would be doubtful." Perhaps Ulfnadr remembered the high fortunes of his uncle Edric, who was now Duke of Mercia; and hoped that if his son could get a station in the royal palace, he might, like Edric, ascend from poverty to greatness.

Godwin was handsome, and fluent in his elocution. His qualities and services interested Ulfr, and a promise to provide for him was freely pledged.

They travelled all night, and in the next day they reached the station of Canute, where Ulfr, who was much beloved, was very joyfully received. The grateful Jarl placed Godwin on a lofty seat, and had him treated with the respect which his own child might have claimed. He continued his attachment so far, as afterwards to marry him to Gyda, his sister. To oblige Ulfr, Canute, in time, raised Godwin to the dignity of Jarl. Knytlinga Saga, 105, and 131–133.

[a] Dr. Hicke's dedication to his Thesaurus. His baptismal name was Lambert. Frag. Isl. 2 Lang. 426.

[b] The Knytlinga Saga, and Olave Tryggvason Saga, state Canute to have been but ten years old at his father's death. If so, he could be only twelve at his accession. This is not probable. One document speaks more truly. Snorre, in his Saga af Magnusi Goda, states Canute to have been forty when he died. This was in 1035; and therefore in 1016, he must have been twenty-one. Snorre's words are, "Eodem autumno vita functus est rex Knutus potens in Anglia idibus Novembris natus tunc *annos quadraginta*," c. iv. p. 7.

[c] Knytlinga Saga, p. 148.

Ethelred he slew or banished.[d] The Saxon annalist assures us, that he determined at first to exile Edwig, the half-brother of Edmund: but finding the English nobles both submissive and adulating, he proceeded to gratify his ambition by taking the prince's life. The infamous Edric suggested to him a man, Ethelwold, a nobleman of high descent, who would undertake to accomplish his criminal desires. The king incited Ethelwold to the measure. "Acquiesce with my wishes, and you shall enjoy securely all the honour and dignity of your ancestors. Bring me his head, and you shall be dearer to me than a brother." This was the language of a northern vikingr, to whom human life was of no value. Ethelwold affected a compliance; but his seeming readiness was but an artifice to get the child into his power, and to preserve his life. Edwig did not ultimately escape. The next year he was deceived by those whom he most esteemed; and, by Canute's request and command, he was put to death.[e]

With the same guilty purpose, he seized Edward and Edmund, the children of the last king; but he was counselled that the country would not endure their destruction. Alarmed from immediate crime, he sent them to the king of Sweden, to be killed. This prince was too noble to be a murderer, and had them conveyed to Salomon, the king of Hungary, to be preserved and educated.[f] One died; the other, Edward, married Agatha, the daughter of Henry, the German emperor; and their issue was Edgar Atheling, who will be remembered in a future reign.

Canute, reserving to himself the immediate government of Wessex, committed East Anglia to Turketul, whose valour had greatly contributed to the subjection of England. He gave Mercia to Edric, and Northumbria to his friend Eric, the Norwegian prince. He made a public treaty of amity with the English chiefs and people, and by mutual agreement all enmities were laid aside. In the same year the solemn compact was violated; for he slew three English noblemen without a fault.[g] He banished Edwig, the king of the peasants,[h] and divided the estates of the nobles among his Danish friends.

[d] Attamen singulos.
Deinceps filiorum Adelradi
Vel interfecit Cnutus
Vel proscripsit.
Sigvatr Knutzdrapu, quoted in Knytl. Saga, p. 140.

[e] Flor. Wig. 390, 391.

[f] Flor. Wig. 391.

[g] Sine culpa. Flor. 391. Mailros, 155. The Encomium Emmæ says, he killed many princes: "Multos principum quadam die occidere pro hujusmodi dolo juberet." The dolus here alleged was, that they had deceived Edmund. Their real crime may have been that they were powerful, and that their submission was dubious. Ingulf, 58, and the Annals of Burtan, 247, mention some of Edric's friends as killed.

[h] Ceorla cyng. Sax. Chron. 151, qui rex appellabatur rusticorum. Flor. Wig. 398. Bromton says he was the brother of Edmund, 907, but I doubt that this is an error.

The punishment of Edrie would have been a homage to virtue from any other person than Canute. The crime he prompted he should not have punished. But it is an observation almost as old as human nature, that traitors are abhorred by their employers. In the first days of Canute's unsettled throne, he confirmed Edric in his Mercian dukedom; but having used the profligate Saxon to establish his dignity, on the next claim of reward, he expressed his latent feelings. Edric imprudently boasted of his services: "I first deserted Edmund, to benefit you; for you I killed him." Canute coloured; for the anger of conscious guilt and irrepressible shame came upon him. "'Tis fit, then, you should die, for your treason to God and me. You killed your own lord! him who by treaty and friendship was my brother! your blood be upon your own head, for murdering the Lord's anointed; your own lips bear witness against you." The villain who perpetrated the fact was confounded by the hypocrite who had countenanced it. Eric, the ruler of Norway, was called in, that the royal intention might be secretly executed. He struck down the wretch with his battle-axe, and the body was thrown from the window into the Thames, before any tumult could be raised among his partisans.[i] The two sons of Ethelred, by Emma, were sheltered in Normandy.

In 1018 Canute married Emma, called also Elfgiva, the widow of Ethelred. He distinguished his next year by a most oppressive exaction: from London he compelled 10,500 pounds, and from the rest of the kingdom 72,000.

To soothe the country, he sent home the largest portion of his Danish troops, keeping only forty vessels in England. In this he displayed the confidence of a noble mind. He maintained an exact equality, between the two nations, in ranks, council, and war. In 1019, England was so tranquil, that he went to Denmark, and passed the winter in his native country.

Canute maintained his dignity with a severe hand. In 1020, after his return from the Baltic, he held a great council in the Easter festivity at Cirencester. At this he banished the duke Ethelwerd. In 1021, he also exiled the celebrated Turketul.

1025. In this year the Anglo-Saxons obscurely intimate, that Canute went to Denmark, where he was attacked by Ulfr and Eglaf, with a fleet and army from Sweden. In one struggle Canute was unsuccessful; but afterwards the young earl Godwin attacked the enemies of Canute by surprise, with the English

[i] This narration is taken from Malmsb. 73, compared with Encom. Emmæ. The circumstances of his death are told differently, as usual. Florence admits that he was killed in the king's palace; but one says that he was hanged; another, that he was strangled; another, that he was beheaded. Human testimony is characterized by these petty variations.

troops, and obtained a complete victory. This event raised Godwin and the English very greatly in the king's estimation.[j]

The Eglaf was St. Olave, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Norway. Canute, occupied by his English crown, made at first no pretensions to the Norwegian sceptre.[k] The submission of England gave him leisure to turn the eye of ambition to the mountains of Norway.[l] Claims, those slight veils with which states desirous of war always cover their unjust projects, to conceal their deformity from the giddy populace; claims adapted to interest the passions of vulgar prejudice, existed to befriend Canute. His father had conquered Norway; his relation, Haco, had been driven from it. Many of the people, who had most loudly welcomed St. Olave, had become dissatisfied at his innovations, and invited Canute to interfere.[m]

The detail of the struggle between Canute and St. Olave need not be narrated here. Ulfr at first was among the enemies of Canute. He was afterwards pardoned and reconciled;[n] and in the king's conflict with the Swedes, was the means of saving Canute's life.[o]

At a feast in Roschild, Canute, according to Snorre, quarrelled with Ulfr at gaming. The indignant Jarl prudently retired. Canute taunted him on his cowardice for withdrawing. "Was I a coward when I rescued you from the fangs of the Swedish dogs?" was the answer of the irritated Ulfr. Canute went to his couch, and slept upon his resentment; but his fierce and haughty soul waked in the morning to demand blood. He sent his mandate, and Ulfr was stabbed in a church which he had entered.[p] Canute descended so far beneath the courage of a hero, as to corrupt the subjects of Olave from their fidelity by money.[q] Canute supported his insidious negotiations by a powerful fleet. Fifty ships of English thanes were with him, and every district in Norway which he approached, accepted him as its lord.[r] He exacted for hostages the sons and dearest relations of the chiefs of Norway, and appointed Haco, the son of his friend Eric, to be the governor of his conquests.[s]

St. Olave retired before the storm, in 1028, which he was unable to confront, and took shelter in Russia. Haco sailed to England for his wife; but he was doomed to visit Norway no more. The last time his ship was seen on its return, was, late in the day, off Caithness, in Scotland; a furious storm was raging, and the wind was driving him towards the Pentland Firth:

[j] Sax. Chron. 154. Matt. West. 405.
[k] Snorre, vol. ii. p. 144.
[l] Snorre, p. 212.
[m] Ibid. 212, 213.
[n] See Snorre, 26–69.; and compare Saxo's account, 195, 196.
[o] Snorre, 271, 272.
[p] Ibid. 276, 277.
[q] Flor. Wig. 393. Theodoric, p. 29. Snorre, 278.
[r] Snorre, 295.
[s] Ibid. 296.

neither the vessel nor any of its mariners appeared again.[t] In the next year, St. Olave returned; but perished from the insurrection of his subjects, whom he had offended by his laws to accelerate their civilization.

In 1031, Canute penetrated Scotland, and subdued Malcolm, and two other kings.[u] Snorre says he conquered great part of it.[v]

Canute had the fame of reigning over six kingdoms.[w] As a soldier he was certainly eminent; but, fortunately for his fame, a few incidents have been preserved concerning him, which rescue his character from the charge of indiscriminate barbarism, and claim for him the reputation of a lofty mind.

He seems to have been one of those men, who feel that they are born to merit the approbation of future generations, and whose actions become sublimer, as their name seems likely to be perpetuated. He lived to posterity as well as to his country. It was in this strain, that, having in a moment of intemperance killed a soldier, and by that criminal deed violated a law which he had enforced on others, he assembled his troops, descended from his splendid throne, arraigned himself for his crime, expressed his penitence, but demanded a punishment. He proclaimed impunity for their opinions to those whom he appointed his judges; and, in the sight of all, cast himself humbly on the ground, awaiting their sentence. A burst of tears, at his greatness of soul, bedewed every spectator. They respectfully withdrew to deliberate, as he had required, and at last determined to let him appoint and inflict his own punishment. The king accepted the task. Homicide was at that time punishable by a mulct of forty talents. He fined himself three hundred and sixty and added nine talents of gold as a further compensation.[x]

There is something in the incident of the sea, which discovers a mind of power, looking far beyond the common associations of mankind. Canute had conquered many countries. In an age of valour and enterprise, his exploits had equalled the most adventurous. Poets embodied in their melodies the admiration of his people, and directed to his heart those praises, with which all Europe resounded. Encompassed with flattery and subjection,

[t] Snorre, 321. Theodorie says, he was lost in the whirlpool of the Pentland Firth.

[u] Sax. Chron. 154. Hen. Hunt. 364. A northern sealld ealls the kings, the two kings of Fife.

[v] P. 144. The Knytlinga Saga adds, that he appointed his son Harald to govern his conquests. On the gigantic bones said to be found, 1520, in the place of the conflicts between Canute and Malcolm, they who think it worth while may read Stephanius's notes on Saxo, p. 27.

[w] Saxo, 196; and see Encom. Emmæ, 492. He prevailed on Conrad II. to restore to him the Margraviate of Sleswick; and the Eyder then became the northern boundary of Germany. 1 Putt. Hist. 154.

[x] Saxo, 199.

Canute's mind may have been swollen into temporary presumption. He may in the frenzies of vanity have fancied, like an Alexander, that he was scarcely a mortal. But his mind was too powerful to continue the slave of his conceit. The more he gazed on nature, the more he felt the adorable Being who governed him, as well as his people; the more he was humbled with the conviction of his individual insignificance. To communicate his solemn sensations, with all their impressions, to his adulating friends, he ordered the chair of his dignity to be placed on the sea-beach. His courtiers formed around him; the tide was undulating to the shore, and Canute seated himself before it. "Ocean, the island on which I sit is mine, and thou art a part of my dominion. None of my subjects dare to resist my orders; I therefore command thee, that thou ascend not my coasts, nor presume to wet the borders of my robes."

In vain the mandate issued. He was not the master whom the waters reverenced; and in contempt of his authority every wave drew nearer to his feet, till the general elevation of the ocean covered his legs with its billows. It was then that he expressed the noble sentiment, which was impressing his mind. "Let every dweller upon the earth confess that the power of kings is frivolous and vain. HE only is the Great Supreme, let HIM only be honoured with the name of Majesty, whose nod, whose everlasting laws, the heavens, the earth, and sea, with all their hosts, obey." In conformity to this sublime feeling, Canute would never afterwards wear his crown.[y]

Among the kingly qualities in which Canute strove to excel, his liberality was distinguished.[z] Masters of the tributes of several kingdoms, his resources were equal to the munificence of his heart. His journey from Flanders to Rome was a stream of expensive generosity. Whoever approached him was fed and cherished without a request.[a] Canute's presents in general had three objects; charity, literature, and public services.

The literature of his age was in the hands of two very different bodies of men; the clergy and the scallds. Both have extolled his liberality.[b] Of the scallds who attended him, the names and verses of many have survived to us. Sighvatr, Ottar the Swarthy, Thordr Kolbeinson, and Thorarin Loftunga, are among those whose historical poems or panegyrics have been much cited by Snorre in his northern history.[c]

[y] I have stated this incident from Matt. West. p. 409; Hen. Hunt. 364; Rad. Dic. 469; Higden and Brompton.

[z] Knytlinga Saga, 145. [a] Ibid. 144, 145. Encomium Emmæ, 173.

[b] For his donations to the church, see Matt. West. 404, 405, 409; Encom. Emmæ, 173; and others. In mentioning his resources from his kingdoms, the Knytlinga Saga gives to our country the praise of that superior affluence which it seems, in every age, to have displayed: "inter omnes septentrionales terras, opum ac thesaurorum Anglia facile sit ditissima," p. 146.

[c] In the second volume passim. Sighvatr was the son of Thordr, a scalld. Snorre, 45.

Thorarin was celebrated for the richness and celerity of his muse. He gave a striking specimen of this faculty. He had made a short poem on Canute, and went to recite it in his presence. On approaching the throne, he received a salute, and respectfully inquired if he might repeat what he had composed. The king was at table at the close of a repast; but a crowd of petitioners were occupying their sovereign's ear by a statement of their grievances. The impatient poet may have thought them unusually loquacious: he bore the tedious querulousness of injury with less patience than the king, and at last, presuming on his general favour with the great, exclaimed, "Let me request again, sire, that you would listen to my song; it will not consume much of your time, for it is very short." The king, angry at the petulant urgency of the solicitation, answered, with a stern look, "Are you not ashamed to do what none but yourself has dared—to write a *short* poem upon me! Unless by to-morrow's dinner you produce above thirty strophes, on the same subject, your head shall be the penalty." The poet retired—not with alarm, for his genius disdained that, but with some mortification at the public rebuke. He invoked his Scandinavian Muses: his mind became fluent; verses crowded on it; and before the allotted time, he stood before the king with the exacted poem, and received fifty marks of pure silver as his reward.[d]

As private anecdotes best display the real character, another may be permitted; and perhaps it will be most picturesque to give it in the words of the recording eye-witness. It occurred upon Canute's journey to Rome, at St. Omer's.

"Entering the monasteries, where he was received with great honour, he walked humbly, he fixed his eyes on the ground with wonderful reverence; and pouring out (if I may say so) rivers of tears, he implored the aid of the saints. But when the moment came of presenting his gifts upon the altar, how often did he impress the pavement with his kisses! how often did he strike his venerable breast! what sighs! what prayers that he might not be found unworthy of the mercy of the Supreme! At length his attendants stretched forth his munificent oblation, which the king himself placed on the altar. But why do I say *the* altar, when I remember that I myself saw him go round every part of the monasteries, and pass no altar, however small, on which he did not leave a present, and which he did not salute? Then came the poor, and were all separately relieved. These and other bounties of the lord Canute, I your slave! Oh, St. Omer, St. Ber-

[d] Knytlinga Saga, 146, 147. Snorre mentions this shortly, p. 297. The poet afterwards, in his Tugdrapa, sung the present. See the stanza in Knytl. p. 147. His short poem was of the kind which Snorre says, "we call Flok." The longer was of the sort called Drapa. Snorre, p. 297. He gives a long specimen of the Drapa, p. 298, 299, and a specimen of the Flok, p. 303.

tin, myself beheld in your monasteries; for which do you pray that such a king may live in the heavenly habitations, as your servants, the canons and monks, are daily petitioning."[e]

This incident is inserted, because it affords a striking contrast to some actions of Canute's earlier life. A Dunstan might have acted such a scene for its theatrical effect. But in the proud master of so many conquered kingdoms, the emotions must have been those of his mind and heart.

Canute has himself described his journey to Rome in a public document, addressed to all the orders of the English nation:[f] he says, he went for the redemption of his sins, and the welfare of his subjects; that he had projected it before, but had been hindered by business and other impediments. He adds:

"Be it known to you, that there was a great assembly of nobles at the Easter solemnity, with the lord the pope John, and Conrad the emperor.[g] There were all the princes of the people, from Mount Gargano to the sea, who all received me with dignity, and honoured me with valuable presents. I was particularly honoured with various gifts and costly presents from the emperor, as well with gold and silver vessels, as with very rich apparel. I spake with the emperor, the pope, and the princes, on the necessities of my English and Danish subjects, that a more equal law, and better safeguard might be granted to them in their journeys to Rome; that they might not be hindered at so many fortified passages, nor oppressed by such unjust exactions. The emperor assented, and Rodolph, the king,[h] who rules most of the passages, and all the princes established, that my subjects, whether merchants or travellers from piety might go and return without detention or exaction.

"I also complained before the pope, and expressed myself highly displeased that such an immensity of money should be extorted from my archbishops when they came to Rome for the pall. It was declared that this should not happen again."

Canute, after mentioning that these concessions were ratified by oaths before four archbishops, twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and nobles, exclaims: "Therefore, I return my liberal thanks to Almighty God, that all things which I

[e] Encomium Emmæ, 173.

[f] This letter of Canute's is in Flor. Wig. 394–397; Ingulf, 59–61; and Malmsb. p. 74, 75. Its substance is stated in Matt. West. 407, and elsewhere.

[g] He was the fourth emperor after Otho the Great.

[h] In Florence he is called Rodulph; so in Malmsb. 74. But in Ingulf, both in Gale's edition, p. 60, and that of Frankfort, p. 893, he is named Robert. The difference is not merely verbal. Rodulph was the king of Burgundy; and Robert, the son and successor of Hugh Capet, was the King of France. But as the clausuræ, or fortified passages, of which Canute speaks, were probably those of the Alps, which Rodulph commanded; and as Robert died in 1030, and Canute's journey is usually placed in 1031, there can be no doubt that Rodulph is the right reading.

desired, I have prosperously achieved as I had contemplated, and have fulfilled all my wishes."

In the subsequent paragraphs of his public letter, he alludes nobly to his former conduct. In viewing his past actions with sentiments of regret, and in publicly confessing that he intends an amendment, he displays a greatness of mind which kings of such successful ambition have seldom reached. Canute is an instance, rarely paralleled, of a character improved by prosperity. His worst actions were in his days of peril. When the full glory of established and multiplied power shone around him, his heart became humble, pious, and ennobled. Educated among vikingr, his first misconduct may be referred to his tuition. His latter feelings were the produce of his improved intellect and magnanimity.

"Be it also known to all, that I have vowed to Almighty God, to govern my life henceforward by rectitude, to rule my kingdoms and people justly, and piously to observe equal judgment everywhere; and *if, through the intemperance and negligence of my youth, I have done what was not just, I will endeavour hereafter, by God's help, entirely to amend it.* Therefore I beseech and command all my conciliarii, to whom I have confided the councils of my kingdom, that they in no shape suffer or consent to any injustice throughout my realm, neither from fear of me, nor from favour to any person of power; I command all the sheriffs and governors of all my realm, as they value my friendship or their own safety, that they impose unjust violence on no man, whether rich or poor; but that the noble and their inferiors, the wealthy and the needy, may enjoy their property justly. This enjoyment must not be infringed in any manner, neither in behalf of the king, nor any other man of power, nor on the pretext of collecting money for me, because there is no necessity that money should be obtained for me by unjust exaction."

After alluding to some enemies whom he had pacified, and mentioning that he was returning to Denmark, whence, as soon in the summer as he could procure shipping, he proposed to visit England; he continues:

"I have sent this letter first, that all my people may rejoice in my prosperity, because, as you yourselves know, I have never forborne to apply myself and my labour, nor will I ever forbear to devote either, to the necessary utility of all my people."

These patriotic sentiments, from a royal pen, are highly valuable. Such kings give new splendour to their thrones, and secure to themselves that perpetuity of fame which mortality so covets.

CHAPTER XII.

The Reign of Harold the First, surnamed Harefoot.

Canute, at his death,[a] left three sons, Svein, Harold, and Hardicanute. In his life he had placed Svein over Norway,[b] and he wished that Harold would rule in England, and Hardicanute in Denmark. At the council which met at Oxford to elect a new sovereign, the opinions were divided. The chiefs of Danish descent and connections chose Harold; the West Saxons headed by Earl Godwin, preferred his brother Hardicanute, because his mother, Emma, had been the wife of Ethelred, and was a favourite with the Anglo-Saxons. The children of Ethelred who were in Normandy were also remembered; but the Danish dynasty was not yet unpopular, and Harold, by force or influence, obtained a portion of the kingdom, and seized the treasures which Emma possessed from the gift of Canute.[c] Harold, at first, reigned at London, and north of the Thames; and Hardicanute in the west of England. 1035.

The murder of Alfred, one of the sons of Emma by Ethelred, lies heavy on the memory both of Harold and Godwin.[d]

[a] He died at Shaftesbury, the 12th of November, 1034. MS. Tib. B. 1.

[b] Snorre, Saga Olafi Helga, p. 383. Florence calls his mother Northamtunensis Alfgivæ filiæ Alfhelmi Ducis, p. 398. Snorre names her Alfifo dottor Alfrims Jarls.

[c] Flor. Wig. 398. MS. Sax. Chron. Tib. B. 1. It is said of Harold, that he was not Canute's son, but a cobbler's. The tale is, that his mother having given no children to Canute, pretended pregnancy, and introduced first Svein and afterwards Harold, as her own children. As Snorre does not mention it of Svein, it is probable that in both cases the rumour was the offspring of malignant competition. The author of Enc. Em., though he believes it, adduces only the plurimorum assertio for it, which is a better description of a rumour than of a fact. Florence states it as a res in dubio.

[d] I state this from the Encomium Emmæ. The author addresses his account to the mother herself, by whose orders he wrote it. (See his prologue.) He apologizes to her for his brevity on Alfred's sufferings, and says, "Possent enim multa dici si non tuo parceremus dolori," p. 175. Considering, however, that he wrote to the youth's mother, he is sometimes horribly particular, for he describes part of their progress of operation. Malmsbury says, the deed took place between Harold's death and Hardicanute's election, p. 77; but this cannot prevail against the contemporary above cited, strengthened as it is as to its occurrence under Harold, by Flor. 399; Matt. West. 410; and Hoveden, 438. Two of these make 600 men to have perished. The printed Saxon Chronicle has nothing of it. The MS. Tib. B. 1, give a long account of it. It thus mentions the fate of the companions: "Hiſ geferan he todraf ⁊ ſume miſlice ofſloh ſume hi man ƿith feo ſealde, ſume hreoƿlice ac ƿealde, ſume hi man bende, ſume hi man blende, ſume hamelode, ſume

Harold, though nominated king, could not obtain from the archbishop the regal benediction, because the children of Emma were alive. The archbishop, instead of committing to Harold the crown and sceptre, placed them on the altar, and forbade the bishops to give their benediction.

This conduct produced the effects which might easily have been foreseen. Harold despised the benediction as useless, and contracted a hatred against the Christian religion, and the ehildren of Emma. When others were attending divine service, he called out his hunting dogs, or studied to occupy himself in some contemptuous pursuit. To get the youths, so imprudently set against him, into his power, he forged a letter to them in their mother's name, inveighing against himself, and desiring one to come to her to be counselled as to his conduct. The answer of the princes from Normandy expressed their obedience, and appointed a day and place. At the time so named, Alfred, the youngest, chose his military companions, and sailed. His waiting enemies too eagerly pressed on him when about to land, and he sailed to another part, still unconscious of the deceit. Godwin, now become a courtier to Harold, met him in the garb of friendship, and with the mockery of oaths. The innocent youth followed him to Guildford; there his warlike friends were artfully separated into little bands of ten, twelve, or twenty, to be more conveniently entertained at different houses. A few only remained with the prince. Food and wine were profusely given to all, till they sought the bed of rest: then the agents of Harold furtively took away their arms, and in the morning bound them in chains. Their fate was decided by a bloody decimation; the tenth man only was left unmurdered.

The betrayed Alfred was hurried to the Isle of Ely. Vile judges were appointed over him, who directed his eyes to be taken out. The shocking scene was closed by his death. Emma withdrew to Bruges.[e] By Hardicanute's absence in Denmark, Harold obtained all England.[f] He died in 1040, and was buried at Westminster.

hættode." It adds, "Ne wearth dreorlicre dæd gedon on thison earde sýththan Dene comon."

[e] Enc. 176. The author's account of Bruges shows it to have been then of commercial importance. Emma's name was also Elfgiva.

[f] Ingulf, 61. Flor. 400, marks 1037 as the year when this occurred. So the MS. Tib. B. 1, and B. 4.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Reign of Hardicanute.

This reign demands but a few sentences. He had sailed the preceding year from Denmark to his mother, Emma, at Bruges. On Harold's death he was invited to the English crown; and he came with purposes of such degrading revenge, that he even caused the body of Harold to be dug up, decapitated, and thrown first into a marsh, and afterwards into the Thames. A fisherman found and the Danes buried it in a cemetery which they had in London.[a] Such actions fix the stain of barbarism on the persons who counsel and the age which permits them.[b] 1040.

Hardicanute oppressed England with impositions which occasioned great misery. Insurrection followed, and military execution at Worcester added a dreadful catastrophe.[c]

He projected to punish Godwin for Alfred's murder; but the Dane had a passion which predominated over his fraternal feeling; and the present of a splendid vessel, profusely gilt, and rowed by eighty men in sumptuous apparel and splendid armour, having each on his arm two golden bracelets, weighing sixteen ounces, expiated the crime of Godwin.[d] He displaced a bishop for joining in the cruelty, who appealed to the same master passion, and escaped.[e]

It was, however, a laudable trait of fraternal affection in Hardicanute, that he welcomed the arrival of his half-brother Edward in England.[f] The son of Ethelred was a more grateful object to the English, than the son of a foreign conqueror. In caressing so kindly a brother so dangerous, Hardicanute displayed a virtue in which an Athelstan was wanting.

His health was frequently assailed by disease;[g] but he ended his two years' reign by an act of intemperance, at a nuptial feast

[a] Flor. 402. Matt. West. 402. The MS. Chron. Tib. B. 1. This MS. contains many paragraphs in this reign not in the printed chronicle.

[b] Even the age of Hardicanute condemned his cruelty: "Unde in singulorum ore hominum de eo haberi imprecatus ut tantæ crudelitatis non diu abesset animadversio."—Reg. Abb. MS. Cotton Lib. Claudius, C. 9. Malmsbury, p. 76, mentions it with disapprobation.

[c] Flor. Wig. 403. MS. Chron. Tib. B. 1, and B. 4. Matt. West. 413. Malmsb. 76.

[d] Flor. Wig. Matt. West. [e] Malmsb. 77. [f] Malmsb. 76. Flor. Wig. 403.

[g] Ob morbos etiam quos frequenter patiebatur. Guil. Pict. 179.

at Lambeth: a copious draught, as he stood in the mirthful company, occasioned him to fall senseless to the ground. He spake no more. He died in June, and was buried with Canute at Winchester.[h]

His death separated the crowns of England and Denmark; and Magnus, the king of Norway, obtained the Danish sceptre.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Reign of Edward the Confessor.

The Danish line had now become unpopular: the factions, which the administration of Dunstan had at first excited, had ceased, and a new generation had arisen. The nation 1042. inclined again to its ancient line, and Edward, the surviving son of Ethelred, and at that time in England, was chosen to be king. While Edward and his brother were friendless exiles, Godwin was their enemy, and even projected their assassination; but became the zealous partisan of Edward, and eagerly assisted to introduce him to the throne, when Canute's issue failed.[a] The king was induced to marry Editha, the daughter of Godwin;[b] but was neither ardent in his connubial nor filial attentions. At no long period after his coronation, he went, with three earls, suddenly to his mother, and spoiled her of all the property which she possessed.[c]

Edward was at first menaced with the competition of Magnus, the king of Norway, who had subdued Denmark into obedience.

[h] Flor. Wig. 403. Ingulf, 62. MS. Tib. B. 1, and B. 4, contain passages on his death not in the printed Chronicle.

[a] Ingulf, 62. Malmsbury states at length a sort of bargain which Godwin made with Edward, before he supported him, 80.

[b] Ingulf knew her, and describes her as very beautiful, meek, modest, faithful, virtuous, and the enemy of no one. She had none of the barbarism of her father and brothers. She was even literis apprime erudita, a lady of learning. He adds, "I have very often seen her, when only a boy. I visited my father in the royal court. Often as I came from school she questioned me on letters and my verse; and, willingly passing from grammar to logic, she caught me in the subtle nets of argument. I had always three or four pieces of money counted by her maiden, and was sent to the royal larder for refreshment," p. 62. But even this fair rose, as the chroniclers call her, was stained with blood. See further.

[c] Flor. 404. Sax. Chron. 157. In the Appendix to the Saxon Dictionary, a fragment of a Saxon chronicle is quoted, E. Cod. MS. G. Lambardi exarata in Bib. Eec. Chr. Canterb. The fragment begins with Edward's reign. It is not the same with the printed one, nor with the two MSS. in the Cotton Library. I shall quote it as Lamb. MS.

Magnus sent letters to Edward,[d] claiming the crown, and Edward assembled a great fleet at Sandwich to dispute his landing.[e] Embarrassed by a rival for his Danish sceptre, in Svein, the son of Ulfr, Magnus resolved not to risk the enterprise.[f]

Svein requested the aid of Edward against Magnus; and Godwin, whose first patron had been Svein's father, urged that fifty ships should be sent to him. But as Magnus was known to be well skilled in maritime affairs, the earl Leofric and the rest of the council opposed it as unadvisable.[g] Magnus soon drove out Svein from Denmark, but died much lamented the same year.[h] Svein then obtained the Danish crown; and Harald Hardrada, who afterwards perished in his invasion of England, the son of Sygurd Syr, and by his mother, the brother of St. Olave, succeeded in Norway.[i] Harald is highly extolled for his wisdom.[j] He sent letters of friendship to Edward, whose amicable answer established peace between their kingdoms. Thus passed over the disturbing question between England and the Baltic states. Edward and his council wisely suffered the hostility to die quietly away. Hence Svein's second application for assistance against Harald, though again supported by Godwin, was negatived by the good sense of Leofric and the community.[k]

The character of Edward was amiable for its gentleness and kindness, and laudable for its piety; but it did not unite strength of mind with these interesting qualities. There is a simplicity in his exclamation to the low peasant who had displeased him, "I would hurt you if I were able," which almost implies imbecility. Men of rank and power, however inferior in understanding, know sufficiently their means of aggression against those of meaner condition who offend them. That Edward, when angry enough to desire to punish, should suppose that, although king, he had not the power, displays an ignorance of his authority that is not reconcilable with his intellect. But as he reigned with more virtue, so he had better fortune than his father. His mild and equitable government was so popular, that a festival is said to

[d] As the successor of Hardicanute. Snorre Magnesi Goda, c. 38, 39.

[e] Lamb. MS. Sax. Chron. at Cambridge.

[f] "I think it," he declared, "right and most convenient that I should let Edward enjoy his crown, and content myself with the kingdoms which God has given me." Snorre, p. 52.

[g] Flor. 406, 407. Lamb. MSS.

[h] Lamb. MSS. Snorre says, that he dreamt that his father appeared to him, saying, "Choose, my son, whether you will become my companion immediately, or live long the most powerful of kings, but by the commission of a crime that can never be expiated." The choice of Magnus was perplexed, but he decided with discreet virtue. "Father! do you choose for me."—"Be with me," was the answer of the vision. Snorre adds, that he awoke, told his dream, and afterwards died. Har. Hard. c. 28.

[i] Snorre, c. 30, 31. Flor. 407. [j] Snorre, c. 36. [k] Flor. 407.

have been annually celebrated in England, to express the national joy at the deliverance from the Danish kings.[l] His provinces were under the administration of men of talents appointed by his predecessors.[m] The unanimity of the country gave effect to their measures. England again became respected abroad, and no foreign power attempted to disturb its tranquillity.

But a new cause of internal discussion and contest, and ultimately of a great revolution, was silently rising up from preceding events. The marriage of Ethelred to a princess of Normandy; the residence of this king during his exile, and of his children afterwards, at that court; Canute's subsequent marriage with this lady; and Edward's education in the same country; had raised an attachment to the Norman manners and nation, not only in Edward's mind, but in those of the nobles who had resided abroad with his father and himself, or had visited them in Normandy.

The Frankish nation had rapidly improved since the reign of Charlemagne. The effects of the Roman civilization were extensive and permanent, and the ardent zeal of the Christian clergy had greatly contributed to humanize and soften their martial fierceness. The unwarlike characters of the successors of Charlemagne had tended to increase the civilizing spirit. The Normans, from their contiguity, partook of the melioration of the French manners; and to Edward's milder temper these were peculiarly congenial. The Anglo-Saxons could not have been equally improved by the ruder Danes. Hence Edward found at first more that he could sympathize with in Normandy than in England, and therefore invited or admitted many Normans into his favour. Robert, one of them, was made, after various promotions, archbishop of Canterbury. Another was raised to an episcopal see, others also attained offices of rank and power. From the king's partiality, the French manners came into use; their language, and their legal forms began also to be diffused.[n]

The Norman favourites awakened the jealousy of Godwin, and were obstacles to his ambition. But the counteracting power of Leofric, the wise Earl of Mercia, and of Siward, the Earl of Northumbria, and distinguished for heroic valour, kept Godwin tranquil till a cruel violence of one of the noble foreigners gave him a popular reason for expressing his discontent.

It was in 1051, that Godwin presumed to give defiance to the king. The count of Boulogne, who had married Edward's sister, came to Dover. In a foolish effort to obtain or compel entertainment, his followers killed an Englishman. The citizens revenged it; the count, committing himself to the guidance of

[l] Spelman, Gloss. Voc. Hocday.
[m] Malmsb. 79.
[n] Ingulf, 62; and see Malmsbury, 80, on the enmity between Godwin and the Normans.

blind fury, rushed with his troops, killed many of both sexes in the city, and trampled some children under the feet of their horses. Provoked at this brutality, the people armed. The count cowardly fled before their indignation, and went to Edward, who was then at Gloucester.[o]

Availing himself of this event, Godwin raised immediately, from his own counties of Kent, Sussex, and Wessex, a military power. The same occasion enabled his son Svein to collect a powerful force from the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, and Berks, which he governed; and Harold, another son, embracing the same pretext, completed his formidable array by a levy from Essex, East Anglia, Huntingdon, and Cambridgeshire, which he commanded.

The armies of Godwin and his children could not be completed without Edward's knowledge. Messengers were immediately sent to his brave protectors, Leofric and Siward. These governors were earnestly desired to come, with all the forces they could assemble, with immediate speed.

The loyal earls hastened immediately to court. Learning the necessity, they sent swiftly-circulated orders through all their counties, for armies to be raised. The son of the culpable count did the same; and Edward had a prospect of being rescued from the tyranny of Godwin.[p]

The rebellious family marched into Gloucestershire, and demanded of the king, under a menace of hostilities, the Count of Boulogne and his followers, and the Normans and men of Boulogne, who were in Dover Castle.

The king, terrified, knew not how to act; he fluctuated in great anxiety, till he learnt that his friends were prepared to support him. An express refusal was then returned to Godwin.

A fierce civil war seemed now about to consume the country; but Godwin was not heroically adventurous, and Leofric was wise. Leofric therefore proposed that hostages should be exchanged, and that Godwin and the king should meet on an appointed day in London, and have the alleged subject judicially determined by the witena-gemot.[q]

The proposition was too popular not to be accepted. Godwin returned to Wessex; the king ordered a witena-gemot[r] to be assembled for the second time in London, at the autumnal equinox; he augmented his army, and marched it to London. Godwin and his sons occupied Southwark, but soon discovered that their partisans were falling away.

[o] Flor. 410. [p] Flor Wig. 410, 411.

[q] Flor. Wig. 411, 412; and see Sax. Chron. 163, 164; and the MS. Chron. Tib. B. 4.

[r] Tha ȝeꞃæddе ꞃe cẏnınȝ ⁊ hıꞃ ꝑıtan tha man ꞃceolde othꞃe ꞃẏthan habban ealꞃa ȝeꝑıtena ȝemot on Lundene to hæꞃꝼeꞃteꞃ emnıhte. Sax. Chron. 164.

The witena-gemot made the thanes, who were with Harold, to find pledges to the king for their conduct, and outlawed Svein, who did not think fit to be present at the wither-male, or conciliary meeting.[s] They also cited Godwin and Harold to attend the gemot. Godwin, finding his ambitious views darkening, and dreading a legal inquiry into his conduct, did not attempt to face the witena, but fled in the night.[t]

In the morning, the king held the witena-gemot, and declared him, his army, and his children, to be outlaws.[u] Five days of safety were given them to quit the country.[v] With three of his sons, Godwin sailed away, with all the property he could hastily amass, into Flanders. Harold, and a brother from Bristol, sailed to Ireland. A severe tempest put their lives in peril during the voyage. Their sister, the queen, was sent to a monastery.[w]

Contrary to every natural expectation, and to his own, and to the astonishment of the Anglo-Saxons, the house of Godwin seemed now to have fallen for ever in England.[x] Released from his intimidations, the king became more attached to his Norman friends. Invited or obeying a sagacious policy, William, the reigning Duke of Normandy, came to England with a large company of his nobles and knights at this period, and was received with great honour and courtesy by Edward, who entertained him for some time, conducted him to his cities and royal castles, and loaded him with presents when he returned.[y] This visit was of importance to William. It introduced him to the knowledge of many of the English chiefs, and made his name familiar to the people. It began the formation of that interest which so powerfully assisted him in afterwards acquiring the crown. But Ingulf declares that no mention was made of his succession to the crown at this visit, nor had he then any hope of it. Yet it may

[s] ⁊ man ƀoꞃhꝼæꞅꞇ ꞇham cẏnınᵹ ealle ꞇha ꞇhæᵹnaꞅ ꞇhe ꝩæꞃon ƀaꞃolꝺeꞅ eoꞃleꞅ hıꞅ ꞅuna, &c. MS. Tib. B. 4, and Lamb. MS.

[t] Sax. Chron. 164. Flor. Wig.

[u] ⁊ ꞅe cẏnᵹ hæꝼꝺ ꞇha on moꞃᵹen Wıꞇena Ᵹemoꞇ ⁊ cꝩæꞇh hıne uꞇlaᵹe ⁊ ealle heꞃe; hıne ⁊ ealle hıꞅ ꞅuna. MS. Tib. B. 4.

[v] Sax. Chron. 164. ⁊ ꞅceaꝩeꝺe hını mann 5 nıhꞇa ᵹꞃıꞇh uꞇ oꝼ lanꝺe ꞇo ꝼaꞃenne.

[w] MS. Chron. Tib. B. 4. Flor. 412.

[x] The MS. Tib. B. 4, thus expresses the public surprise at the change: "Thæꞇ ꝩolꝺe ꞇhẏncan ꝩunꝺoꞃlıc ælcum men ꞇhe on Ɛnᵹlalanꝺe ꝩæꞅ ᵹıꝼ ænıᵹ man æꞃ ꞇham ꞅæꝺe ꞇha hıꞇ ꞅꝩa ᵹeꝩuꞃꞇha ꞅceolꝺe. Foꞃꞇham he ꝩæꞅ æꞃ ꞇo ꞇham ꞅꝩıꞇh upahaꝼen ꞅꝩẏlce he ꝩeolꝺe ꞇhæꞅ cẏnᵹeꞃ ⁊ ealleꞅ Ɛnᵹlalanꝺeꞃ," &c.

[y] Flor. 412. Ingulf, 65. The MS. Tib. B. 4, mentions his coming, which the printed Chronicle omits.

have excited William's desire to enjoy a crown, and must have made a lively impression on his memory.

Edward was then living without a prospect of issue; and, excepting one youth in Hungary, the crown had no heir. The family of William was connected with that of Edward by marriage, and with Edward himself by friendship and services. William was a neighbour, and Edward esteemed him. The family of Godwin was abased, and no competitor seemed likely to arise from the rest of the English. William therefore from this time could scarcely contemplate the throne of his friend, without coveting its acquisition. Any valued good which seems bending to our reach, soon excites our cupidity. He may have had the prudence to mark the hopeful ground in judicious silence; but the scheme of his succession must have been a project which his mind revolved, and secretly prepared to execute.

The family of Godwin in their exile meditated new attempts to regain their power. Harold and his brother invaded the West of England with a fleet of adventurers col- 1052. lected in Ireland, defeated the king's officers, and plundered as they pleased. As Godwin was impending with a similar armament, a chosen force of forty ships was stationed at Sandwich to intercept it. He eluded their vigilance, reached Kent, and roused all his friends in the neighbouring counties to arm in his behalf. But the king's fleet pursued him. He sheltered himself in Pevensey; a storm checked the progress of the others, and when they made for London, he hovered about the Isle of Wight, where Harold joined him, after a voyage of plunder. With their united strength swelled by every aid they could allure, they sailed to Sandwich. Edward found his friends more tardy than before. Other nobles became dissatisfied at the progress of the Normans in the king's favour; and Godwin proceeded, with successful enterprise to the Thames, and reached Southwark. He demanded the restoration of his family. His numbers and secret connections were formidable; and to save the shedding of civil blood, Stigand, the archbishop, and the wise men, urged an accommodation. Their recommendation prevailed. The Normans beheld their fate sealed in the pacification, and fled in consternation.

A great council was then convened out of London, and all the earls, and the best men that were in the land attended it. Godwin there purged himself before the king, his lord, and all the assembly, that he was guiltless of the crime of which he had been suspected. The king received him in full friendship, and granted to him and to his family a complete restoration of their honours. The Normans were all legally outlawed. Svein was the only one of the exiled family who received no benefit from the revolution of its fortunes. He had foully murdered his

cousin Beorn, with every aggravated circumstance of abused confidence, and treacherous falsehood. There is a sting in murder which goads the consciousness long after the world has forgiven it, and which no increase of prosperity can destroy. Svein, though six years had passed away since his crime, found it still his torment; and to soothe his sensations, he set off with naked feet on a walking pilgrimage from Flanders to Jerusalem. He died on his return, in Lycia.[z]

The remark of the Hebrew poet, that man disquiets himself for a vain shadow, is often verified in human history.

1053. A life is sacrificed to suffering, that a favourite object may be gained. We reach the seat of the felicity we have sighed for, and while our arms are extended to grasp it, we are received into the grave. Godwin experienced this mutability in human affairs. He had scarcely, by great toil and hazard, achieved his restoration, and recovered his prosperity, when he was deprived of it soon afterwards by death. In 1053, at the Easter festival, the eventful changes of his life were closed. As he sat with the king at table, it is said, that the conversation turned on Alfred's murder, and that Godwin, with many sacred appeals to Divine Providence, denied that he was concerned in it.[a] But whatever was the preceding discourse, the attack of fate was as irresistible as unexpected. He suddenly lost his speech and fell from his seat. Harold and two other sons raised him, and carried him to the king's chamber, hoping a recovery. He lingered in helpless and miserable agony, from Monday to Thursday, and then expired.[b]

It is recorded with pleasure, by the annalists, that Edward took off the heavy tax called Dane gelt.[c] Ingulf ascribes the remission to the extreme dearth which raged in 1051, and in which so many thousand people perished. Touched with compassion for their sufferings, the king abolished the tax. It is added, that the royal mind, according to some rumours, was impressed the more deeply upon the subject, because one day, when the collected tax was deposited in the treasury, the king was brought to see the vast amount: the mass so affected his

[z] Sax. Chron. 167, 168. Flor. Wig. 414.

[a] Ingulf. 66. Malmsb. 81. Hunt. 366.

[b] Flor. Wig. 415. The MS. Tib. B. 4., like the printed chronicle, merely states his death; but the MS. Tib. B. 1. describes it like Florence, thus: "Sæt he mid tham cýninege æt gereorde tha þæringa ſah he nither þith thæſ fotſetleſ ſpræce henumen ⁊ ealþe hiſ mihte ⁊ hine man tha hræd into thæſ kingeſ hure ⁊ thohtan tha hit oferȝan ſceolde ac hit næſ na ſþa ac thurh þunode ſþa unfþecende ⁊ mihteleaf forth oth thone thunreſ dæȝ ⁊ tha hiſ lif alet."

[c] Flor. Wig. 410. Hoveden, 441.

imagination, that he fancied he saw a little devil jumping exultingly about it.[d] His mind was certainly weak enough to believe such a fancy; and many about him were interested to frame some device that should give it a foundation. He ordered the money to be restored to its former owners, and no more to be raised on such an assessment.

The Welsh had often molested the English provinces in their vicinity. In 1049, thirty-six ships of Irish pirates entered the Severn, and with the help of Griffith, king of South Wales, obtained considerable successes.[e] In 1052, Griffith ravaged great part of Herefordshire, defeated the provincials, and obtained great plunder.[f]

The death of Godwin rather exalted than abased his family. His character was tainted. He was approaching the feebleness of age, without having secured its reverence. He had no influence but from his power; and greatness, which is only secured by terror, or extorted by force, is the creature of casualty, which the first tempest may destroy. But Harold had all the brilliancy of youth and active courage: his character was full of promise, because, being born to dignity, he had sullied himself by no arts to attain it. There was a generous ardour in his actions which compelled admiration. When Edward raised him to his father's dignities, he gave new lustre to his family, and obtained all the influence to which his father had aspired.[g]

When Harold received the honours of Godwin, his own dignities in Essex and East Anglia were given to Algar, the son of the deserving and patriotic Leofric. But Algar's rise to power was no pleasing omen to the family of Godwin. Within less than three years afterwards he was made a victim by being banished without a fault.[h] 1055.

But Algar was too injured to be inactive; he fled to Ireland, collected eighteen piratical vessels, and interested Griffith, the king of Wales, in his favour. With this aid, he suddenly appeared in Hereford with great success; and though Harold went to oppose him, yet such was the state of Edward's court and councils, that Algar, though rather by violent than legal measures, regained his patrimony and power. His allies went to Leicester, and were remunerated by his father. In 1058, he was

[d] Ingulf, 65. Hoveden tells a similar story, and makes the queen and her brother Harold the persons who took the king to the treasury.

[e] Flor. Wig. 409. [f] Ibid. 412.

[g] The great wealth of the family may be seen in Domesday-book, where Godwin's possessions are often mentioned.

[h] Flor. 416. MS. Tib. 1. Butan ælcan ġyltе, and MS. Tib. B. 4, for neh butan ġyltе. The printed chronicle says that he was charged with treason, p. 169. Ingulf gives to Algar the aid of a Norwegian fleet, p. 66.

exiled again, and by the same means restored.[i] The great were now dividing into new factions.

The Welsh made several efforts against the Anglo-Saxons in this reign. If any other feeling than personal ambition had actuated the British leaders, they must have discerned, that however feeble the Saxon king's government from the new political parties may have been, yet, from the comparative state of the two nations, transient depredations were the utmost that the valour of Wales could achieve. Such bounded triumphs were, however, certain of being followed at last by a powerful revenge. Griffith, for some years, molested, with good fortune, the counties near Wales, and for some years his aggressions escaped unchastised. In the year after he first reinstated Algar, his new insults, which occasioned the death of Harold's priest, just raised to a bishopric,[j] were again connived at by a peace; and in 1058 he again restored Algar; but in 1063 Harold resolved to repress him, and there was nothing to restrain the full exercise of his ability. He marched into Wales with adequate force; Griffith fled; Harold burnt his palace and ships, and returned. In the beginning of summer he circumnavigated Wales with a marauding fleet, while his brother Tostig marched over it by land. The Welsh submitted with hostages and tribute, and banished the obnoxious Griffith, who soon after perished.[k]

The means by which Harold obtained such immediate and decisive success are stated to have been a change of the armour of his soldiers. In heavy armour, the Saxons were unable to pursue the Welsh to their recesses. Harold observed this impediment to their success, and commanded them to use leathern armour and lighter weapons. By this arrangement, wherever the Britons could retreat, his men could pursue. He crossed their snowy mountains, defeated them on their plains, and spread destruction around, till terror and feebleness produced general subjection.[l] He raised heaps of stones wherever he had obtained victory, with this inscription: "Here Harold conquered." Such a depopulation of Wales ensued from his invasion, that to this disastrous cause Giraldus ascribes the tranquil acquiescence of the

[i] Flor. 417–420.

[j] Flor. 418. The MS. Tib. B. 1, says of this bishop, that he would forego his spiritual arms, and take to his sword and spear, and go against Griffith: "Se ꝑoꝛlet hiꝛ cꝛiꝛman ⁊ hiꝛ hꝛoðe, hiꝛ ȝaꝛtlican ꝓæꝑna ⁊ ꝑenȝ to hiꝛ ꝛꝑeꝑe ⁊ to hiꝛ ꝛꝑeoꝛðe, æꝑteꝛ hiꝛ ðiꝛcuphaðe, ⁊ ꝛꝑa ꝑoꝛ to ꝓẏꝛðe ongean Lꝛiꝛꝑin," &c.

[k] Flor. 424. Ingulf, 68. MS. Lamb. Sax. Chron. 170. The head of Griffith was brought to Harold.

[l] Ingulf, 68. This invasion is fully stated by the elegant John of Salisbury, whose writings reflect so much credit on the twelfth century. See his De Nugis Curialium, lib. vi. c. 6, 185.

Britons under the Norman yoke.[m] Harold closed his efforts by a law, that every Briton found beyond Offa's Dike with a missile weapon should lose his right hand.[n]

Macbeth, the usurper of Scotland, condemned by the genius of Shakspeare to share for ever our sympathy and our abhorrence, was partly contemporary with Edward. In 1039, Duncan, after a five years' reign, was assassinated by Macbeth.[o]

The two sons of Duncan, Malcolm, surnamed Cean-more, or the Great-head, and Donald, called Bane, or the fair, fled from Scotland. Malcolm sought refuge in Cumberland, and Donald in the Hebrides.[p]

Eleven years after his usurpation, Macbeth is mentioned by the chroniclers of England, as distributing money at Rome.[q] In 1054, while Macduff, the thane of Fife, was exciting a formidable revolt in Scotland, the celebrated Siward, by some called the Giant, from his large size, and whose sister had been Duncan's queen, conducted his Northumbrians against Macbeth. A furious conflict followed, in which thousands of both armies perished; but Siward, though he lost his son and nephew, defeated the usurper. He returned with great plunder, having made Malcolm king.[r]

The glory of a warrior was the felicity most precious to Siward. On his return, at York, he felt that internal disease was consuming his vital principle, and he sighed for the funeral trophies of a field of battle. "I feel disgraced that I should have survived so many combats, to perish now like a cow: clothe me in my mail, fasten on my sword, and give me my shield, and my battle-axe, that I may expire like a soldier."[s]

[m] Giraldus Cambriensis de illaudab. Walliæ, c. vii. p. 431.

[n] Joan Salisb. de Nugis Cur. p. 185.

[o] Mailros, 156. Duncan, in 1035, had been foiled in an attack upon Durham. Sim. Dun. 33. Lord Hailes says:

"It is probable that the assassins lay in ambush, and murdered him at a smith's house in the neighbourhood of Elgin." Annals, p. 1.

[p] Haile's Annals of Scotland, p. 2.

[q] "1050. Rex Scotorum Maelethad Romæ argentum spargendo distribuit." Flor. Wig. 409. So Sim. Dun. 184, and Hoveden, 441. Mailros, who names him Macbeth, p. 157, has a similar passage.

[r] MS. Chron. Tib. B. 4. Lamb. MS. Flor. Wig. 416. MS. Tib. B. 1. Lord Hailes, from Fordun, states, that "Macbeth retreated to the fastnesses of the North, and protracted the war. His people forsook his standard. Malcolm attacked him at Lunfanan in Aberdeenshire. Abandoned by his few remaining followers, Macbeth fell, 5th December, 1056." Annals, p. 3. Until this period the ancient kings of Scotland usually resided in the Highlands. It was this Malcolm Ceanmore who removed the capital to the Lowlands. Dumstaffnage, on the northwest coast of Argyleshire, whose ruins still remain, is supposed to have been his Highland palace. From this place, he removed his court to Scone, in the lowlands of Perthshire; an important revolution, which made the southern provinces of Scotland to assume in time so distinct a character, and such a superior civilization as they have since displayed.

[s] Rad. Dic. 477.

In 1057, England lost Leofric, the duke of Mercia, by whose wisdom the reign of Edward was preserved from many perils and disorders, which the ambition of others would have introduced. His councils and government have been much celebrated.[t] His son Algar succeeded to his dukedom.[u]

On Siward's death, in 1055, Tostig, the brother of Harold, was appointed earl of Northumbria. By inducing the queen to cause some Northumbrian nobles to be treacherously killed; by repeating the same atrocity himself at York, and by exacting a large tribute from the county; Tostig so alienated the minds of the provincials, that they revolted in 1065, expelled him, and seized his treasures. The insurgents invited Morcar, the son of Algar, and chose him for their earl. At the head of the men of Northumberland, Morcar marched southward, and was joined by an armed force from other counties and from Wales. Harold met him at Northampton with military array, but it was deemed prudent to comply with a request so powerfully supported; Morcar was confirmed in the earldom, and the laws of Canute were restored. Tostig fled with his wife and friends to Flanders, where Baldwin entertained them.[v]

Edward, whose passive and peaceful disposition seems to have left his nobles to their own quarrels without any interposition from himself, soon after these transactions began to sicken. At Christmas he held his court in London, and dedicated the church of St. Peter at Westminster, which he had rebuilt. On the eve of the Epiphany his malady assumed a fatal aspect, and he was buried the day following at Westminster.[w]

In person, Edward was tall and well made; his hair and skin were remarkably white; his complexion rosy.[x] His mind was gentle, if not weak; but, in general, unless acted upon by others, his disposition was well meaning. He was averse to the imposition of taxes; abstinent in his diet; and on the public feast days, though, by the care of the queen, he was sumptuously arrayed, he assumed no haughtiness of manner in his pomp. His piety was sincere and fervent. His time was chiefly divided between his prayers and hunting, to which he was greatly at-

[t] Flor. Wig. 419. Ingulf, 66.

[u] Leofric had another son, named Hereward, whose life seemed devoted to the task of supplying incidents to the genius of romance and heroic song.—See a further account of him in the chapter on the Anglo-Saxon chivalry. Hereward is also mentioned in the book de Pontificibus, 3 Gale, 372.

[v] See the printed Saxon Chronicle, p. 171. Flor. Wig. 427, the MS. Chronicles, Tib. B. 1, and B. 4.

[w] MS. Tib. B. 1, and 4; Flor. Wig. 427; and Sax. Chron. 171. Both the MS. Chronicles have a long addition in Saxon, which follows his death. It begins, "þeꝛ Eðpaꝛð kinȝe, Enȝla hlaꝼoꝛð, ꝛende ꝛoꝺhꝼeꝛꝺe," &c. This is not in Lamb. MS.

[x] Malmsb. 91. Rossi Hist. Reg. Angl. 105.

tached. His charities were frequent and extensive;[y] and though his reign displayed no intellectual energies, and reflected no honour on his ancestry, he was so fortunate as to escape any striking disgrace.

CHAPTER XV.

The Reign of Harold the Second, the Son of Godwin, and the last of the Anglo-Saxon Kings.

EDWARD had intended to appoint his cousin Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, the successor to his crown. This prince had continued in Hungary since Canute had sought his life. Called from thence by Edward the Confessor, he came to England in 1057, but died soon after his arrival.[a]

The death of this prince confirmed in two men the hopes of attaining the Anglo-Saxon sceptre. Harold, and William duke of Normandy, after this event, looked forward to the splendid prize with equal ardour.

Harold had sworn to William to assist him in ascending the throne of England; but afterwards pleaded that his oaths had been extorted by irresistible force, as William, having had him in his power, compelled him to swear. This charge thus repelled, the rivals were in other respects on a level. Both claimed from Edward a gift or testamentary appointment in his favour;[b]

[y] Malmsb. 91. His memory was canonized, and many monkish miracles have been appended to it.

[a] Flor. Wig. 419.

[b] That Harold was appointed by Edward to succeed him, is asserted or intimated by the printed Saxon Chronicle, 172. By Flor. Wig. 427. Hovedcn, 447. Sim. Dun. 194. Al. Bev. 122. Malmsbury informs us that this was the statement of the English (Angli dicant a rege concessum, 93,) but he thinks it was rather the rumour of partiality than of judgment. On the other side, the Annales Margenses, p. 1; Wike's Chron. p. 22; Malmsb. 93; and the Norman writers, declare, that Edward gave the kingdom to William. The MS. Chronicles which affirm this are, Peter de Iekham, Domit. A. 3. (Willo duci Normanniæ consanguineo suo sieut ei prius juramento promiserat regnum teste dedit. So Will. Sheepheved, Faust. B. 6, (adoptavit in regnum Willielmum ducem Normannorum.) So Th. Elmham, Claud. E. 5, (Willielmum ducem Normanniæ adoptavit heredem.) So Hermannus says, it was the rumour plurimum that Edward appointed the kingdom to William. Many other MS. Chronicles affirm as much, as Chron. ab adv. Sax. ad Hen. 4, Nero, A. 6; Chron. S. Martini de Dover a Bruto ad Hen. 2, Vespasian, B. 11; Chron. de Bruto ad 1346. Cleop. D. 2; Chron. de Hale's ab initio mundi ad 1304. Cleop. D. 3; Annales de Gest. Angl. ad 1377. Cleop. D. 9; Hist. brevis. ending temp. Ed. 2, Domit. A. 8; the Hist. Abb. Claud. B. 6. We may add the words of William himself, who, in one of his charters, says: "Devicto Haraldo rege cum suis complicibus qui michi regnum prudentia domini destinatum et beneficio concessionis domini et cognati mei gloriosi regis Edwardi concessum, conati sunt auferre." Faustina, A 3. The authorities are too contradictory to decide the question.

both had been in Edward's friendship, and the family of Harold, as well as the family of William, had been connubially allied to him.

There is perhaps no great event in our annals in which the truth is more difficult to be elicited, than in the transaction between Harold and William in the lifetime of Edward. We will state first the account of Harold and his friends, and contrast it with the Norman story.

In revolving the history of the friends of Harold, we meet with the unpleasing circumstance of two narrations upon the subject, which counteract each other. According to some, Harold accidentally sailed in a little fishing excursion from Bosham in Sussex, and was driven, by a sudden tempest, on the opposite shore.[c] According to others, Harold went to the continent not accidentally, but deliberately. Two of his brothers had been committed by Edward, during the rebellion of Godwin, to the care of William. Harold wished to procure their release, and for that purpose, is said to have requested permission of Edward to visit William in Normandy. The appendage to this account is, that Edward dissuaded him in vain; and that when Harold returned, and stated to him that William had detained and made him swear to give him the English crown, the king reminded him, that he had foreseen the misfortune.[d]

The Norman historians declare, that on the death of the son of Edmund Ironside, who had been invited from Hungary, Edward obeyed the dictates of personal regard, and appointed William to be his successor; that he sent Harold to announce to him this disposition, and that Harold, sailing to Flanders for the purpose of travelling to the Norman court on this important mission, was thrown by a tempest on the coast of the count of Ponthieu, who seized and imprisoned him.[e]

To these circumstances it is added, that before Edward sent Harold, he had commissioned Robert the Norman, the archbishop of Canterbury, to make to William the same annunciation.

This last assertion, however, cannot, for a moment, be believed, because Robert was exiled from England in the year 1052, on Godwin's reconciliation. He went to Normandy not on public business, but fled with precipitation to secure his personal safety;[f]

[c] Matt. Paris, p. 2. Matt. West. 426; and from him Bever, in his MS. Chron. in the Harleian Library, 641. Malmsbury mentions it as a report.

[d] Eadmer, 4. Al. Bev. 125. Sim. Dun. 195. Bromton, 947. Rad. Dic. 479. Walt. Hemingford, 456. I believe Hemingford's Chronicle to be the same with the Chronica Will. de Gisebume, in the Cotton Library, Tiberius, B. 4. Higden, 283.

[e] Ingulf, a contemporary writer, p. 68. Guil. Pictav. 191. Will. Gemmet. 285. Orderic. Vital. 492. Ann. Petrob. 45. Walsingham Ypod. 28. Wike's Chron. 22, and many of the MS. Chronicles.

[f] Sax. Chron. 168, and the fuller Chronicle quoted there, 167. Hoveden, 443.

and so far was Edward from having adopted William in 1052, that in 1057, the son of Edmund Ironside came to England on Edward's express invitation, and for the avowed purpose of being his successor. It is also hostile to the tale of Robert's mission, that William was himself in England after Godwin's rebellion, the year before Robert left it. If Edward had then determined on William's succession, it is more probable that he should have imparted his intention to William himself, than that in the next year he should have sent it in a message by a fugitive. The testimony of Ingulf of Croyland is also adverse. He expressly declares, that while William was in England, he received no hopes of the succession; it was not then mentioned.[g] Robert may have exerted himself in nurturing William's secret wishes. He may, in revenge to the family of Godwin, have commenced intrigues in favour of William; but it is not credible that Edward thought of William as his successor until after the death of his cousin from Hungary.

The celebrated tapestry of Bayeux presents to us the Norman account of these transactions.

In the cathedral church of Bayeux in Normandy, this ancient monument has been preserved: "The ground of this piece of work is, a white linen cloth or canvass, one foot eleven inches in depth, and 212 feet in length. The figures of men, horses, &c. are in their proper colours, worked in the manner of samplers, in worsted, and of a style not unlike what we see upon China and Japan ware; those of the men more particularly being without the least symmetry or proportion."[h] It is in one piece; it was annually hung up and exposed to view, in the nave of the church, from the eve of Midsummer-day, and continued there for eight days. At all other times it was carefully locked up.[i]

This tapestry is called, by the tradition of the country, "La

[g] De successione autem regni spes adhue aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit. Ingulf, 65. Ingulf describes himself as born in England, and as having studied at Westminster and Oxford. When William visited Edward, Ingulf joined his train, and sailed with him to Normandy; he became his secretary and a sort of favourite. He went to Jerusalem through Germany and Greece, and returned by sea to Rome. He says, that he and his companions went out thirty fat horsemen, and returned scarcely twenty, and emaciated pedestrians. He attended William to England, 73–75.

[h] Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 79. M. Lancelot has written two memoirs on this tapestry, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions. tom. ix. p. 535–561; and tom. xii. p. 369–469. M. Lancelot's description is thus; "C'est une pièce de toile de lin de dix-neuf pouces de haut, sur deux cens dix pieds onze pouces de long, sur laquelle on a tracé des figures avec de la laine couchée et croisée à peu pres comme on hache une première pensée au crayon." p. 370.

[i] Lancelot, p. 371. Ducarel, 79. This tapestry is still at Bayeux. At the commencement of the war, after the peace of Amiens, while the invasion of these islands was in agitation, Bonaparte had this tapestry conveyed to Paris, for his own inspection. A comet having appeared about that time, he is said to have observed, with great earnestness, the comet represented in the tapestry.

toilette du duc Guillaume."[j] The same popular account ascribes it to his queen, Mathilda, and her work-women.[k] It has been engraved, and may be seen among the plates of the Académie des Inscriptions, and in Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities.

It represents the transactions between Harold and William. The first figures are, a king with a sceptre, sitting upon his throne; his right hand is pointed towards two men, as if giving them orders. Above is an inscription of two words, "Edward. Rex."[l] This has been fairly thought to portray Edward, directing Harold to go to Normandy. It therefore illustrates the Norman account, that Harold was sent by Edward to William.[m]

The next figures are, five men on horseback, preceded by a cavalier with a bird in his left hand, and with five dogs running before him. The inscription to this is, "Ubi Harold dux Anglorum et sui milites equitant ad Bosham." The dogs and the bird mark the cavalier to be a nobleman, and of course to be Harold, who is proceeding with his train to Bosham.[n]

A church follows, before which are two men with bending knees. Above is the word "Ecclesia." After this is an apartment where men are drinking, one from a horn, another from a goblet.

Two men are descending from this place of refreshment, one of them with an oar. A person with an oar is standing next. Another holds a dog in his arm, looking towards a ship, close to which is Harold, with a dog under his arm, and a bird in his left hand. The inscription is, "Hic Harold mare navigavit." It of course represents Harold embarking at Bosham in Sussex.[o]

Two ships follow in full sail. The remark of Lancelot is just, that in their equipment they are not at all like fishing vessels. The words are, "Et velis vento plenis venit in terra Widonis Comitis."

The next figures represent Harold becoming the prisoner of

[j] Lancelot, 371. This gentleman says of it, "L'extrémité commence à se gater." This occasioned the Chapter to have it copied.

[k] Lancelot, 373. William of Poitou declares, that the English ladies excelled at their needle, and in gold embroidery. Ib. 375. Lancelot thinks, "qu'elle ne peut être d'un siècle postérieur à celui de Guillaume," 374. Mathilda died in 1083. Ib. 377.

[l] Lancelot, 378.

[m] Il faut observer la simplicité du trône du roi Edward, semblable à celle que nous représentent les sceaux et les autres monumens qui nous restent de ces tems là. Les bras du trône sont termines par une tête de Chien——Ceux des empereurs d'Allemagne avoient ordinairement un Lion. Son sceptre est terminée en fleuron, p. 541.

[n] The tapestry has sustained some injury at the beginning of this inscription. Lancelot, 378. "C'étoit alors l'usage de la noblesse de marcher ou en équipage de guerre, quand il y avoit quelque expédition à faire, ou en équipage de chasse, quand la guerre ne l'occupoit point.—La noblesse seule avoit le droit de porter l'Epervier ou le Faucons sur le poing," p. 543.

[o] Walter Mapes informs us of the punning trick by which Godwin got Bosham from the archbishop of York. See it in Camden and Lancelot, p. 545.

Guy, the count of Ponthieu, who carries him to Belre,[p] and detains him. The inscriptions will explain the figures which follow: "Here Harold and Guy converse; here the messengers of William came to Guy; here a messenger comes to William; here Guy conducted Harold to William, duke of the Normans; here William proceeds with Harold to his palace."

This part of the tapestry portrays the history as given in the chronicles. When Harold was detained by Guy, on whose coasts the winds impelled him, he sent information to William, whose menaces and gifts produced his release.[q]

That William conducted Harold to Rouen, the chief city of his dominions, is the assertion of a contemporary chronicler.[r] The tapestry says, to his palace, and exhibits a kind of hall, where a chief upon his throne, resting one hand on his sword, is attending to a person in the attitude of speaking; behind him are some armed men. It is most likely Harold addressing William on the subject of his excursion; but there is no inscription on this part of the tapestry.

The next figures represent William's warfare with Conan, a count of Bretagne, in which Harold assisted.[s] The inscriptions are: "Here duke William and his army came to Mount St. Michael, and passed the river Cosno;[t] here Harold duke drew them from the sand; and they came to Dol, and Conan

[p] This was, says M. Lancelot, Beaurain le Chateau, two leagues from Monstreuil, castrum de Bello ramo, p. 555. Le Roman de Rou par Robert Waice, est le seul des Auteurs de ce tems là qui, en rapportant la circonstance de la prison de Harold à Beaurain, confirme ce qu'en dit le monument dont il s'agit:

"Guy garda Heralt par grant cure,
Mout en creust mesaventure,
A Belrem le fit envoyer
Pour fere le Duc esloingnier." p. 379.

[q] In the tapestry, William is on the throne, with his sword in his left hand, his right is extended close to the face of a man, who is listening or speaking to him in a deprecating and intimidated manner. Lancelot says, "deux vers du Roman de Rou expriment ce que le Duc faisoit en cette occasion:

"Tant pramist au Comte et offri,
Tant manacha et tant blandi,
Que Guy Heralt au Duc rendi."

Ce sont les menaces qu'il semble que la tapisserie a voulu désigner, p. 381.

[r] Guil. Pictav.

[s] See Lancelot, 388–401, on William and Harold's war in Bretagne. William of Poitiers is the only historian who has at all detailed this warfare, "mais il s'en faut beaucoup que son récit ne soit aussi circonstancie que ce qui se voit dans la tapisserie," p. 389. Lancelot's Observations on the weapons of the combatants are worth reading.

[t] C'est la rivière de Coucsnon qui sépare encore à présent la Normandie de la Bretagne. Lan. 396. Les flots de la mer et les sables font changer souvent le lit de cette rivière, ce qui rend le gué difficile. La tapisserie représente le passage de cette rivière par les troupes de Guillaume avec une exactitude tres-détaillée. Ib. 397.

fled. Here the soldiers of duke William fought against the Dinantes,[u] and Conan extended the keys."

All these circumstances are very expressively told by appropriate figures, which give a curious delineation of the military equipments and manners of the period.

The events which follow are peculiarly interesting to us. William, in complete armour, extends one hand to Harold's right temple; his other is upon Harold's right arm and breast. Harold is a little inclining towards him, and supports a lance with a banner in his left hand. The words above are, "Here William gave arms to Harold." A Norman historian mentions, that William rewarded the exertions of Harold with splendid arms, horses, and other insignia.[v]

After three horsemen in armour, with the letters, "Here William comes to Bagias," (Bayeux) William appears without armour on his throne with a sword, his left hand extended. Near this are two repositories of relics. Harold is between them, with a hand on each. Officers are at both ends. The inscription is: "Here Harold swears to duke William."

The historians state, that Harold swore to promote William's accession to the throne of England on Edmund's demise, to marry his daughter, and to put Dover into his power.[w] Some other authorities mention that William, after Harold had sworn, uncovered the repositories, and showed him on what relics he had pledged himself; and Harold saw, with alarm, their number and importance.[x] If this be true, these two great warriors were, at least in their religion, men of petty minds, or they would not have believed that the obligation of an oath was governed by the rules of arithmetical progression.

The tapestry represents a ship under sail, expressive of Harold's return, and afterwards Harold making his report to Edward. The king's sickness and funeral follow.[y]

The next figures show Harold's coronation. One man offers him the crown; and another a battle-axe. Beyond this, Harold

[u] This circumstance the tapestry only has preserved. "C'est le prise de Dinan ville de Bretagne à six lieves de Dol: aucun historien du tems n'en a parlé." Lan. 399.

[v] Order. Vital. lib. iii. p. 492. Le Roman de Rou places the ceremony at Avranches (Aurences) when the duke was going to Bretagne. Lan. 402.

[w] Guil. Pictav. says this on the evidence of eye-witnesses: "Sicut veracissimi multa que honestate præclarissimi homines recitavere qui tunc affuere testes," p. 191. He is so angry with Harold for his subsequent breach of this oath, that he apostrophizes to him with great warmth, p. 192. Both Pictav. and Ord. Vital. 492, place the oath before the war in Bretagne. On the oath see Ingulf, Malmsb., M. Paris, Eadmer, and others.

[x] So the Roman de Rou, and La Chronique de Normandie affirm. Lanc. 404, 405. I may here mention that the author of the Roman is stated to be Robert Waice; that he lived about fifty years after the conquest, and was a canon of Bayeux. Lan. 379.

[y] The figures of the funeral seem to precede the sickness.

appears on his throne, with the globe and cross in his left hand, and a sceptre in his right. On his right two men are presenting to him a sword; and Stigand, the archbishop, is standing on his left.[z]

On the evening of Edward's funeral, which was the day after his death, Harold possessed himself of the crown of England. As there were other pretenders to the dignity, of whom one at least, Edgar Etheling, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, was invested with the interesting right of hereditary descent, delay was perilous to the ambition of Harold.[a] Hence, while the nobles were agitated with divided minds, Harold boldly decided the splendid question by availing himself of the support of his friends,[b] and by obtaining an instantaneous coronation from the suspended archbishop of Canterbury.[c]

That Harold used his authority with kingly dignity, and for the great ends of public utility, is asserted,[d] and must be admitted, with the qualification that as his reign was so short, the panegyric must be referred to its intentions rather than to his actions. It is, however, essential to a usurper to be popular; as human ingenuity cannot invent a spell more potent to arrest the favour of its contemporaries, than the practice of virtue. All rulers, whose right to power is ambiguous, and whose possession of it depends on the public support, will affect to govern a while with equity and popularity. The true character of Harold cannot therefore be judged from his actions in the emergency of competition; and he perished before the virtues of his disposition could be distinguished from those of his convenience.

It is amusing to remark how industrious the chroniclers of this period have been to record, that a comet appeared this year in the heavens, and that it forboded the revolutions of greatness, and the bloodshed which ensued.[e] The popular impression produced by this comet is shown by its having been worked in the

[z] The inscriptions are: "Here they gave the crown to king Harold: here sits Harold, king of the English; Stigand, archbishop."

[a] Matthew says, some of the proceres favoured William; some Harold, and some Edgar, the grandson of Edmund Ironside; but that Harold, extorta fide a majoribus, obtained the diadem, 433. Malmsbury intimates a violent seizure, p. 93. So Rudborne, p. 24. Ordericus says, he was consecrated sine communi consensu aliorum præsulum et comitum procerumque, p. 492; and see Matt. West. 433, and M. Paris, 2.

[b] Florence, Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, Rad. Dic. and Saxon Chronicle, imply, that a very large part, if not all, of the nobles chose him. The tapestry, which certainly tells the story in the Norman way, hints nothing of a violent seizure. It represents two men offering the crown to Harold, who is uncovered.

[c] Though most of the writers say that the archbishop of York crowned him; yet, as the tapestry shows Harold on his throne, and Stigant, who held Canterbury, near him; and as Guil. Pictav. 196, and Ord. Vitalis, state that Stigand crowned him, I adopt this opinion, which M. Lancelot supports, 421.

[d] As Hoveden, Florence, and others. Malmsbury, 93, admits it.

[e] Will. Gem. p. 285; Matt. West. 439; and many annalists. I believe that above ninety comets have been remarked in the heavens.

tapestry of Bayeux. This relic of ancient times contains, immediately after Harold's coronation, a rude figure of the comet, with several persons gazing at it with eager eyes and pointing hands.[f]

The enjoyment of a favourite felicity is seldom the consequence of its violent acquisition. Harold found his crown full of the thorns which poets and moralists have been fond of describing. Three competitors prepared at the same time to wrestle with him for it; each was formidable enough to have endangered his prosperity, but the combination of their hostilities could have hardly failed to overpower him.

The rivals of Harold were, his brother Tostig, William duke of Normandy, and Haralld Hardrada, the king of Norway. The two last were sovereigns of long established authority, and great military experience; and came with peculiar advantage into a conflict with Harold, whose ancestry was obscure, whose power was young, whose title was questionable, and whose friends were but a party in the nation which he governed.

Tostig was a man of talents and activity, but his fraternal relation gave to his hostilities a peculiar venom. He had been expelled from Northumbria in a preceding reign, and he had not been recalled by Harold. His discontent and envy were fostered by William, who embraced the policy of multiplying the enemies and of dividing the strength of Harold.

Eager to oppress his more fortunate brother, Tostig attempted, but in vain, to excite the king of Denmark to attack him. On the mind of Haralld Hardrada, king of Norway, he operated with more success. The Norwegian consented to invade England in the summer.[g]

Tostig went to Flanders to prepare the means of an aggression of his own. He visited William of Normandy, of whose ambition he was made a convenient instrument.[h] He collected all the English who were willing to join him; he raised many supplies from Flanders,[i] and with sixty ships proceeded to the English coast.

He levied contributions from the Isle of Wight, and plundered along the shore till he reached Sandwich. Harold was then at

[f] The inscription over the men is: Isti mirant stella. The MS. Chronicles, Tib. B. 1, and B. 4, thus mention the comet: "Tha ꝑeaꝓthꝫeonð eall Ɛnꝫla lanð ꝑꝑẏlc tacen on heoꝼenum ꝫeꝼeꝑen ꝑꝑẏlce nan man eꝓ ne ꝫeꝼeah. Sume men cꝑeðon tha hit cometa ꝑe ꝑteoꝓꝓa ꝑæꝓe thone ꝑume men hatath thone Fixeðon ꝑteoꝓꝓan ⁊ he æteoꝑðe æꝓeꝑt on thone æꝼen Letania majoꝓ 8 K mai ⁊ ꝑꝑa ꝑean ealle tha ꝑeoꝼon niht."

[g] Snorre, vol. iii. p. 146–149. W. Gemmet. 285.

[h] Order. Vital. 492.

[i] Snorre, 150.

London. He collected a very numerous fleet and army, because he perceived that his brother's force was but the advanced guard of William. When Harold reached Sandwich, Tostig, whose friends were chiefly in the north, sailed hastily from Lincolnshire, and committed many ravages on Lindesey. The earls of Mercia and Northumbria allowed him no time to collect support, but commenced an immediate opposition.[j] Tostig, defeated by their energy, fled to Scotland with twelve ships,[k] to wait the arrival of his allies, and Malcolm gave him an asylum.

The first arrow of calamity was thus happily averted from Harold; but the feeblest arm of the confederacy had thrown it, and the triumph did not much augment the security of the king. The two sovereigns, whose power singly was sufficient to endanger him, were now preparing a combined attack.

William, the rival of Harold, was the son of Robert, the fifth duke of Normandy. He was not a legitimate child;[l] but in these days this circumstance, though always a reproach,[m] did not prevent deserving talents from attaining the royal succession. William, like our Athelstan and Edmund Ironside, was admitted to assume the dignity of his father.

When Robert, obeying a fashion of his day, went to Jerusalem with a noble retinue, he appointed his boy William, though but a child, to govern Normandy in his stead, under the superintendance of a wise and faithful administration; and he engaged his nobles and the king of France to guard his arrangement.[n] Robert died at Nice, on his return from Palestine, in 1035, the same year in which Canute the Great departed from this scene of his existence.[o]

William, at the age of eight, became the duke of Normandy.[p] His minority tempted many nobles to rebel against him, and to be turbulent towards each other. The king of France also coveted his dominions. Normandy was for many years harassed by wars, murders, and civil feuds; and William, like Philip of

[j] Malmsb. 94; Hunt. 367. Matt. West. p. 433, says 40. The MS. Chronicle, Tib. Bib. 4, mentions that Tostig came to Wight, mid þa miclum liðe þa he begitan mihte. But in stating his entrance into the Humber, it adds, mid þixtigum þcipum.

[k] MS. Chron. Tib. B. 4. mid 12 snaccum.

[l] His mother was Herleva, or Harlotta, the daughter of Fullbert, an officer of the duke's household. After Robert's death she was married by Herluin, a probus miles, and left him two sons, of whom one, Odo, became an archbishop; the other also obtained reputation. W. Gemmet. lib. vii. c. 3.

[m] Therefore one of his nobles declared, quod nothus non deberet sibi aliisque Normannis imperare. Gem. lib. vii. c. 3. Glaber Rodulphus says of the Normans: Fuit enim usui a primo adventu ipsius gentis in Gallias, ex hujusmodi concubinarum commixtione illorum principes extitisse, p. 47.

[n] Glaber, p. 47.

[o] Gemmet. lib. vi. c. 12, 13. Ord. Vit. lib. iii. p. 459.

[p] Ord. Vit. 459.

Macedon, experienced adversity enough to excite his energies, and to discipline his judgment. The abilities of his friends at first, and afterwards his own good conduct, surmounted every difficulty.[q] He not only secured his own power, but having so often measured it against others with success, he was taught to know its strength, to nurture ambition upon that knowledge, and to look around him for new theatres on which his active mind could be employed with profit, and where increased celebrity would reward its exertions.[r]

The friendship of Edward, the visit of Harold, and the state of the English court, excited and determined him to aim at the sceptre of our island.

The sudden coronation of Harold prevented the effect of any private intrigues, and left to William no hope but from his sword. William, however, knew that the combat was half gained if the moral impressions of society were in his favour; and he therefore sent an embassy to Harold, gently expostulating upon the seizure of the crown, reminding him of the sworn compact, and announcing hostilities if he persisted in the violation. After Harold's coronation, such messages could be only a theatrical trick, played off by the Norman, to call the attention of the people to the moral circumstances of the case, to introduce the claims of William publicly to their notice, to encourage his partisans, and to assume the merit of peaceful discussion. William could never have supposed that upon a mere message Harold could have walked down humbly from the throne which he had been so hasty to ascend.

Harold acted his part in the diplomatic farce, and gave a popular answer. His topics were as well selected as the case afforded. An oath extorted by violence could not be binding on the conscience. Human laws admitted a maiden's vow to be annulled, which was made without her parents' consent: as void must be the promise of an envoy, pledged without his master's knowledge. Besides, how could any individual alienate the right of royal succession without the national consent? And how could he abandon voluntarily a dignity with which the favour of the most potent nobles of England had honoured him?[s]

By wedding Alditha, the daughter of Earl Algar,[t] instead of Adeliza, the daughter of William,[u] Harold strengthened himself

[q] On William's struggles to maintain his dignity, see Guil. Pictav.; W. Gemmet.; and Orderic. Vitalis. They may be also read in Daniel's Histoire de France, vol. i. p. 362–368.

[r] He married Mathilda, the daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders. Gemmet. p. 277. She was descended from Alfred's daughter.

[s] Matt. Paris, p. 2. Matt. West. 434. Eadmer, 5.

[t] Gemmet. 285.

[u] She died at this crisis. Matt. Par. 2.

at home, because Mercia and Northumbria were governed by the brothers of the lady.

William held council with his chiefs on his project of invasion. Some thought the chance unfavourable to Normandy, and dissuaded it.[v] The influence of the duke surmounted opposition, and preparations were vigorously made. A great number of ships were immediately constructed.[w] The tapestry, after the representation of a ship arriving from England, shows William on his throne, with the inscription, "Here duke William gave orders to build ships." Men cutting down trees with axes, and planing them into planks; others arranging and hammering these into vessels, are the next figures. Afterwards, five men appear pulling ships after them by ropes. Above are these words: "Here they drew the ships to the sea."

Men carrying coats of mail, spears, swords, and wine, and two others dragging a car, laden with weapons, and a barrel, are then exhibited. The inscription is: "These carry arms to the ships, and here they draw a car with wine and arms." Such was the expedition of the workmen, that they were ready by the end of August.[x]

While the means of conveyance were providing, William was active in assembling soldiers sufficient for his attempt. His purpose was diffused through every land, and the courageous adventurer was invited from every coast to share in the honour, the danger, and the booty of the conflict. Crowds of fighters came from all parts adjacent.[y] He collected powerful supplies from Bretagne, France, Flanders, and their vicinity,[z] which, joined with the soldiers whom he raised in his own Normandy, presented a mass of force not less formidable from their spirit of

[v] Guil. Pictav. 197, and Ord. Vital. p. 493.

[w] Guil. Pictav. 197. W. Gemmet. 286, says, he had 3000 ships built; which seem too many either to be wanted by him or to be believed by us. Ord. Vital. says, that many ships were diligently made in Normandy with their utensils; and that both clergy and laity, by their money and liquors, assisted in the business, 496.

[x] The Roman de Rou thus describes these things:

"Fevres et charpentiers manda,
Dont veissiez à granz effors
Par Normendie à touz les pors
Merriens à traire et fust porter,
Chevilles faire et bois doler
Nesf et esquiex appareillier,
Velles estendre et mats drecier
A grant entente et a grant ost,
Tout un este et un Aost
Mistrent au navie atorner." Lancelot, 429.

[y] Convenit etiam externus miles in auxilium copiosus. Guil. Pict. 197. Rumoribus quoque viri pugnaces de vicinis regionibus exciti convenerent. Ord. Vit. 494.

[z] Ingentem quoque exercitum ex Normannis et Flandrensibus ac Francis et Britonibus aggregavit. W. Gem. 286. Galli namque et Britones, Pictavini et Burgundiones aliique populi Cisalpini ad bellum transmarinum convolarunt. Ord. Vit. 494.

enterprise and their enthusiasm, than from their numbers and the military skill of William, who had been accustomed to warfare from his infancy. The emperor so far favoured the expedition as to promise to protect Normandy against any enemies who might invade it in the duke's absence.[a] William was here also peculiarly fortunate. The king of France, though so much interested in preventing the duke of Normandy from acquiring the additional power of the English crown, yet did not interfere to prevent the collection and departure of the expedition. Perhaps he judged it to be a desperate effort, and waited to profit by its failure. William availed himself of the oaths which Harold had broken, to give to his cause the appearance of religious sanctity; he therefore consulted with the pope, who sent him a consecrated banner.[b]

While William was putting in action every means of offensive aggression, which talents like his, so exercised in warfare, could devise, the king of Norway was also summoning all the resources of his country to give prosperity to his ambitious hopes. It is a pleasing instance of the growing importance of England, that his notice to his subjects, of his intended expedition, did not meet with the unanimous concurrence of the Norwegian mountaineers. Though some, exulting in the recollection of their Harald's achievements, thought disaster impossible; yet others intimated that England abounded with valiant chiefs and soldiers.[c] Like a part of the Norman nobility, they did not hesitate to foretell that the invasion would be a work of perilous difficulty and doubtful issue.

The time had been, when, to mention an expedition against England, was to collect speedily a numerous fleet of eager adventurers. But now that experience had made known the bravery of the natives, as the hour of attack drew near, ominous dreams began to flit through Norway. Snorre has detailed three of these, and mentions that many other portents occurred of dire and ill-boding import.[d] The dark minds of the North discovered their feelings by their superstitions. They began to dread the English power, and they found deterring omens, because they were disposed to look for them.

Harald Hardrada, having appointed his son Magnus to govern Norway in his absence, sailed with his other son, Olaf, and with his queen, Ellisif (Elizabeth), and her daughters, Maria and Engegerdr, across the British ocean.[e] He reached Shetland; and, after a short delay, he sailed to the Orkneys. He left there his

[a] Guil. Pict. 197. [b] Guil. Pict. 197. Ord. Vit. 493.

[c] Snorre, Saga af Haralldi Hardrada, c. 82, p. 149.

[d] Snorre, 150–152.

[e] For Harald's actions, see Snorre, in the ode translated in the second volume of Mallet's Northern Antiquities; in Ad. Brem. 41, 43; and Steph. in Sax. 215.

family, and directing his course along Scotland, he landed with his multitude of warriors at the Tyne.[f] His aggression seems to have been unforeseen. The duke of Normandy absorbed the attention of Harold, who did not expect that his hour of difficulty would have been made more stormy by a competitor from the North. Hardrada found no opposition of importance on the English coasts. Tostig joined him.[g] They sailed onwards to Scarborough, which they plundered and burnt. They turned the point of Holderness, and with above five hundred ships entered the Humber.[h]

They proceeded up the Ouse as far towards York as Richale. The related earls, Edwine and Morcar, though taken unawares, prepared to oppose Haralld Hardrada with the same spirit which had before expelled Tostig. On the 20th of September they gave battle to the invaders near York, on the right side of the Ouse.[i] Hardrada formed his warriors into such an arrangement, that one of his wings reached to the river, and the other was flanked by a ditch and marsh full of water. The banner of the king and the flower of his warriors were on the river. His line at the ditch was weak, and tempted the attack of the earls, the brothers-in-law of Harold. They drove the enemy from their position. It was then that Hardrada rushed into the battle, and, with his compact troops, pierced through and divided the pursuing English. Some were driven to the river; some to the marsh and ditch. The slaughter was so great, that the Norwegians traversed the marsh on the bodies of the fallen.[j] The Saxon account confirms the Icelandic; it claims the first advantage for the English, and acknowledges that in the disastrous close, more were pushed into the waters than were slain by the sword.[k] The earls were besieged in York.[l]

Harold, watching anxiously the motions of the duke of Normandy, had stationed his troops on his southern coast. The success of Haralld Hardrada compelled him to abandon this position of defence, and to march with his army into the North. To repel the king of Norway immediately was essential to his safety; and with this purpose he proceeded towards him so rapidly, as to reach York four days after the defeat of the earls.

[f] Snorre, 153, says Klifland. So Orkneyinga Saga, p. 95. Hoveden, Florence, and Simeon, place his first descent at the Tyne.

[g] Flor. 429.

[h] Snorre, 154. Hoveden, 448. Flor. 429. Our writers differ on the number of Haralld's ships. Matt. Paris says 1000. So Sigeb. Gemb. p. 600. Ingulf states 200; and Malmsbury and others have 300.

[i] Hunt. 367, says, "Cujus locus pugnæ in Australi parte urbis adhuc ostenditur."

[j] Snorre, 155. Orkneyinga Saga, p. 95. The Northerns give the command of the Saxons to Walthiof and Morear. Walthiof is not mentioned by the English chroniclers in Harold's reign; but in William's reign he occurs with the Northumbrians, as in Hoveden, p. 455.

[k] Hoveden, 448. Flor. 429. [l] Malmsb. 94.

Hardrada had been much reinforced by the friends of Tostig,[m] and by those adventurers who always join the flag of victory, as the time would permit; but the sudden presence of the king of England was an incident which he did not anticipate.

He had committed his ships to the care of his son, Olaf, with a part of his forces, and had marched with the rest towards the city, to settle the government of the province. The day was beautiful and mild. The sun shone with those pleasing beams which exhilarate the spirits, and give new charms to irradiated nature. But, alas! the drama of ambition was acting in the country, and its melancholy catastrophe was about to scatter round the dismal spectacle of death. Man was hastening to deform the smiling scene with all the massacres of a ferocious battle. On a sudden, the king of Norway saw an army marching towards him. He inquired of Tostig who they were. Tostig stated his hope that they were a supply of his friends; but he knew enough of his brother's activity also to add, that they might be the English forces.

The advancing troops were soon discerned to be hostile; and Tostig, wishing a more elaborate preparation, advised a retreat to the ships, that the strength of Norway might join the battle in its most concentrated vigour. The king of Norway was hero enough not to decline an offered combat; but he sent three swift couriers to command the immediate presence of his other warriors.

He drew out his men in a long but not dense line; and, bending back the wings, he formed them into a circle everywhere of the same depth, with shield touching shield. In the centre the royal banner was planted, not unaptly surnamed the Ravager of the Earth. The peculiar mode in which the cavalry attacked, was the cause of this arrangement. Their custom was to charge promiscuously in an impetuous mass, to fly off, and to return in the same or at some other point. Haralld Hardrada was as yet weak in cavalry. It was now but the 25th September, and he had not had time to mount many of his troops. The king of England, on the contrary, came forth with the strength of the island, and of course a large part of his army must have been horse. To secure himself against this superiority, was the first care of the Norwegian.

The first line were ordered to fix their lances obliquely in the ground, with the points inclining towards the enemy, that the cavalry might impale themselves when they charged. The second line held also their spears ready to plunge into the breasts of the horses when near. The archers were joined with the array of Haralld and Tostig, to contribute their efforts to the success of the day.[n]

[m] Snorre, 156. [n] Ibid. 159.

Hardrada rode round his circle to inspect its order. His horse stumbling, he was thrown to the ground; but he sprang up, and wisely exclaimed, that it was an omen of good. Harold, who observed the incident, thought otherwise. He inquired who that Norwegian was, clothed in a blue tunic, and with a splendid helmet, who had fallen. He was answered the king of Norway. "He is a large and majestic person," replied Harold, "but his fortune will be disastrous."[o]

An offer was sent to Tostig, before the battle joined, to give him Northumbria, and other honours, if he would withdraw from the impending conflict. Tostig remarked, that such a proposition in the preceding winter would have saved many lives: "But," added he, "if I should accept these terms, what is to be the compensation of the king, my ally?" "Seven feet of ground, or, as he is a very tall man, perhaps a little more," was the answer. This intimation closed the negotiation, for Tostig was faithful to his friend.[p]

The Norwegians, not having expected a battle on that day, are said to have been without their coats of mail. The king of Norway sung some stanzas on the circumstance, and awaited the attack. His orders were implicitly obeyed. The charges of the English cavalry were received on their implanted points; and while the Norwegians kept their circle unbroken, they repulsed every attack. Weary of their unprevailing efforts, the English began to relax in some confusion, and their adversaries were tempted to pursue. It was then that the fortune of Norway first drooped. The English returned to the charge. The Norwegians were out of their defensive arrangement, and felt the destructive fury of the English weapons. Hardrada encouraged his men by the most heroic exertions; but he could not bind victory to his standard. A fatal dart pierced his throat; and his fall gave the first triumph to his kingly competitor.[q]

Tostig assumed the command, and the battle still raged. Harold again offered life and peace to his brother, and the Norwegians, but the enraged Tostig was deaf to reconciliation. Victory or death was his decision; and the arrival of the division from the ships, under the command of Eysteinn Orri, gave new hopes to his fury.

These fresh troops were completely armed. Their attack was so vehement, that the fortune of the day was nearly changed; but they were exhausted by the speed with which they had hurried to the place of conflict. Their exertions relaxed as their strength ebbed; and after a desperate struggle, Tostig and the

[o] Snorre, 160. [p] Ibid.

[q] Ibid. 163. See Haralld's character in Snorre, 174. He was fifty years of age when he died. Ib. 175.

flower of Norway perished.[r] Harold, who had shown himself the ardent warrior through all the combat, permitted Olave, the son of the unfortunate Hardrada, and Paul, the earl of the Orkneys,[s] to retire from the island with their surviving friends and a few ships.[t] Olave went to the Orkneys, and in the following spring to Norway, where he reigned jointly with his brother Magnus.[u]

Two of Harold's competitors had now fallen; and if an interval had elapsed before the assault of the other, of sufficient space to have permitted him to have supplied the consumption of the late battles, and to have organized a new force, it is probable that the duke of Normandy would have shared the fate of the king of Norway. But three days only intervened between the defeat of the Norwegians, and the landing of William. He arrived at Pevensey on the 28th of September,[v] and the king of Norway had fallen on the 25th.

Harold, expecting an invasion from William, had in the spring assembled, on the southern coasts, the best bulwark of the island. He stationed his fleet off Wight, to encounter the Norman on the seas, and encamped an army in its vicinity. This guard was continued during the summer and autumn; and while it watched at its allotted post, the throne of Harold was secure. But on the 8th of September,[w] the fleet, which had lain along the coast at Pevensey, Hastings, and the neighbouring ports, was, from the want of provisions, obliged to disperse.[x] Harold being immediately after occupied by the Norwegian invasion, neglected to

[r] Snorre, 165. Huntingdon says, there never was a severer battle, p. 368. He, Malmsbury, and others, state, that at one period of the conflict, a Norwegian defended the bridge against the English army, and killed with his battle-axe forty soldiers before he was destroyed. Ord. Vit. mentions, that a great heap of bones in his time marked on the spot the dreadful slaughter of the day, 500.

[s] Hoveden, 488. Ingulf, 69. On Paul's descent and family, see the Orkneyinga Saga, p. 91–93.

[t] Ingulf, Hoveden, and others, say with 20. The MS. Chron. Tib. B. 4, has 24. This mentions Olaf's departure thus: "Se Kẏnʒ tha ʒeaꝼ ʒꞃẏthe Olaꝼe thæꞃ Noꞃna cẏnʒeꞃ ꞃuna ⁊ heoꞃe bpe' ⁊ than eoꞃle oꝼ Oꞃcan eʒe ⁊ eallon than theon tha ꞃcẏpu to laꝼe ꝼæꞃon ⁊ hi ꝼoꞃon tha upp to uꞃan Kẏninʒe ⁊ ꝼþoꞃon athas th hi æꝼꞃe ꝼoldon ꝼꞃẏth ⁊ ꝼꞃeondꞃcẏpe into thiꞃan landе haldan ⁊ ꞃe cẏnʒ hi let ham ꝼaꞃan mid 24 ꞃcẏpum. Thaꞃ tꝼa ꝼolc ʒeꝼeoht ꝼæꞃon ʒeꝼꞃemmede binnan ꝼiꝼ nihtan."

[u] Orkneyinga Saga, 95. Snorre, 171–176.

[v] The printed Chronicle says on Michaelmas-day. But the MS. Tib. B. 4, says, "On ꞃce Michaelꞃ mæꞃꞃe æꝼen." So the Lambard MS. Ord. Vit. 500, agrees with the MS.

[w] Hoveden and Florence mark the nativity of St. Mary as the day. This was 8th September.

[x] The MS. Chron. B. 1, has a long paragraph on this.

supply and reinstate it. By this unhappy mistake, he removed the main obstacle to William's expedition.

William had completed his armament in August, and it lay in the mouth of the Dive, a little river between Havre and Caen: Fortunately for his enterprise, the wind was adverse. If it had been favourable, he would have sailed, and the fleet of Harold would have received the first shock of the storm. If the English navy had been defeated, an army was lining its coasts, which would have disputed his landing. Should victory still have followed him, his force must have been diminished by the combats, and he would have had then to wrestle with the strength of the island, directed by the active talents of Harold. But the contrary winds detained him for a month at the Dive;[y] and in this interval the English fleet left its position, and the invasion of Norway called Harold from the southern coasts.

At last the currents of the atmosphere came into the direction he desired, and the fleet sailed from the Dive, round Havre, to St. Vallery, near Dieppe, which was the nearest port between Normandy and England. Some unfavourable events had occurred. Of the large fleet several vessels were wrecked; and many of the adventurers, whose courage lessened from their leisure of reflection on the perils of the expedition, abandoned his standard. William caused the bodies of the drowned to be buried with speed and privacy; he exhilarated the spirits of his army by abundance of provisions, and he animated their drooping hopes by his eloquent exhortations. To excite their enthusiasm, he caused St. Vallery's body to be carried in procession, under the pretence of imploring, and perhaps with the hope of obtaining, a propitious navigation.

A general eagerness to embark now pervaded the expedition. The duke, more impatient than any, was everywhere urging his soldiers to hasten to their ships. To prevent disasters usual to an unknown coast, he enjoined all the vessels to anchor round his at night, and not to recommence their voyage till the lighted beacon on the top of his mast having given the signal, the general clangour of the trumpets should announce the time of resailing.[z]

With seven hundred ships,[a] or more, replete with horses, and

[y] Ord. Vital. 500. Guil. Pict. 198.

[z] These particulars are from the contemporary William of Poitou, whose valuable fragment was printed by Du Chesne, from a MS. in our Cotton Library.

[a] It has been already remarked, that W. Gemmet gives to William 3000 ships. The very ancient author of the Roman de Rou, says, he had read of 3000 ships, but that he had heard it declared to his father that there were 700 all but four.

"Ne vous voil mie mettre en leitre,
Ne je ne me voil entremeitre
Quel barons et quels chevaliers,
Granz vavasours, granz soudoiers

every implement of battle, he quitted his native shores.[b] During the day, his ardent spirit not only led the van of his fleet, but his ship so far outsailed the others, that when a mariner was ordered to look round from the top of the mast, he declared he saw nothing but the clouds and the ocean. William, though impatient for his landing, yet with dignified composure, ordered his men to cast anchor, and calmly took a cheerful refreshment. A second sailor ascended, and beheld four ships coming into the horizon. Another, at a farther interval, declared he saw a sailing forest. The duke's heart swelled with joy, and he anticipated all the triumphs of his daring adventure.[c]

At Pevensey their voyage ceased on the 28th September. They landed peaceably, for no oposing force was near.[d] They made no stay here, and proceeded immediately to Hastings to procure food.[e] As William landed from his ship, it happened that he fell. In these days, when the mind in its most infant state was full of the groundless fantasies of childhood, the accident was interpreted into an omen of disaster; but the spreading panic

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Ont li Dus en sa compaingnie
Quant il prist toute sa navie.
Mez ceu oi dire a mon pere,
Bien m'en souvient, mes vallet ere,
Quer sept cent nesf quartre mains furent,
Quant de St. Valery s'esmurent,
Que nesf, que batteaux, que esquiez
A porter armes et hernois.
Ai je en escript trouvé,
Ne sai dire s'est verité,
Que il y eut trois mile nesf,
Qui porterent velles at tresf." Lancelot, 431.

La Chronique de Normandie intimates, that seme escriptures temoingnent neuf cens et sept grandes nesf a granz tresf et voiles, sans li menu vaisselin. Ib. M. Lancelot remarks, that the menu vaisselin may supply somewhat of the great difference between the rumours. The expressions of Guil. Pictav. imply 1000 ships.

[b] The tapestry of Bayeux has several ships with horses.

[c] Guil. Piet. 199. To this repast of William, M. Laneelot refers that in the tapestry. I think his supposition is decidedly and obviously erroneous.

[d] Guil. Piet. 199. The tapestry shows this. After representing many ships in full sail, some with armed men, and some with horses, with the inscription: "Mare transivit, et venit ad Pevenesæ," it shows the landing of horses unmolested.

[e] The tapestry details this curiously. Four armed horsemen are riding. The words over them are, "And here the soldiers hastened to Hastings to seize provisions." One man is leading a sheep; another is standing near with an axe, looking at an ox; another is carrying some bundle on his shoulders near a man with a pig. The cookery, the serving, and the enjoyment of the repast, are then successively represented with appropriate inseriptions. The little anonymous narration, written in the reign of Henry I., and published by Taylor from a MS. at Oxford, after landing them at Pevensey, adds, "Sed non diutius ibi moratus, cum omni exercitu suo venit ad alium portum non longe ab isto situm quam vocant Hastingas ibique omnem suam militiam requiescere jussit," p. 190.

was checked by the judicious soldier who raised William from the ground. Seeing his hands full of mud, he exclaimed, "Fortunate General! you have already taken England. See, its earth is in your hands."[f] How excitable must be the mind of man, when a casual stumble can intimidate thousands, and a lucky expression reassure them! How difficult must it be to lead such excitability into a steady course of wisdom and virtue!

The duke forbad plunder, and built military works both at Pevensey and Hastings, to protect his shipping.[g] It is mentioned that he went out with twenty-five companions, to explore the country. They fell into such a rugged course, that they were obliged to return on foot; and the army remarked, with high approbation, that William had burthened himself with the armour of one of his party, who was unable to get to the camp without putting it off.[h] William was now involved in an expedition which required the most zealous and self-devoting support of all his soldiers. Few things interest more strongly than the useful condescensions of the great, and it is an argument of William's discernment and true dignity of mind, that he seized such little occasions of exciting, in his army, an affectionate attachment.

A Norman friend conveyed to William the tidings of Harold's victory over Norway. The counsel of alarm was added to the news. "He is coming against you with all his power, and I think you will but be as despised dogs against it. You have prudently governed all your affairs in Normandy; be not now rash; keep to your fortifications; meet him not in battle."

William's mind was above these little agitations of fear. He had thrown his die. His spirit was fixed to stand the full venture, and to endure all the consequences, whether fatal or propitious. He returned for answer, that he should not intrench himself, but should give the battle as early as he could join it. He declared that this would have been his resolution, if he had headed only 10,000 men, instead of the 60,000 who were assembled round his banners.[i]

Harold received the information of William's landing, while he was dining at York.[j] The impressive incident would have summoned a wary mind to the most deliberate circumspection. A new enemy coming in such power, demanded the wisest exertions of military intelligence. But the mind of Harold possessed not the judgment of his great adversary. His bravery had more vivacity than discretion, and its natural ardour was stimulated into presumption by his victory against the king of Norway. He looked upon William as his devoted prey; and instead of col-

[f] Matt. West. 435, and others.

[g] Wil. Gemmet. 286. Ord. Vit. 500. The tapestry represents this construction of the castle at Hastings.

[h] Guil. Pict. 199. [i] Guil. Pict. 199. [j] Hunt, 368.

lecting all his means of defence, and multiplying these by the wisdom of their application, he flew to London, as if he had only to combat in order to conquer.

This triumphant vanity, was the instrument as well as the signal of his ruin. In the deadly contest against Hardrada, he had lost many of his bravest warriors. By an ill-timed covetousness, he disgusted the surviving; for he monopolized the plunder. When he marched to London against William, a large part of his army deserted him. Those only who served on pay, and as mercenaries, kept to him.[k]

He sent spies to inspect William's force. The judicious duke, who knew his strength, and the good appointment of his army, had nothing to conceal, he caused the spies to be well feasted, and to be led through his encampment. On their return to Harold, they magnified what they had beheld; but added, that, from their shaven faces, they should have taken the Normans for an army of divines. Harold laughed at the conceit, but had sense enough to remark, that the divines would prove very formidable soldiers.[l]

It was the interest of Harold to delay a battle with the invaders, but it was his passion to hasten it. His brother Gurth reminded him, that he had not recruited his losses in the north. Such an observation was evidence of his judgment. His other remarks, that if Harold fought, it would be committing perjury, and therefore that he, Gurth, had better lead on the English in his stead, were deservedly despised by Harold.[m] The perjury, if any, was in the resistance, and could not be diminished by the change of the commander. But with what energy could the troops be expected to fight in a quarrel of personal competition, if Harold was away? His absence, on such grounds, would have sanctified the claim of William, and might have tainted his own fame with the perilous imputation of cowardice.

Monastic messengers were reciprocally sent by the two rivals. The one from the duke is said to have offered Harold his option of three proposals. To quit the throne, to reign under William, or to decide the dispute by a single combat.

The two first propositions Harold was too courageous to regard. The last was more compatible with his humour. But Harold had been William's guest, and well knew his personal prowess. The Norman excelled most men of his day, in strength, stature, agility, and skill. As he possessed such notorious superiority, there was little courage in his offer of the duel, and Harold could not be disgraced in refusing it. Harold therefore answered,

[k] Malsmb. 94. Matt. West. 434.

[l] Malmsb. 100. The English did not shave the upper lip. Ib. The Roman de Rou mentions the account of the spies. Lanc. p. 456.

[m] Malmsb. 100.

with unusual discretion, when he declared, that God should judge between them.[n]

Harold stayed but six days at London to collect troops for the collision with the invaders;[o] his impatient presumption could not tarry for the force that was wanted to secure success. He left the city, and marched all night towards Hastings.[p] His hope was, to surprise the army of the duke,[q] as he had surprised the Norwegians; and so confident were his expectations, that he sent round a fleet of 700 vessels to hinder William's escape.[r]

This was another measure of his ill-judgment. A very large part of his force must have been lost to him in manning these vessels; and yet, though he had not had time to collect an army of great power, he deprived himself, needlessly, of a numerous support, by sending it on the seas. Prudence would have counselled him to have opened a passage on the ocean for his enemies' retreat. If he had coolly reasoned, he must have seen that William placed the issue of his adventure upon a land battle. To wage this successfully, he concentrated all his strength. Harold, instead of meeting him with his most consolidated force, favoured the wishes of his enemies by manning a fleet, whose exertions could not have the least influence on the impending conflict. But when vanity assumes the helm of our conduct, discretion disappears.

In projecting to surprise William, he proved how little he understood of the duke's character. Alert in obtaining notice of Harold's approach, William immediately commanded his men to remain all night under arms.[s] Deterred by this preparation, Harold ventured no night attack.

On the spot afterwards called Battle, the English rested on an adjacent hill. The Normans quitted Hastings,[t] and occupied an eminence opposite.[u] The night before the battle was spent by the English in festivity, by the Normans, in devotion.[v]

While William was putting on his armour, it happened that he inverted his coat of mail. This petty mistake was a fatal omen; but William, like all great souls, disdaining such puerilities, said, with a calm countenance, "If I believed in omens, I should not fight to-day, but I never credited such tales, and never loved the superstitious. In every concern which I ought

[n] Malmsb. 100. Guil. Pict. 200. Matt. Paris, 3.
[o] Will. Gemmet, 287.
[p] Gemmet, 287.
[q] Ord. Vit. 500. Guil. Pict. 201.
[r] Guil. Piet. 201. Ord. Vit. 500. L'Ancienne Chronique de Normandie, and the Roman de Rou (Lanc. 444–446) mention that William burnt and destroyed his own shipping, to make his army more desperate.
[s] Gemm. 287.
[t] The tapestry represents them as departing from Hastings to the place of battle.
[u] Taylor's Anon. 192.
[v] Malmsb. 101.

to undertake, I commit myself, for the result, to my Creator's ordination."[w]

At the command of their leader, the Normans, who were in the camp, armed. William, with solemn devotion, heard mass, and received the sacrament. He hung round his neck the relics on which Harold had sworn, and proceeded to arrange his troops;[x] his standard was entrusted to Toustain the Fair.[y]

He divided his army into three bodies. In front he placed his light infantry, armed with arrows and balistæ. Behind these were the heavy-armed foot. His last division was composed of his cavalry, among whom he stationed himself.[z]

He strengthened their determined valour by an impressive harangue.[a] He reminded them of the achievements of Hastings, whose actions these pages have commemorated. He bade them to recollect Rollo, the founder of their nation, and the uniform successes of their ancestors against the Francs. He noticed their most recent exploits.[b] He assured them that they were to fight not merely for victory, but for life. If they exerted themselves like men, glory and wealth were their rewards; if they were defeated, a cruel death, a hopeless captivity, and everlasting infamy, were the inevitable consequences. Escape, there was none. On one side, an unknown and hostile country; on the other, the blockaded sea precluded flight.[c] He added, "Let any of the English come forward, of those whom our ancestors have an hundred times defeated, and demonstrate that the people of Rollo have ever been unfortunate in war, and I will abandon my enterprise. Is it not then a disgrace, that a nation accustomed to be conquered, a nation so broken by war, a nation not even having arrows, should pitch themselves in regular battle against you? Is it not a disgrace, that perjured Harold should dare to face me in your presence? I am astonished that you should have beheld those who destroyed your fathers, and my kinsman Alfred, by the basest treachery, and that they should yet be in existence. Raise, soldiers, your standards. Let neither diffidence nor moderation check your anger. Let the lightning of your glory shine resplendent from the east to the west. Let

[w] "Si ego in sortem crederem, hodie amplius in bellum non introirem, sed ego nunquam sortibus credidi neque sortilegos amavi. In omni negotio quodcunque agere debui, Creatori meo semper me commendavi." Taylor's Anon. p. 192. Guil. Pict. 201, mentions it.

[x] Guil. Pict. 201. Ord. Vit. 500.

[y] Le Roman de Rou mentions, that William first offered this honour to Raoul de Conches, and Gautier Guiffart, who declined it. See it quoted, Lanc. 450–453.

[z] Guil. Pict. 201. Ord. Vit. 501.

[a] The tapestry represents William speaking to his soldiers. The inscription imports: "Here William exhorts his soldiers to prepare themselves manlily and wisely to battle against the English army."

[b] Hen. Hunt. 368. Brompton. [c] Guil. Pict. 201.

the thunders of your impetuous onset be heard afar, ye generous avengers of the murdered!"[d]

While he was yet speaking, his men hastened to engage. Their ardour could not tarry for his conclusion. One Taillefer, singing the song of Roland and Charlemagne,[e] even outstripped his friends, and killed an English ensign-bearer. Another also became his victim. A third overpowered him, and then the armies joined.[f] The cry of the Normans was, "God help us." The English exclaimed, "The holy cross; the cross of God."[g]

The English, chiefly infantry, were arranged by Harold into an impenetrable wedge. Their shields covered their bodies. Their arms wielded the battle-axe. Harold, whose courage was equal to his dignity, quitted his horse to share the danger and the glory on foot. His brothers accompanied him; and his banner, in which the figure of a man in combat, woven sumptuously with gold and jewels, shone conspicuous to his troops, was implanted near him.[h]

William, whose eye was searching every part of the field, inquired of a warrior near him, where he thought Harold stood. "In that dense mass on the top of the hill, for there his standard seems displayed," was the answer. William expressed his surprise at his presence in the conflict, and his confidence that his breach of faith would on that day be punished.[i]

The English had possessed themselves of the hilly ground, which was flanked by a wood. The cavalry dismounted, and added to the firm mass of Harold's array. The Norman foot, advancing, discharged their missile weapons with effect; but the English, with patient valour, kept their ground. They returned the attack with spears and lances; with their terrible battle-axes, their ancient weapons, and with stones, whose falling masses were directed to overwhelm. The battle glowed. Distant weapons were abandoned for a closer conflict. The clamour of the engaging soldiers was drowned in the clashing of their weapons,

[d] Hen. Hunt. 368.

[e] "Taillefer qui mout bein chantout,
Sur un cheval qui tost alout,
Devant euls aloit chantant,
De Kallemaigne et de Roullant,
Et d'Olivier et de Vassaux
Qui moururent en Rains chevaux."
Roman de Rou, p. 461.

Malmsbury and others mention, that the Normans sung the song of Roland.

[f] Hen. Hunt. 368. Rad. Dict. 480. Bromton, 960.

[g] The Roman de Rou, p. 461, which says:

"Alierot est en Engleiz
Qui Sainte Croix est en Franceiz
Et Goderode est autrement
Comme en François Dex tout pussant."

[h] Malmsb. 101.

[i] Taylor's Anon. Hist. 192.

and the groans of the dying.[j] Valour abounded on both sides, and the chieftains fought with all the desperate firmness of personal enmity and ardent ambition.

Befriended by the elevation of their ground, by the mass of their phalanx, and by their Saxon axes, which cut through all the armour of their adversaries, the undaunted English not merely sustained, but repelled every attack. Intimidated by such invincible fortitude, the foot and cavalry of Bretagne, and all the other allies of William in the left wing, gave way. The impression extended along all his line. It was increased by a rumour, that the duke had fallen. Dismay began to unnerve his army; a general flight seemed about to ensue.[k]

William, observing the critical moment which threatened destruction to his glory, rushed among the fugitives, striking or menacing them with his spear. His helmet was thrown from his head. The indignant countenance of their leader was visible: "Behold me—I live; and I will conquer yet, with God's assistance. What madness induces you to fly? What way can be found for your escape? They whom, if you choose, you may kill like cattle, are driving and destroying you.—You fly from victory—from deathless honour.—You run upon ruin and everlasting disgrace. If you retreat, not one of you but will perish."[l]

At these words they rallied—he led them to another onset. His sword strewed his path with slaughter. Their valour and their hopes revived. Their charge upon their pursuers was destruction; they rushed impetuously on the rest.

But the main body of the English continued unmoved and impenetrable. All the fury of the Normans and their allies could force no opening. An unbroken wall of courageous soldiery was everywhere present.

Depressed by this resistance, William's mind was roused to attempt a stratagem. He had seen the success with which his rallied troops had turned upon those who pursued them. He resolved to hazard a feigned retreat, to seduce the English into the disorder of a confident pursuit, and to profit by their diffusion.[m]

A body of a thousand horse, under the count of Boulogne, were entrusted with the execution of this manœuvre. With a horrible outcry they rushed upon the English; then suddenly checking themselves, as if intimidated, they affected a hasty flight.[n] The English were cheated. They threw themselves eagerly on the retreating Normans, and at first they prospered; for the Normans retired upon a great ditch, or excavation, somewhat concealed by its vegetation. Driven upon this, great numbers perished, and some of the English were dragged into the

[j] Guil. Pict. 202. [k] Ibid. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid.
[n] Taylor's Anon. Hist. 193. 1 Dugd. 311.

ruin.[o] But while this incident was occupying their attention, the duke's main body rushed between the pursuers, and the rest of their army. The English endeavoured to regain their position; the cavalry turned upon them, and, thus enclosed, they fell victims to the skilful movement of their opponents.[p] Twice was the Norman artifice repeated, and twice had the English to mourn their credulous pursuit.[q] In the heat of the struggle, twenty Normans pledged themselves to each other to attack, in conjunction, the great standard of Harold. Eyeing the expected prize, they rushed impetuously towards it. In attempting to penetrate through the hostile battalions, many of the party

[o] Hunt. 368. Rad. Dict. 480. Bromton, 960. This ditch was afterwards called Malfossed. 1 Dugd. 311. The Roman de Rou states this:

"En la champagne out un fossé
Normans l'avient eux adossé
Embelinant l'orent passé
Ne l'avoient mie esgardé.
Engleis on tant Normans hastez
Et tant empoins et tant boutez
Ez fossez les ont fait ruser,
Chevaux et hommes gambeter
Mout voissiez hommes tomber,
Les uns sur les autres verser
Et tresbuschier et adenter
Ne s'en pooient relever;
Des Engleis y mourut assez
Que Normans ont euls tirez." Lanc. 464.

The tapestry seems to represent this. After the fall of Harold's brothers, it has the inscription: "Here the English and Francs fell together in battle." The figures are warriors fighting, and horses in positions which imply violent falls.

[p] Hunt. 368. Bromt. 960. At one period of the conflict, probably in this, Odo, the half-brother of William, and bishop of Bayeux, rendered him great services by rallying his men. The tapestry, immediately after the preceding incident, shows him on horseback in armour, with a kind of club, amid other cavalry. The words over are, "Here Odo, bishop, holding a stick, encourages the youths." The Roman de Rou also mentions his great and useful activity:

"Sor un cheval tout blanc seoit,
Toute la gent le congnoissot,
Un baston tenoit en son poing.
Là où veoit le grand besoing
Fasoit les chevaliers torner,
Et la bataille arrester.
Souvent les faisoit assaillir,
Et souvent les fesoit ferir.
Des que le point du jour entra,
Que la bataille commencha
Dessi que nonne trespassa,
Eu chi de chà, fu si de la." Lanc. 466.

[q] Guil. Pict. 202.

fell: but their object not having been foreseen, the survivors secured it.[r]

The battle continued with many changes of fortune. The rival commanders distinguished themselves for their personal exertions. Harold emulated the merit, and equalled the achievements of the bravest soldier, at the same time that he discharged the vigilant duty of the general.[s] William was constantly the example to his troops. He had three horses killed under him;[t] but, undaunted by peril, he was everywhere the foremost. Such was the general enthusiasm, that they who were exhausted by loss of blood and strength, still fought on, leaning on their supporting shields. The more disabled, by their voice and gestures, strove to animate their friends.[u]

The sun was departing from the western horizon, and the victory was still undecided. While Harold lived and fought, his valorous countrymen were invincible.[v] But an order of the duke's, by occasioning his fate, gained the splendid laurel. To harass the hinder ranks of that firm mass which he could not by his front attack destroy, he directed his archers not to shoot horizontally at the English, but to discharge their arrows vigorously upwards into the sky. These fell with fatal effect on the more distant troops.[w] The random shafts descended like impetuous hail, and one of them pierced the gallant Harold in the eye.[x] A furious charge of the Norman horse increased the disorder, which the king's wound must have occasioned; his pain disabled him, and he was mortally wounded. As the evening closed, one of the combatants had the brutality to strike into his thigh after he was dead, for which William, with nobler feelings, disgraced him on the field.[y] Panic scattered the English

[r] Hunt. 368. Bromt. 960.
[s] Malmsb. 101.
[t] Malmsb. 101. Guil. Pict. 203. Matt. West. 438.
[u] Guil. Pict. 203.
[v] Malmsb. 101. Matt. West. 437.
[w] Hunt. 368.
[x] Hunt. 368. Malmsb. 101. The Roman de Rou states the incident thus:

"Heralt à l'estendart estoit.
A son poer se deffendoit.
Mez mout estoit de l'œil grevez
Pour ceu qu'il li estoit crevez,
A la douleur que il sentoit
Du cop de l'œil que li doliot,
Vint un armé par la bataille,
Heralt feri sor la ventaille
A terre le fist tresbuchier:
A ceu qu'il se vout condrecier,
Un chevalier le rabati,
Qui en la cuisse le feri,
En la cuisse parmi le gros
La plaie fu disi qu'a l'os." Lanc. 467.

[y] Matt. West. 438. Malmsb. 101. The tapestry seems to represent this: for under the words, "Here Harold king was slain," an armed man is figured falling

on their leader's death.[z] The Normans vigorously pursued, though the broken ground and frequent ditches checked their ardour. Encouraged by observing this, a part of the fugitives rallied, and, indignant at the prospect of surrendering their country to foreigners, they fought to renew the combat. William ordered the count Eustace and his soldiers to the attack. The count exposed the peril, and advised a retreat. He was at this instant vehemently struck in his neck, and his face was covered with his blood. The duke, undismayed, led on his men to the conflict. Some of the noblest Normans fell, but he completed his hard-earned victory.[a]

The body of Harold was found near his two brothers, and was carried to the Norman camp. His mother offered its weight of gold, for the privilege of burying it; but she was denied the melancholy satisfaction.[b] The two brothers of Harold fell also in the battle.[c]

William escaped unhurt.[d] But the slaughter of his Normans had been great.[e]

His victory was splendid; but if Harold had not fallen, it would have contributed very little to gain the crown of England. It was the death of Harold which gave William the sceptre. The force of England was unconquered. A small portion of it only had been exerted;[f] and if Harold had survived, or any other heir at all competent to the crisis, William would have earned no more from his victory than the privilege of fighting another battle with diminished strength. When he landed in England, he came with all his power. The fleet of the Anglo-Saxons was afterwards ready to cut off further succour, if such could have been raised for him in Normandy; and it is probable, that if by the

dead, his battle-axe flying from him. Another upon horseback leans forward, and with a sword is wounding his thigh.

[z] The tapestry ends with the flight of the English. "On ne voit plus ce qui reste de la tapisserie que des traits qui tracent des figures; peut-être n'y-a-t'il jamais eu que ces traits; l'ouvrage dessiné et tracé fut interrompu par la mort de la princesse Mathilde; peut-être aussi le tems et les différens accidens qu'a essuyee cette extrémité de la tapisserie, ont rougé le tissu." Lanc. 468.

[a] Guil. Pict. 203.

[b] So says Guil. Pict. 204. "In castra Ducis delatus, qui tumulandum cum Guillelmo agnomine Maletto, concessit *non matri* pro corpore dilectæ prolis auri par pondus offerenti—Æstimavit indignum fore ad matris libitum sepeliri cujus ob nimiam cupiditatem insepulti remanerent innumerabiles." So, in his following apostrophe, he says, "In cruore jacuisti et *in littoreo tumulo jaces*." In opposition to this contemporary evidence, the English writers, as Malmsb. 102, and others, say, "Corpus Haroldi matri repetenti sine pretio misit licet illa multum per legatos obtulisset." It is added, that the body was buried at Waltham. Orderic's statement, p. 502, is like Guil. Pict.

[c] The tapestry places the death of Gurth and Leofwine, the two brothers, some time before Harold's.

[d] Matt. West. 439. [e] Hoveden, 449. Sim. Dun. 197.

[f] That Harold had rushed with vain confidence to the battle, with an inferior force, is a general assertion among our old chroniclers.

fall of Harold, England had not been suddenly left without a chief, the battle of Hastings would have been to William but a scene of brilliant glory, speedily followed by a melancholy catastrophe.

In great revolutions much is effected by active talents; but perhaps more by that arrangement of events over which man has no control. It was William's intention to have sailed a month sooner than he appeared.[g] If his wishes had been fulfilled, he would have invaded Harold before the king of Norway, and would perhaps have shared his fate. For if the English king, with the disadvantages of a loss and desertion of his veteran troops, of new levies, of an inferior force, and an overweening presumption,[h] was yet able to balance the conflict with William's most concentrated, select, and skilfully exerted strength, until night was closing; if the victory was only decided by his casual death, how different would have been the issue, if Harold had met him with the troops which he marched against the Norwegians! But Providence had ordained that a new dynasty should give new manners, new connections, and new fortunes to the English nation. Events were therefore so made to follow, that all the talents of Harold, and the force of England, should not avail against the vicissitudes intended. While Harold's fleet watched the ocean, the adverse wind kept William in port. This fleet was dispersed by its stores failing; and at the same time the invasion of the king of Norway compelled Harold to leave his coast unguarded, and to hurry his soldiers to the north of the island. In this critical interval, while Harold was so occupied by land, and before his fleet had got revictualled, the

[g] At the foot of his anonymous MS., Taylor found this catalogue of the ships which were supplied for William's invasion:

By Willelmo dapifero filio Osberni sexaginta naves.
Hugone postea comite de Cestria totidem.
Hugone de Mumfort quinquaginta naves et sexaginta milites.
Romo Elemosinario Fescanni postea episcopo Lincoliensi unam navem cum viginti miltibus.
Nicholao Abbate de Sancto Audoeno quindecim naves cum centum militibus.
Roberto Comite Augi sexaginta naves.
Fulcone Dauno quadraginta naves.
Geroldo Dapifero totidem.
Willelmo Comite Deurons octoginta naves.
Rogero de Mumgumeri sexaginta naves.
Rogero de Boumont sexaginta naves.
Odone Episcopo de Baios centum naves.
Roberto de Morokmer centum et viginti.
Waltero Giffordo triginta cum centum militibus.

Extra has naves quæ computatæ simul M efficiunt habuit Dux a quibusdam suis hominibus secundum possibilitatem unius cujusque multas alias naves, p. 209.

[h] One chief reason of Harold's hastening to fight before he was fully prepared, is declared to have been, that he might find the Normans before they fled out of the country. Previous to the battle, he is said to have affirmed, that he had never done any thing more willingly in his life than his coming to meet William. Taylor's Anon. Hist. 191.

winds became auspicious to William, and he landed in safety. Immediately after this, the Saxon fleet was enabled to sail.

Harold had in the mean time conquered the Norwegians; but this very event, which seemed to insure the fate of William, became his safety. It inflated Harold's mind so as to disgust his own soldiery, and to rush to a decisive conflict in contempt of his adversary, before he was prepared to meet him. When the battle had begun, the abilities of Harold, and the bravery of his countrymen, seemed again likely to ruin the hopes of his great competitor. The death of Harold then terminated the contest, while William, who had been in as much danger as Harold, was not penetrated by a single weapon.

But it was ordained by the Supreme Director of events, that England should no longer remain insulated from the rest of Europe; but, should, for its own benefit and the improvement of mankind, become connected with the affairs of the continent. The Anglo-Saxon dynasty was therefore terminated; and a sovereign, with great continental possessions, was led to the English throne. By the consequences of this revolution, England acquired that interest and established that influence in the transactions and fortunes of its neighbours, which have continued to the present day, with equal advantages to its inhabitants and to Europe.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

CHAPTER I.

On the Structure or Mechanism of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

To explain the history of any language, is a task peculiarly difficult at any period of the world, in which we are so very remote from the era of its original construction.

We have as yet, witnessed no people in the act of forming their language; and cannot, therefore, from experience, demonstrate the simple elements from which a language begins, nor the additional organization which it gradually receives. The languages of highly civilized people, which are those that we are most conversant with, are in a state very unlike their ancient tongues. Many words have been added to them from other languages; many have deviated into meanings very different from their primitive significations; many have been so altered by the changes of pronunciation and orthography, as scarcely to bear any resemblance to their ancient form. The abbreviations of language, which have been usually called its articles, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, and interjections; the inflections of its verbs, the declensions of its nouns, and the very form of its syntax, have also undergone so many alterations from the caprice of human usage, that it is impossible to discern any thing of the mechanism of a language, but by ascending from its present state to its more ancient form.

The Anglo-Saxon is one of those ancient languages to which we may successfully refer, in our inquiries how language has been constructed.

As we have not had the experience of any people forming a

language, we cannot attain to a knowledge of its mechanism in any other way than by analyzing it; by arranging its words into their different classes, and by tracing these to their elementary sources. We shall perhaps be unable to discover the original words with which the language began, but we may hope to trace the progress of its formation, and some of the principles on which that progress has been made. In this inquiry I shall follow the steps of the author of the Diversions of Purley, and build upon his foundations; because I think that his book has presented to us the key to that mechanism which we have so long admired, so fruitlessly examined, and so little understood.

Words have been divided into nine classes: the article; the substantive, or noun; the pronoun; the adjective; the verb; the adverb; the preposition; the conjunction; and the interjection.

Under these classes all the Saxon words may be arranged, although not with that scientific precision with which the classifications of natural history have been made. Mr. Tooke has asserted, that in all languages there are only two sorts of words necessary for the communication of our thoughts, and therefore only two parts of speech, the noun and the verb, and that the others are the abbreviations of these.

But if the noun and the verb be only used, they will serve, not so much to impart our meaning, as to indicate it. These will suffice to express simple substances or facts, and simple motions of nature or man; but will do, by themselves, little else. All the connections, references, distinctions, limitations, applications, contrasts, relations, and refinements of thought and feeling—and therefore most of what a cultivated people wish to express by language, cannot be conveyed without those essential abbreviations—and therefore all nations have been compelled, as occasions occurred, as wants increased, and as thought evolved, to invent or adopt them, till all that were necessary became naturalized in the language.

That nouns and verbs are the most essential and primitive words of language, and that all others have been formed from them, are universal facts, which, after reading the Diversions of Purley, and tracing in other languages the application of the principles there maintained, no enlightened philologist will now deny. But though this is true as to the *origin* of these parts of speech, it may be questioned whether the names established by conventional use may not be still properly retained, because the words now classed as conjunctions, prepositions, &c., though originally verbs, are not verbs at present, but have been long separated from their verbal parents, and have become distinct parts of our grammatical syntax.

That the conjunctions, the prepositions, the adverbs, and the interjections of our language, have been made from our verbs

and nouns, Mr. Tooke has satisfactorily shown: and with equal truth he has affirmed, that articles and pronouns have proceeded from the same source. I have pursued his inquiries through the Saxon and other languages, and am satisfied that the same may be affirmed of adjectives. Nouns and verbs are the parents of all the rest of language; and it can be proved in the Anglo-Saxon, as in other tongues, that of these the nouns are the ancient and primitive stock, from which all other words have branched and vegetated.

The Anglo-Saxon adjectives may be first noticed.

The adjectives, which are or have been participles, have obviously originated from verbs, and they are by no means an inconsiderable number.

Adjectives which have been formed from participles, as aberendlic, bebeodenlic, &c. are referable to the same source.

But the large proportion of adjectives are either nouns used as adjectives,[a] or are nouns with an additional syllable. These additional syllables are or have been meaning words.

Lic is an Anglo-Saxon word, which implies similitude, and is a termination which includes a large class of adjectives.[b]

Another large class may be ranged under the ending leas, which implies loss or diminution.[c]

Another class of adjectives is formed by adding the word sum, which expresses a degree or portion of a thing.[d]

Other adjectives are made by putting the word full at the ends of nouns.[e]

A large collection of them might be made, which consist of nouns, and the syllable ig, as blod-ig, bloody; clif-ig, rocky; cræft-ig, skilful. Other adjectives are composed of a noun and cund; others of a noun and bær, &c. &c.

After these examples, it will be unnecessary to go through all the classes of adjectives, to show that they are either participles of verbs, or have sprung from nouns. Every one who takes that trouble will be convinced of the fact. I will only remark, that

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[a] As lath, evil, also pernicious; lenz, length, also long; hize, diligence, also diligent, &c.

[b] As ceorlic, vulgar, ceorl-lic; cildlic, childlike, cild-lic; circlic, ecclesiastical, circ-lic; cræftlic, workmanlike, cræft-lic; freolic, free, freo- (a lord) lic; freondlic, friendly, freond-lic; zodlic, divine, zod-lic; zramulic, furious, zrama- (anger) lic; fænlic, muddy, fen-lic; &c.

[c] As carleaf, void of care, car-leaf; cræftleaf, ignorant, cræft-leaf; facenleaf, not deceitful, facen-leaf; feoh-leaf, moneyless, dream-leaf, joyless, &c.

[d] As fremfum, benign, freme-fum; finfum, joyful, &c.

[e] As facen-ful, deceitful; deorc-full, dark; ege-ful, fearful, &c.

the Saxon comparative degree is usually formed by the addition of er. Now er or ær is a word which implies priority, and is therefore very expressively used to denote that degree of superiority which the comparative degree is intended to affirm. So est, which is the termination of the Saxon superlatives, is a noun which expresses munificence or abundance. Tir is a prefix which makes a superlative, and tir signifies supremacy and lordship.

The Anglo-Saxon VERBS have essentially contributed to form those parts of speech which Mr. Tooke has denominated the abbreviation of language. The verbs, however, are not themselves primitive words of our language. They are all in a state of composition. They are like the secondary mountains of the earth—they have been formed posterior to the ancient bulwarks of human speech, which are the nouns—I mean of course those nouns which are in their elementary state.

In some languages, as in the Hebrew, the verbs are very often the nouns applied unaltered to a verbal signification. We have examples of this sort of verbs in our English words, love, hate, fear, hope, dream, sleep, &c. These words are nouns, and are also used as verbs. Of verbs thus made by the simple application of nouns in a verbal form, the Anglo-Saxon gives few examples.

Almost all its other verbs are nouns with a final syllable added, and this final syllable is a word expressive of motion, or action, or possession.

To show this fact, we will take some of the Anglo-Saxon verbs:

Baꝺ, *a pledge.*	baꝺ-ian, *to pledge.*
bæꝛ, *a bier.*	bæꝛ-an, *to carry.*
bæth, *a bath.*	bæth-ian, *to wash.*
bat, *a club.*	beat-an, *to beat.*
beboꝺ, *a command.*	beboꝺ-an, *to command.*
biꝺꝺe, *a prayer.*	biꝺꝺ-an, *to pray.*
biȝ, *a crown.*	biȝ-an, *to bend.*
bliſſ, *joy.*	bliſſ-ian, *to rejoice.*
bloſtm, *a flower.*	bloſtm-ian, *to blossom.*
blot, *a sacrifice.*	blot-an, *to sacrifice.*
boꝺ, *an edict.*	boꝺ-ian, *to proclaim.*
boꝛȝ, *a loan.*	boꝛȝ-ian, *to bend.*
bꝛiꝺl, *a bridle.*	bꝛiꝺl-ian, *to bridle.*
bꝛoc, *misery.*	bꝛoc-ian, *to afflict.*
bẏe, *an habitation.*	bẏ-an, *to inhabit.*
bẏſeȝ, *business.*	bẏſȝ-ian, *to be busy.*
bẏſmꝛ, *contumely.*	bẏſmꝛ-ian, *to deride.*
bẏtla, *a builder.*	bẏtl-ian, *to build.*
caꝛ, *care.*	caꝛ-ian, *to be anxious.*

ceap, *cattle.*	ceap-ian, *to buy.*
cele, *cold.*	cel-an, *to cool.*
ceɲɲe, *a bending.*	ceɲɲ-an, *to return.*
cıð, *strife.*	cıð-an, *to quarrel.*
cẏnc, *a knot.*	cnẏcc-an, *to tie.*
comp, *a battle.*	comp-ian, *to fight.*
cɲæfc, *art.*	cɲæfc-an, *to build.*
cuɲſ, *a curse.*	cuɲſı-an, *to curse.*
cpıð, *a saying.*	cpẏðð-ian, *to say.*
cẏɲm, *a noise.*	cẏɲm-an, *to cry out.*
cẏch, *knowledge.*	cẏch-an, *to make known.*
coſ, *a kiss.*	cẏſſ-an, *to kiss.*
ðæl, *a part.*	ðæl-an, *to divide.*
ðæȝ, *day.*	ðæȝ-ian, *to shine.*
ðeaȝ, *colour.*	ðeaȝ-an, *to tinge.*

If we go through all the alphabet, we shall find that most of the verbs are composed of a noun, and the syllables an, ian, or gan. Of these additional syllables, gan is the verb of motion, to go, or the verb agan, to possess; and an seems sometimes the abbreviation of anan, to give,[f] and sometimes of the verbs gan and agan. Thus deagan, to tinge, appears to me deag-an, to give a colour; dælan, to divide, dæl-an, to give a part; cossan, to kiss, cos-an, to give a kiss; cursian, to curse, curs-an, to give a curse: while we may presume that curian, to be anxious, is car-agan, to have care; blostmian, to blossom, is blostm-agan, to have a flower; byan, to inhabit, is by-agan, to have a habitation. We may also say that cidan, to quarrel, is the abbreviation of cid-gan, to go to quarrel: bæthian, to wash, is bæth-gan, to go to a bath; biddan, to pray, is bidde-gan, to go to pray. The Gothic to pray, is bidgan.

That the words gan, or agan, have been abbreviated or softened into an, or ian, can be proved from several verbs. Thus fylgan, or filigian, to follow, is also filian. Thus fleogan, to fly, becomes also fleon and flion. So forhtigan, to be afraid, has become also forhtian. So fundigan has become fundian; gethyldgian, gethyldian; fengan, foan and fon: and teogan, teon. The examples of this change are innumerable.

This abbreviation is also proved by many of the participles of the abbreviated verbs ending in gend, thus showing the original infinitive to have been gen; as frefrian, to comfort, has its participle frefergend; fremian, to profit, freomigend; fulian has fuligend: gæmnian, gæmnigend, etc.

Many verbs are composed of the terminations above mentioned, and of words which exist in the Anglo-Saxon, not as nouns, but as adjectives, and of some words which are not to be

[f] It is probable that anan is a double infinitive, like gan-gan, to go, and that an is the original infinitive of the verb to give.

met with in the Anglo-Saxon, either as nouns or adjectives. But so true is the principle, that nouns were the primitive words of these verbs, and that verbs are but the nouns with the additional final syllables, that we shall very frequently find the noun we search for existing in the state of a noun in some of those languages which have a close affinity with the Anglo-Saxon. This language meets our eye in a very advanced state, and therefore when we decompose it we cannot expect to meet in itself all its elements. Many of its elements had dropped out of its vocabulary at that period wherein we find it, just as in modern English we have dropped a great number of words of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. In this treatise, which the necessary limits of my publication compel me to make very concise, I can only be expected to give a few instances.

Beran is to bring forth, or produce; there is no primitive noun answering to this verb in the Anglo-Saxon, but there is in the Franco-theotisc, where we find bar is fruit, or whatever the earth produces: ber-an is therefore to give fruit, or to produce. So mærsian, to celebrate, is from segan, to speak, and some noun from which the adjective mæra, illustrious, had been formed. The noun is not in the Saxon, but it is in the Franco-theotisc, where mera, is fame, or rumour; therefore mærsian, to celebrate a person, is mera-segan, to speak his fame. I have observed many examples of this sort.

In searching for the original nouns from which verbs have been formed, we must always consider if the verb we are inquiring about be a primitive verb or a secondary verb, containing either of the prefixes, a, be, ge, for, on, in, to, with, &c. &c. In these cases, we must strip the verb of its prefix, and examine its derivation under its earlier form. The verbs with a prefix are obviously of later origin than the verbs to which the prefix has not been applied.

Sometimes the verb consists of two verbs put together, as gangan, to go; so for-letan, to dismiss or leave, is composed of two verbs, faran, to go, lætan, to let or suffer, and is literally to let go.

The Anglo-Saxon NOUNS are not all of the same antiquity; some are the primitive words of the language from which every other has branched, but some are of later date.

We have mentioned the nouns of which the adjectives and the verbs have been formed. Such nouns are among the earliest of the language. But the more ancient nouns having been applied to form the adjectives and the verbs, a more recent series of nouns has been made by subjoining new terminations to the adjectives and verbs. Thus we have pursued the noun car to the adjective car-full. But this adjective, having been thus formed, has become the basis of a new substantive, by the addition of the

syllable nysse, and thus we have carfulnysse. In the same way the new noun carleasness has been made. So facenfulness, etc. etc.

A great many nouns have been made from verbs; as, gearcung, preparation, from gearcian, to prepare; gearnung, earning, from gearnian, to earn; geascung, an asking, from geascian, to ask; gebicnung, a presage, from gebicnian, to show, etc.

A new set of secondary nouns has been made by combining two more ancient nouns. Thus accorn, an acorn, is made up of ac, an oak, and corn; and thus accorn is literally the corn of the oak: so ceapscipa is a merchant ship; ceapman, a merchant, from ceap, originally cattle, and afterwards property, or business: and the other nouns, scipa, a ship; and man, a man. Thus ceasterwara, citizens, literally ceaster, a city, and wara, men. So burg-wara, citizens, from burg and wara. So eorldom, freondscip, etc.

A great many secondary nouns have been made by adding nouns of meaning terminations, which are in fact other nouns, as esse, or nesse; eld; er; ing, leaste; dom, rice, had; scipe; scire.

A very large proportion of nouns has been made by applying the primitive noun in a variety of figurative meanings. Thus originally ceap, cattle, came afterwards to express business, also sale, and also food. So cniht, a boy, a servant, a youth, a disciple, a client, and a soldier; cræft, art, is also workmanship, strength, power, and cunning. But an hundred examples might be adduced on this topic.

This view of the decomposition of the Anglo-Saxon language exhibits the same principles of mechanism which may be found in other languages. They appear very conspicuously in the Welsh language, which, from the long seclusion of the Welsh nation, has retained more of its ancient form than any other language now spoken in Europe. They may also be seen in the Gaelic.

Having thus succinctly exhibited the Anglo-Saxon language in a state of decomposition, we may form some notion of its mechanism and progress.

The primitive nouns expressing sensible objects, having been formed, they were multiplied by combinations with each other. They were then applied to express ideas more abstracted. By adding to them a few expressive syllables, the numerous classes of verbs and adjectives arose; and from these again other nouns and adjectives were formed. The nouns and verbs were then abbreviated and adapted into conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, and interjections. The pronouns were soon made from a sense of their convenience; and out of these came the articles. To illustrate these principles, from the various languages which I have examined, would expand these few pages into a volume.

and would be therefore improper; but I can recommend the subject to the attention of the philological student, with every assurance of a successful research.

The multiplication of language by the metaphorical application of nouns to express other nouns, or to signify adjectives, may be observed in all languages. Thus, beorht, light, was applied to express bright, shining, and illustrious. So deop, the sea, was applied to express depth.

As a specimen how the Anglo-Saxon language has been formed from the multiplication of simple words, I will show the long train of words which have been formed from a few primitive words. I select four of the words applicable to the mind. The numerous terms formed from them will illustrate the preceding observations on the mechanism of the language.

Ancient Noun:

þýge, *or* hige, *mind* or *thought.*
Secondary meaning:—*care*, *diligence*, *study.*
þoga, *care.*
þogu, *care*, *industry*, *effort.*

Adjectives, being the noun so applied:

þige, *diligent*, *studious*, *attentive.*
þoga, *prudent*, *solicitous.*

Verbs from the noun:

þogian, *to meditate*, *to study*, *to think*, *to be wise*, *to be anxious:* and hence *to groan.*
þýgian, þýggan, } *to study*, *to be solicitous*, *to endeavour.*

The verb, by use, having gained new shades of meaning and applications, we meet with it again; as,

hicgan, hýcgan, } *to study*, *to explore*, *to seek vehemently*, *to endeavour*, *to struggle.*

Secondary noun derived from the verb:

hogung, *care*, *effort*, *endeavour.*

Secondary nouns compounded of the ancient noun and another:

higecræft, *acuteness of mind.*
higeleaste, *negligence*, *carelessness.*
higesorga, *anxieties*, *mental griefs.*
hogascip, hogoscip, } *prudence.*
hýgeleast *folly*, *madness*, *scurrility.*
hýgesceaft, *the mind* or *thought.*

Adjectives composed of the ancient noun and a meaning word:

hýgelease, *void of mind*, *foolish.*

hẏʒe ꞃoꝼ, } *magnanimous, excellent in mind.*
hɪʒe ꞃoꝼ, }
hoʒꝼæʃt, } *prudent.*
hoʒoꝼeaʃt, }
hoʒꝼull, *anxious, full of care.*
hɪʒe ꝼꞃoð, *wise, prudent in mind.*
hɪʒe leaʃ, *negligent, incurious.*
hɪʒe ʃtʃanʒ, *strong in mind.*
hɪʒe thancle, *cautious, provident, thoughtful.*

Adverbs from the adjective:

hɪʒeleaʃ lɪce, *negligently, incuriously.*
hoʒꝼull lɪce, *anxiously.*

Ancient Noun:

Moð, *the mind;* also *passion and irritability.*

Verb:

moðɪan, } *to be high-minded.*
moðɪʒan, } *to rage.*
moðʒɪan, } *to swell.*

Adjectives composed of the noun and another word or syllable:

moðeʒ, } *irritable.*
moðɪʒ, } *angry, proud.*
moðꝼul, *full of mind, irritable.*
moðʒa, *elated, proud, distinguished.*
moðhꝑata, *fervid in mind.*
moðɪlɪc, *magnanimous.*
moð leaʃ, *weak-minded, pusillanimous.*
moð ʃtathol, *firm-minded.*
moðthꝑeꞃ, *patient in mind, meek, mild.*

Secondary nouns composed of the ancient noun and some other:

moð ʒethanc, *thoughts of the mind, council.*
moð ʒethoht, *strength of mind, reasoning.*
moð ʒeꝑɪnne, *conflicts of mind.*
moðeʃ mẏnla, *the affections of the mind, the inclinations.*
moðhete, *heat of mind, anger.*
moðleaʃte, *folly, pusillanimity, slothfulness.*
moðneʃʃe, *pride.*
moðʃeꝼa, *the intellect, sensation, intelligence.*
moð ʃoꞃʒ, *grief of mind.*

Secondary nouns of still later origin, having been formed after the adjectives, and composed of an adjective and another noun:

moðɪʒneʃʃe,
moðɪneʃʃe, *moodiness, pride, animosity.*
moð ʃeocneʃʃe, *sickness of mind.*
moð ʃtatholnẏʃʃe, *firmness of mind, fortitude.*
moð ʃumneʃʃe, *concord.*
moðthæꞃneʃʃe, *patience, meekness.*

Adverb formed from the adjective:

modɪȝlice, *proudly, angrily.*

The Ancient Noun:

Wɪt, } *the mind, genius, the intellect, the sense.*
Ȝepɪt, }
Secondary meaning:—*wisdom, prudence.*

Noun applied as an adjective:

pɪta,
pɪte, *wise, skilful.*
Ȝepɪta, *conscious;* hence a witness.

Verb formed from the noun:

pɪtan, *to know, to perceive.*
ȝepɪtan, *to understand.*
pɪteȝian, *to prophecy.*

Adjectives composed of the ancient noun, and an additional syllable or word:

pɪttɪȝ, *wise, skilled, ingenious, prudent.*
ȝe-pɪtɪȝ, *knowing, wise, intelligent.*
ȝe pɪtleaſ, *ignorant, foolish.*
ȝe pɪttɪȝ, *intelligent, conscious.*
ȝe pɪtſcoc, *ill in mind, demoniac.*
pɪtol, pɪttol, *wise, knowing.*

Secondary nouns formed of the ancient noun and another noun:

pɪteðom, *the knowledge of judgment, prediction.*
pɪteȝa, *a prophet.*
pɪteȝunȝ, *prophecy.*
pɪte ſaȝa, *a prophet.*
ȝepɪtleaſt, *folly, madness.*
ȝe pɪt loca, *the mind.*
ȝe pɪtneſſ, *witness.*
ȝepɪtſɪpe, *witness.*
pɪte cloþe, *trifles.*
pɪtpoɲð, *the answer of the wise.*

Nouns of more recent date, having been formed out of the adjectives:

ȝepɪtſeocneſſ, *insanity.*
pɪtɪȝðom, *knowledge, wisdom, prescience.*
pɪtolneſſe, *knowledge, wisdom.*

Secondary adjective, or one formed upon the secondary noun:

pɪteðomlɪc, *prophetical.*

Conjunctions:

pɪteðlice, } *indeed, for, but, to-wit.*
pɪtoðlice, }

Adverbs formed from participles and adjectives:

pɪtenðlice, *knowingly.*
pɪttɪȝlice.

Ancient Noun:

Ge-thanc, Ge-thonc, *the mind, thought, opinion.*

thank, thonc, *the will. thought.*

Secondary meaning:—*an act of the will, or thanks.*

thing, gething, *a council.*

And from the consequence conferred from sitting at the council, came

gethincth, *honour, dignity.*

Verbs formed from the noun:

thincan, thencan, *to think, to conceive, to feel, to reason, to consider.*

gethencan, gethengcan, *to think.*

thancian, gethancian, *to thank.*

thingan, *to address, to speak, to supplicate.*

gethancmetan, *to consider.*

Adjectives formed from the ancient noun:

thancol, thoncol, *thoughtful, meditating, cautious.*

ge thancol, *mindful.*

thancful, *thankful, ingenious, content.*

thancfunth, *grateful.*

thancolmod, *provident, wise.*

Secondary noun formed from the verb:

thoht, gethoht, *thinking, thought.*

getheaht, *council.*

getheahtere, *counsellor.*

thankung, *thanking.*

thancmetung, *deliberation.*

Secondary verb, from one of these secondary nouns:

getheahtian, *to consult.*

More recent noun, formed from the secondary verb:

getheahting, *council, consultation.*

Another secondary verb:

Ymbethencan, *to think about any thing.*

Adjective from a secondary verb:

getheahtendlic, *consulting.*

Adverb from one of the adjectives:

thancfunthlice, *gratefully.*

These specimens will evince to the observing eye how the Anglo-Saxon language has been formed; and they also indicate

that it had become very far removed from a rude state of speech. These derivative compounds imply much cultivation and exercise, and a considerable portion of mental discrimination. It is, indeed, in such an advanced state, that novels, moral essays, dramas, and the poetry of nature and feeling might be written in pure Anglo-Saxon, without any perceptible deficiency of appropriate terms.[5]

CHAPTER II.

On the Originality of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

It is difficult to ascertain the originality of the Saxon language; because, however rude the people who used it may have appeared to us, it is a fact that their language comes to us in a very cultivated shape.

Its cultivation is not only proved by its copiousness—by its numerous synonymes—by the declension of its nouns—the conjugation of its verbs—its abbreviated verbs, or conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositions, and its epithets or adjectives; but also by its great number of compound words applying to every shade of meaning.

[5] It was remarked in our first volume, that the three great stems of language in Europe were the Keltic; the Gothic, of which the Anglo-Saxon is a main branch; and the Sclavonic. We may here add, that other languages from Asia have also entered the northern and eastern parts of the European continent. The principal of these are the five related, but not identical languages of Lapland, Finland, and Hungary, and the Esthonian and Lettish. Professor Rask describes the Finnish as an original, regular, and graceful tongue, very melodious from the pleasing distribution of its vowels and consonants, and rich in a great variety of compound words, and with a boundless power of creating them. Its nouns have twelve cases, though only two or three declensions; and its verbs, though usually conjugated according to one common rule, have more forms than the Latin. Although it has a great variety of adverbs and prepositions, all its nouns are susceptible of twelve or fifteen modifications of purpose, possession, time, and place. It is remarkable that this Finnish language should want the first five consonants of our language, b, c, d, f, g. Its alphabet consists of only twelve consonants, but it has eight vowels. It is supposed to form the connecting link between the Esthonian and the Laplandish. Like the latter, it exhibits affinities with the Hungarian. The chief foreign works on it are Renvall's Dissertatio, Aboæ, 1815; Ganander's Myth. Fennica, Abo. 1789; Vhael's Gram. Fennica, Hels. 1821; Lenquist de Superst. Vet. Fenn. and Gotlund de Proverb. Fennica. The best English account of it is in the West. Rev. No. 14, p. 317. "Among the most curious fragments of ancient Finnish literature, are the *fables*. They consist of dialogues between rocks and rivers and forests; between birds, beasts, fishes, and human beings." Ibid. 339. The Finnish, Lettish, Esthonian, Laplandish, and Hungarian languages form the fourth and latest stream of human speech that has entered Europe from Asia, and probably came into it at the period of the first Hunnish invasion.

By the Anglo-Saxon appearing to us in a state so advanced, it is very difficult to ascertain its originality. It is difficult, when we find words corresponding with those of other languages, to distinguish those which it originally had, like the terms of other tongues, and those which it had imported.

The conjugation of its substantive verb, however, proves that it is by no means in its state of original purity; for instead of this being one verb, with inflections of itself throughout its tenses, it is composed of the fragments of no fewer than five substantive verbs, the primitive terms of which appear in other languages. The fragments of these five words are huddled together in the Anglo-Saxon, and thus make up its usual conjugations.

To perceive this curious fact, it will be useful to recollect the same verb in the Greek and Latin.

In the Greek, the verb ειμι is regularly deflected through almost all its tenses and persons. In the Latin it is otherwise. We begin these with *sum*, and pass directly to the inflections of another word more like the Greek ειμι; but the inflections of *sum* are frequently intermixed. Thus,

Sum,	sumus.
es,	estis.
est,	sunt.

Here we see at one glance two verbs deflecting; the one into *sum, sumus, sunt;* the other into *es, est, estis.* In the imperfect and future tenses *eram* and *ero*, we see one of the verbs continuing; but in the perfect, *fui*, a new deflecting verb suddenly appears to us:

fuï, fuisti, fuit, fuimus, fuistis, fuerunt.

In another of its tenses we have the curious exhibition of two of the former verbs being joined together to make a new inflection; as,

fuero, fueris, fuerit, &c.

This is literally a combination of *fui* and *ero;* which indeed its meaning implies, "*I shall have been.*"

The Anglo-Saxon substantive verb is also composed out of several verbs. We can trace no fewer than five in its different inflections.

I am,	eom,	eart,	ys,	synd,	synd,	synd.
I was,	wæs,	wære,	wæs,	wæron,	wæron,	wæron.
	beo,	byst,	byth,	beoth,	beoth,	beoth.

The infinitive is beon, or wesan, *to be.*

These are the common inflections of the above tenses; but we sometimes find the following variations:

For *I am*, we sometimes have eom, am, om, beo, ar, sy;

For *thou art*, we have occasionally eart, arth, bist, es, sy;

For *he is*, we have ys, bith, sy;

And for the plural we have synd, syndon, synt, sien, beoth, and bithon.

In these inflections we may distinctly see five verbs, whose conjugations are intermixed:

eom, es, ys,	are of one family, and resemble the Greek εἰμι.
ar, arth, *and* am, are,	proceed from another parent, and are not unlike the Latin eram.
sy, sy, sy, synd,	are from another, and recall to our minds the Latin sum and sunt.
wæs, wære, wæs, wæron,	seem referable to another branch, of which the infinitive, wesan, was retained in the Anglo-Saxon.
beon, bist, bith, beoth,	belong to a distinct family, whose infinitive, beon, was kept in use.

But it is curious to consider the source of the last verb, beo, and beon, which the Flemings and Germans retain in ik ben and ich bin, *I am*.

The verb beo seems to have been derived from the Cimmerian or Celtic language, which was the earliest that appeared in Europe; because the Welsh, which has retained most of this tongue, has the infinitive, bod, and some of its reflections. The perfect tense is

bum, buost, bu, buam, buac, buant.

The Anglo-Saxon article is also compounded of two words; as

Nom.	Se,	seo,	that.
Gen.	thæs,	thære,	this.
Dat.	tham,	thære,	tham.
Acc.	thone,	tha,	that.

Se and *that* are obviously distinct words.

When we consider these facts, and the many Anglo-Saxon nouns which can be traced into other languages, it cannot be affirmed that the Anglo-Saxon exhibits to us an original language. It is an ancient language, and has preserved much of the primitive form; but a large portion of it seems to have been made up from other ancient languages.

CHAPTER III.

On the Copiousness of the Saxon Language.

This language has been thought to be a very rude and barren tongue, incapable of expressing any thing but the most simple and barbarous ideas. The truth, however, is, that it is a very copious language, and is capable of expressing any subject of human thought. In the technical terms of those arts and sciences which have been discovered, or much improved, since the Norman Conquest, it must of course be deficient. But books of history, belles lettres, and poetry, may be now written in it, with considerable precision and correctness, and even with much discrimination, and some elegance of expression.

The Saxon abounds with synonymes. I will give a few instances of those which my memory can supply. To express

Man.	Woman.[2]
man.	ıðeſ.
nıth.	ꝑẏꝼ.
ꝼıꝛa.	ꝼemne.
calla.	meȝth.
ȝuma.	eꝑe.
hæleth.	meoꝑla.
ꝑeꝛ.	blæð.
ꝛınc.	mennen.
ꝼolc.	pıȝa.
Secȝelðeꝛbaꝛnum.	Lebeðða.

For persons possessing power and anthority they used

ꝑalðenðe.	balðoꝛ.
bꝛeȝo.	ꝼꝛumȝaꝛa.
bꝛema.	ðꝛıhten.
bꝛẏtta.	ealðoꝛ.
ꝼꝛea.	hlaꝼoꝛð.
tẏꝛ.	be
holð.	
theoðne.	neꝛe.
tohtan.	ꝛeſꝑa.

[2] The Finnish word for woman is waimo.

Besides the compounds

folcer nerran.	leodhata.
folc togan.	heathorinc.
figina balden.	leoda nerran.
burga ealdon.	æthelboren.
nice man.	frymtha paldend.

And besides the official names of

cyning.	eorl.
ealdorman.	thegn.
heretogar.	gerithcundeman, &c.

For property they had in use the terms

yrfe.	sceat.
neaf.	sinc.
æhta.	ceap.
feoh.	

Besides the metaphors from the metals and coins.

In a poem we find the following synonymous terms used to express convivial shouting:

hlydde.	stefnmde.
hlyned.	gelyde.
dyned.	

To the mind we find several words appropriated:

mod.	refa.	higerceft.
gethanc.	mod-refa.	ingehygd.
fenth.	gemynd.	mod-gethoht.
hige.	gefnæge.	gethoht
hnethen.	ge-fit.	onthanc.
gefit loca.	huncofa.	andgit.

For knowledge and learning they had list, crœft, leornung, leornesse.

For the sea,

brym.	mæne.	egstream.
loge.	yth.	fætener.
fæ.	ganrecg.	holm.
ea.	stream.	fepe.
flode.	sillflod.	

Besides numerous metaphors; as

Span nade.
Lanotef bath, &c.

For poetry and song,

leoth.	dreamnessre.
fitt.	gethpene.
gyd.	spell.
sang.	

They had a great number of words for a ship; and to express

the Supreme, they used more words and phrases than I can recollect to have seen in any other language.

Indeed the copiousness of their language was receiving perpetual additions from the lays of their poets. I have already mentioned that the great features of their poetry were metaphor and periphrasis. On these they prided themselves. To be fluent in these was the great object of their emulation; the great test of their merit. Hence Cedmon, in his account of the deluge, uses near thirty synonymous words and phrases to express the ark. They could not attain this desired end without making new words and phrases by new compounds, and most of these became naturalized in the language. The same zeal for novelty of expression led them to borrow words from every other language which came within their reach.

We have a specimen of the power of the language in Elfric's Saxon Grammar, in which we may perceive that he finds Saxon words for the abstruse distinctions and definitions of grammar. A few may be added.

verbum	word.
accidentia	gelimplic thing.
significatio	getacnunge.
actio	dæde.
passio	throwinge.
tempus	tid.
modus	ge met.
species	hiw.
figura	gefegednyss.
conjugatio	getheodnyss.
persona	had.
numerus	getel.
anomala	unemne.
inequalis	ungelic.
defectiva	ateorigendlic.
frequentativa	gelomlæcende.
inchoativa	onginnendlic.

To express indeclinables the natural resources of the language failed him, and he adopts the Latin word, and gives it a Saxonized form.

The astronomical treatises which have been already mentioned, show a considerable power in the language to express even matters of science.

But the great proof of the copiousness and power of the Anglo-Saxon language may be had from considering our own English, which is principally Saxon. It may be interesting to show this by taking some lines of our principal authors, and marking in *Italics* the Saxon words they contain.

SHAKSPEARE.

To be or not to be, that is the question;
Whether 'tis nobler *in the mind to* suffer
The stings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms *against a sea of* troubles,
And by opposing *end them? To die, to sleep;*
No more! and by a sleep to say we end
The heart-ach, and the thousand natural *shocks*
The flesh is heir *to! 'twere a* consummation
Devoutly *to be wish'd. To die; to sleep;*
To sleep? perchance *to dream!*

MILTON.

With thee conversing *I forget all time,*
All seasons, *and their* change; *all* please *alike.*
Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,
With charm *of earliest birds;* pleasant *the sun*
When first on this delightful *land he spreads*
His orient *beams on* herb, *tree,* fruit, *and* flower,
Glistening with dew; fragrant *the* fertile *earth*
After soft showers; and sweet the coming on
Of grateful *evening mild; then* silent *night*
With this her solemn *bird, and this fair moon,*
And these the gems *of heaven, her starry train.*

COWLEY.

Mark that swift arrow! how it cuts *the* air.
How it outruns the following eye!
Use *all* persuasions *now and* try
If thou canst call *it back, or* stay *it there.*
That way it went; but thou shalt find
No track *is left behind.*
Fool! 'tis thy life, and the fond archer *thou.*
Of all the time thou'st shot away
I'll bid thee fetch but yesterday,
And it shall be too hard a task *to do.*

TRANSLATORS OF THE BIBLE.

And they made ready the present *against* Joseph *came at noon: for they heard that they should eat bread there. And when* Joseph *came home, they brought him the* present *which was in their hand into the house, and bowed themselves to him to the earth. And he asked them of their welfare, and said, Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? Is he yet alive? And they answered, Thy* servant *our father is in good health, he is yet alive. And they bowed down their heads, and made* obeisance. *And he lifted up his eyes, and saw his brother* Benjamin, *his mother's son, and said, Is this your younger brother, of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be* gracious *unto thee, my son.* Gen. xliii. 25–29.

Then when Mary *was come where* Jesus *was, and saw him, she fell down at his feet, saying unto him, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. When* Jesus *therefore saw her weeping, and the* Jews *also weeping which came with her, he groaned in the* spirit, *and was* troubled. *And said, Where have ye laid him? They said unto him, Lord, come and see.* Jesus *wept. Then said the* Jews, *Behold how he loved him!* John, xi. 32–36.

THOMSON.

These as they change, *Almighty Father! these*
Are but the varied *God. The* rolling *year*
Is full of thee. Forth in the pleasing *spring*
Thy beauty *walks, thy* tenderness *and love.*
Wide flush the fields; the soft'ning air is balm,
Echo *the mountains round; the* forest *smiles:*
And every sense *and every heart is* joy.
Then comes thy glory *in the summer months,*
With light and heat refulgent. *Then thy sun*
Shoots full perfection *through the swelling year.*

ADDISON.

I was yesterday, about sunset, walking in the open fields, till the night insensibly *fell upon me. I at first* amused *myself with all the richness and* variety *of* colours *which* appeared *in the western parts of heaven. In* proportion *as they* faded *away and went out,* several *stars and* planets appeared, *one after another, till the whole* firmament *was in a* glow. *The blueness of the* ether *was* exceedingly *heightened and enlivened by the* season *of the year.*

SPENSER.

Hard is the doubt, *and* difficult *to deem,*
When all three kinds of love together meet,
And do dispart *the heart with* power extreme,
Whether shall weigh the balance *down; to weet*
The dear affection *unto kindred sweet,*
Or raging *fire of love to woman kind,*
Or zeal *of friends,* combined *with* virtues *meet:*
But of them all the band of virtuous *mind*
Me seems the gentle *heart should most* assured *bind.*

Book iv. c. 9.

LOCKE.

Every man, being conscious *to himself, that he thinks, and that, which his mind is* applied *about whilst thinking, being the* ideas *that are there; it is* past doubt, *that men have in their minds* several ideas. *Such as are those* expressed *by the words, whiteness, hardness, sweetness, thinking,* motion, *man,* elephant, army, *drunkenness, and others. It is in the first* place, *then, to be* inquired, *How he comes by them? I know it is a* received doctrine *that men have* native ideas, *and* original characters stamped *upon their minds in their very first being.*

Locke's Essay, Book xi. ch. 1.

POPE.

How happy *is the* blameless vestal's *lot!*
The world forgetting, by the world forgot;
Eternal *sunshine of the* spotless *mind!*
Each prayer accepted, *and each wish* resign'd;
Labour *and* rest *that* equal periods *keep;*
Obedient *slumbers that can wake and weep;*
Desires composed, affections *ever even;*
Tears that delight, *and sighs that waft to heaven.*
Grace *shines around her with* serenest beams,
And whispering angels prompt *her golden* dreams.
For her th' unfading *rose of* Eden *blooms,*
And wings of seraphs *shed* divine perfumes.

YOUNG.

Let Indians, *and the* gay, *like* Indians, *fond*
Of feather'd fopperies, *the sun* adore;
Darkness has more divinity *for me;*
It strikes thought inward; it drives back the soul
To settle on herself, our point supreme.
There lies our theatre: *there sits our* judge.
Darkness the curtain *drops o'er life's dull* scene;
'Tis the kind hand of Providence *stretch'd out*
'Twixt man and vanity; *'tis* reason's reign,
And virtue's *too; these* tutelary *shades*
Are man's asylum *from the* tainted *throng.*
Night is the good man's friend and guardian too.
It no less rescues virtue, *than* inspires.

SWIFT.

Wisdom is a fox, who, after long hunting, will at last cost you the pains *to dig out. 'Tis a cheese, which by how much the richer has the thicker, the homelier, and the* coarser coat; *and whereof, to a* judicious palate, *the* maggots *are the best. 'Tis a* sack posset, *wherein the deeper you go you will find it the sweeter. But then, lastly, 'tis a nut, which, unless you choose with* judgment, *may cost you a tooth, and* pay *you with nothing but a worm.*

ROBERTSON.

This great emperor, *in the* plenitude *of his* power, *and in* possession *of all the* honours *which can* flatter *the heart of man, took the* extraordinary resolution *to* resign *his kingdom; and to withdraw* entirely *from any* concern *in business or the* affairs *of this world, in* order *that he might spend the* remainder *of his days in* retirement *and* solitude. Dioclesian, *is,* perhaps, *the only* prince, capable *of holding the* reins *of* government, *who ever* resigned *them from* deliberate *choice, and who* continued during *many years to* enjoy *the* tranquillity *of* retirement, *without fetching one* penitent *sigh, or* casting *back one look of* desire *towards the* power *or* dignity *which* he had abandoned.

Charles V.

HUME.

The beauties *of her* person, *and* graces *of her* air, combined *to make her the most* amiable *of women; and the* charms *of her* address *and* conversation, aided *the* impression *which her lovely* figure *made on the heart of all beholders.* Ambitious *and* active *in her* temper, *yet* inclined *to* cheerfulness *and* society; *of a lofty* spirit, constant *and even* vehement *in her* purpose, *yet* politic, gentle, *and* affable *in her* demeanour, she seemed *to* par*take only so much of the* male virtues, *as to* render *her* estimable, *without* relinquishing *those soft* graces *which* compose *the* proper ornament *of her* sex.

GIBBON.

In the second century *of the* Christian era *the* empire *of* Rome comprehended *the fairest* part *of the earth, and the most* civilized portion *of mankind. The* frontiers *of that* extensive monarchy *were guarded by* ancient renown *and* disciplined valour. *The* gentle *but* powerful influence *of laws and manners had* gradually cemented *the* union *of the* provinces. *Their peaceful* inhabitants enjoyed *and* abused *the* advantages *of wealth and* luxury. *The* image *of a free* constitution *was* preserved *with* decent reverence.

JOHNSON.

Of genius, *that* power *which* constitutes *a* poet; *that* quality, *without which* judgment *is cold and knowledge is* inert; *that* energy *which* collects, combines, amplifies, *and* animates; *the* superiority *must, with some* hesitation, *be* allowed *to* Dryden. *It is not to be* inferred *that of this* poetical vigour Pope *had only a little, because* Dryden *had more; for every other writer since* Milton *must give* place *to* Pope; *and even of* Dryden *it must be said, that if he has brighter* paragraphs, *he has not better* poems.

From the preceding instances we may form an idea of the power of the Saxon language; but by no means a just idea; for we must not conclude that the words which are not Saxon could not be supplied by Saxon words. On the contrary, Saxon terms might be substituted for almost all the words not marked as Saxon.

To impress this sufficiently on the mind of the reader, it will be necessary to show how much of our ancient language we have laid aside, and have suffered to become obsolete; because all our writers, from Chaucer to our own times, have used words of foreign origin rather than our own.

In three pages of Alfred's Orosius I found 78 words which have become obsolete, out of 548, or about $\frac{1}{7}$. In three pages of his Boetius I found 143 obsolete, out of 666, or about $\frac{1}{5}$. In three pages of his Bede I found 230 obsolete, out of 969, or about $\frac{1}{5}$. The difference in the proportion between these and the Orosius proceeds from the latter containing many historical names. Per-

haps we shall be near the truth if we say, as a general principle, that one-fifth of the Anglo-Saxon language has ceased to be used in modern English. This loss must be of course taken into account when we estimate the copiousness of our ancient language, by considering how much of it our English authors exhibit.

I cannot agree with Hickes, in classing the works of Alfred under that division of the Saxon language which he calls Danish Saxon. The Danes had no footing in England till after the period of Alfred's manhood, and when they obtained a settlement, it was in East Anglia and Northumbria. We cannot therefore suppose that Alfred borrowed any part of his language from the Danes. None of their language could have become naturalized in Wessex before he wrote, nor have been adopted by him without either reason or necessity. We may therefore refer to the Anglo-Saxon laws before the reign of Athelstan, and to the works of Alfred, as containing the Anglo-Saxon language in its genuine and uncorrupted state.

CHAPTER IV.

On the Affinities and Analogies of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

All languages which I have examined, besides discovering some direct ancestral consanguinity with particular tongues; as the Saxon with the Gothic, Swedish, Danish, &c.; and the Latin with the Greek; display also, in many of their words, a more distant relationship with almost all. Some word or other may be traced in the vocabularies of other nations; and every language bears strong marks, that events have happened to the human race, like those which Moses has recorded in his account of the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of mankind. The fragments of an original tongue seem, more or less, to exist in all; and no narrated phenomenon of ancient history accounts for the affinities and analogies of words which all languages exhibit, so satisfactorily as the abruption of a primitive language into many others, sufficiently different to compel separations of the general population, and yet retaining in all, some indications of a common origin.

In such a confusion of mind, memory, and organs, as must have attended such an incident, most of the words and much of the structure of language would be materially altered in the future pronunciation, recollection, and use of the scattered families then existing, and consequentially in the orthography. But it is pro-

bable that many words would descend amid these variations into all the subsequent tongues: not the same words in every one, because various accidents would diversify what each retained; but every tongue will be found to have several terms which exist with the same meanings, or display related analogies, in other distant and apparently unconnected nations. Some of these fragments of the primitive tongues, or of some primeval speech, or their derivatives, might with adequate labour and care and judgment be still collected; but the task demands so much penetration—such a solid discrimination—such an abstinence from all warmth of imagination—such a suspension of human egotism—and such an extensive acquaintance with the numerous languages of the world, that perhaps no single individual could be found, capable of conducting the inquiry to a satisfactory termination. Such a curious collection would require many co-operators, and many successive efforts.

But many persons, if they applied early to the subject, might gradually contribute to the accomplishment of the great task, by observing what affinities, or analogies, either directly or derivatively, some one particular language has with others; not pursuing the delusive chimera of deriving it from any specific one, but endeavouring to trace its general relationship with all. I wished to have attempted this with the Anglo-Saxon language, but a defection of health, and adverse occupations, have interfered to prevent me from gratifying my own wishes. It may, however, be worth while to preserve a list of those analogies which I had begun to notice as deserving our consideration, in an ancient tongue; and therefore the following are subjoined to this History. Though the affinity of some may be questioned, yet in most it will be found highly probable, and too frequently, to have occurred by mere chance.

a, *always.*
  a, *life, New Zeal.*
abiɒan, *to remain, to abide.*
  abadan (*a dwelling*) *Pers.*
  abi (*a habitation*) *Tonga.*
ac, *but.*
  ac (*but*) *Irish.*
ace, *ach, pain.*
  αχος (*pain*) *Greek.*
æbʃ, *a fir-tree.*
  abies, *Lat.*
æcɲ, *a field; an acre.*
  ager, *Lat.*
  αγρος, *a field.*
æhꞇa, *eight.*
  octo, *Lat.*
æl, *oil.*
  oleum, *Lat.*
æleɒ, *fire.*
ælan, *to flame.*
  al (*light*) *Arab.*
  ilak (*shining*) *ib.*
æn, *one.*
  εν, *Greek.*
  unus, *Lat.*
ænʒa, *narrow.*
  angustus, (*narrow*) *Lat.*
ænʒel, *angel.*
  ανγελος, *Greek.*
æɲ, *brass.*
  eris, (*of brass*) *Lat.*
æɲen, *brazen.*
  æreus (*brazen*) *Lat.*

æɾ, *food.*
asha (*a supper*) *Susoo.*
es (*eat*) *Lat.*
esca (*food*) *ib.*
æt, *he eat.*
est (*he eat*) *Lat.*
æx, *an axe.*
αξινη, *an hatchet.*
æx, *an axle.*
axis (*an axle*) *Lat.*
αξων, *an axle.*
aɾeɲɲan, *to take away.*
auferre (*to take away*) *Lat.*
aʒen, *frightened.*
ag (*fear*) *Irish.*
aʒ, *wickedness.*
ag (*fight*) *Irish.*
ahɾẏɲɾan, *to turn away.*
avertere (*to turn away*) *Lat.*
ahma (*the spirit*) *Goth.*
αημα.
aɪv (*an age*) *Goth.*
ævum (*an age*) *Lat.*
aɪʒ, (*brass*) *Goth.*
æs, (*brass*) *Lat.*
all, *all.*
allɾ, (*all, the whole*) *Goth.*
ολος, *the whole.*
alne, *the arm.*
ulna (*the arm*) *Lat.*
alɾan, *aloes.*
aloes (*aloes*) *Lat.*
ambeɲ, *a vessel.*
amphora (*a vessel*) *Lat.*
amɾ, *the shoulder.*
ωμος, *the shoulder.*
an, *in.*
in (*in*) *Lat.*
anceɲ, *an anchor.*
αγκυρα, *an anchor.*
anchora, *Lat.*
aðe, *an heap.*
αδην, *enough.*
αδδην, *abundant.*
aɪnɾ, *one Goth.*
unus (*one*) *Lat.*
alðoɲ, *elder.*
alðɪan, *to grow old.*
alds (*age*) *Goth.*
αλδρω, *to increase.*
aleɪ, *fire.*
haul (*the sun*) *Welsh.*
αλεα, *the heat of the sun.*
alenɪan, *maccrare.*
αλυω, *to pine.*
alh, *a temple.*
αλοος, *a sacred grove.*
amolɾnɪan, *to putrify.*
αμαλος, *soft.*
mollis (*soft*) *Lat.*
amunðɪan, *to defend.*
αμυνο, *to succour.*
ana, (*over, above*) *Goth.*
αναξ, *a king.*
ancʒel, *an hook.*
αγκυλος, *crooked.*
αγκυλη, *a dart.*
anakumbʒan, *to lie down.*
ανακειμαι, *to lie down.*
accumbere (*to lie down*) *Lat.*
anðanemɾ, (*pleasing, acceptable*) *Goth.*
ανδανεν, *to please.*
anʒe, *sad, severely vexed.*
αναγκη, *fate.*
anunan, *to take away.*
ανεμος, *wind.*
anɪhɲoe, *causing horror.*
ανθραξ, *burning coals.*
aɲeoɾɪan, *to cut off.*
αρασσειν, *to cut off.*
aɲʒ, *bad, wicked.*
αργος, *idle, slothful.*
aɲoð, *ready.*
αρω, *I fit.*
aɾpanan, *to allure.*
ασπαζομαι, *I kiss.*
aɾtẏɲɲeð, *starred.*
αςηρ, *a star.*
aɪtoɲ, *poison.*
aɪtoɲɪan, *to perish, to corrupt.*
αταω, *to wound,* or *hurt.*
anxɾumneɾ, *anxiety.*
anxietas (*anxiety*) *Lat.*
aplanɪan, *to plant.*
plantare (*to plant*) *ib.*
aɲe, *brass.*
ære (*in brass*) *ib.*
aɲ, *wealth.*
ar (*tillage*) *Irish.*

arca, *a chest.*
arca (*a chest*) *Lat.*
arian, *to honour, to pardon.*
araiana (*health*) *Susoo.*
aral, *an ass.*
arra, *an ass.*
asinus (*an ass*) *Lat.*
arceacan, *to shake off.*
excutere, *ib.*
arræpan, *to scrape.*
scribu (*to scrape*) *Russian.*
are, *as.*
asay (*like*) *Persian.*
asha (*like*) *ib.*
aththan (*but*) *Goth.*
autem (*but*) *Lat.*
auther, *another.*
alter (*another*) *Lat.*
aþegan, *to carry away.*
evehere (*to carry away*) *Lat.*

Barm, *a bay.*
bar (*a frith, the sea*) *Irish.*
barn (*a son*) *Goth.*
bearn (*a son*) *Sax.*
barr (*a son*) *Irish.*
beard, *a beard.*
barba (*a beard*) *Lat.*
bedælan, *to separate.*
bdl, (*to separate*) *Chald.*
bedelfan, *to dig.*
bdil (*tin*) *Chald.*
bellan, *to bellow.*
bula (*to make a thundering noise*) *Susoo.*
benam, *he deprived.*
bana (*castrated*) *Susoo.*
beorcan, *to bark.*
bare (*a dog*) *Susoo.*
beran, *to bear*, or *carry.*
beri (*to bear*) *Susoo.*
bi, *near.*
be (*here*) *Susoo.*
bi (*against*) *Goth.*
bi (*against*) *Susoo.*
blætt, *bleats.*
balat (*bleats*) *Lat.*
bog, *a bough.*
boge, (*fruit*) *Sus.*
box, *the box-tree.*
buxus (*the box-tree*) *Lat.*
brego, *a king.*
rego (*to govern*) *Lat.*
regem (*a king*) *ib.*
buan, *to inhabit.*
bu (*to stay long*) *Sus.*
bu (*to continue*) *ib.*
bŷrel, *a cup-bearer.*
beri (*intoxicating liquor*) *Sus.*
borg, *a stall.*
βους, *an ox.*
brad, *huge, vast.*
βραδος, *heavy.*
brædan, *to roast.*
βραζειν, *to boil.*
bræchme, *a noise.*
βραχειν, *to make a noise.*
bræc, *he broke.*
bric, *a fragment.*
brocor, *broken.*
βραχυς, *short.*
bremman, *fremere.*
βρεμειν, *to threaten.*
broc, *a brook.*
βρεχω, *I water.*
brucan, *to eat.*
βρυχειν, *to bite*, or *swallow.*
βροσκειν, *to eat.*
barth, *a skiff.*
βαρις, *a boat.*
beal, *destruction.*
bil, *a bill*, or *weapon.*
βελος, *a dart.*

Cæge, *a key.*
χεω, *to take.*
εχω, *to hold.*
cælan, *to be cold.*
gelu (*frost*) *Lat.*
cænnan, *to know.*
γινωσκω, *I know.*
cænned, *born.*
γινομαι, *I am born.*
cænrŷn, *a race.*
γενναι, *a race.*
carf, *quick, sharp.*
καφορη, *a fox.*
cald, *cold.*
gelidus (*cold*) *Lat.*

calic, *a cup.*
calix (*a cup*) *Lat.*
calð, *called.*
καλεω, *I call.*
κελλω, *I call.*
calo, *bald.*
calvus (*bald*) *Lat.*
camp, *a field of battle, a camp.*
campus (*a field*) *ib.*
camp (*a feat, a circle*) *Welsh.*
cancepe, *a crab, a disease.*
cancer (*a crab*) *Lat.*
candel, *a candle.*
candela (*a candle*) *ib.*
canna, *a can, a bowl.*
καννης, *a can, a bowl.*
canistrum (*a can, a bowl*) *Lat.*
cancetunȝ, *horselaugh.*
cachinnus (*horselaugh*) *ib.*
καγχαζω, *I horselaugh.*
cap, *care.*
cura (*care*) *Lat.*
kir (*passion*) *Armenian.*
cardd (*shame, disgrace*) *Wel.*
cur (*anxiety*) *ib.*
κηρ, *calamity.*
kharchar (*anguish*) *Pers.*
khar (*a thorn*) *ib.*
carc (*care*) *Welsh.*
capian, *to be anxious.*
γερυειν, *to complain.*
capp, *a rock, a stone.*
careg (*a stone*) *Welsh.*
cat, *a cat.*
καλτος, *a cat.*
cattus (*a cat*) *Lat.*
cath (*a cat*) *Welsh.*
caul, *colewort.*
caulis (*colewort*) *Lat.*
capl, *a basket.*
cawell (*a basket*) *Welsh.*
cau (*to enclose*) *ib.*
ceaf, *chaff.*
καρφη, *chaff.*
cealc, *chalk, a stone.*
calx (*a stone*) *Lat.*
ceap, *cattle.*
γηπονεια, *agriculture.*
γηπεδον, *a farm.*
ceappan, *to kill, to carve.*
καρφειν, *to break in pieces.*
κειρειν, *to cut.*
ceaft, *a strife, contention.*
cas, *Welsh.*
ceaftep, *a city, a castle.*
kostra (*a castle*) *Chaldee.*
castrum (*a castle*) *Lat.*
ceȝan, *to call.*
καυχομαι, *I boast.*
cene, *bold, hostile.*
keno (*bad*) *New Zeal.*
cennan, *to beget.*
γενναειν, *to beget.*
cenedlu (*to beget*) *Welsh.*
ceo, *a crow.*
κορωνη, *a crow.*
ceol, *a ship.*
κελης, *swift.*
cepan, *to covet, to entrap.*
captare (*to covet, to entrap*) *Lat.*
cepnan, *to churn.*
corddi (*to churn*) *Welsh.*
ceppe, *a bend, a turning.*
coredd (*a winding*) *Welsh.*
corddi (*to turn about*) *ib.*
cor (*a round*) *ib.*
cefe, *cheese.*
caseus, *Lat.*
ceðpan, *to keep*, or *hold.*
capsa (*a chest*) *ib.*
cicen, *the young, a chick.*
cyw (*the young*) *Welsh.*
cið, *contention, strife.*
cad (*a battle*) *Welsh.*
cimbal, *a cymbal.*
cymbalum (*a cymbal*) *Lat.*
cinð, *a race.*
cenau (*an offspring*) *Welsh.*
cenedl (*a tribe*) *ib.*
kin (*a wife*) *Armen.*
cinn, *a kind*, or *race.*
genus (*a race*) *Lat.*
cipcol, *a circle.*
circulus (*a circle*) *ib.*
cipclic, *circular.*
circularis (*circular*) *Lat.*
cirf, *benignity, bounty.*
chsd (*benignity, bounty*) *Heb.*

ciſte, *a chest.*
cista (*a chest*) *Lat.*
ciſten beam, *a chestnut tree.*
castanea (*a chestnut tree*) *ib.*
cite, *a city.*
civitas (*a city*) *ib.*
cluſa, *a prison.*
clausus (*shut up*) *ib.*
κλειω, *I shut up.*
cleoþ, *a globe.*
globus (*a globe*) *Lat.*
climan, *to climb.*
κλιμαξ, *a ladder.*
cloccan, *to clock.*
glocire (*to clock*) *Lat.*
cleoſſian, *to call.*
κλαζειν, *to make a noise.*
cloþ, *to clew.*
glomus (*a clew*) *Lat.*
κλωθω, *I spin.*
cliff, *a hill.*
collis (*a hill*) *Lat.*
cluffiht, *full of cliffs.*
clivosus (*full of cliffs*) *ib.*
cnæp, *a button.*
cnap (*a knob*) *Welsh.*
cneaſt, *a ship.*
nav (*a ship*) *Armenian.*
navis (*a ship*) *Lat.*
ναυς, *a ship.*
cneou, *the knee.*
genu (*the knee*) *Lat.*
κνημη, *the leg.*
cnif, *a knife.*
κναω, *to cut.*
cnif (*pain*) *Welsh.*
cnocian, *to beat, to know.*
cnociaw (*to knock*) *ib.*
cnoðian, *to bestow.*
cnod (*a crop*) *Welsh.*
cnidiaw (*to yield an increase*) *ib.*
cnoll, *a knoll, a top.*
cnoll (*a knoll, a top*) *ib.*
cnuck, *a joint, a knuckle.*
cnuc (*a joint*) *ib.*
cnýllan, *to knell.*
cnull (*a passing bell*) *ib.*
cnotta, *a knot.*
necto (*to tie*) *Lat.*
nodus (*a knot*) *ib.*
cnýttan, *to tie.*
nectere (*to tie*) *ib.*
coc, *a cook.*
coquus (*a cook*) *ib.*
codd, *a wallet.*
cod (*a budget*, or *bag*) *Welsh.*
coſ, *a cave, a cove.*
cof (*an hollow trunk*) *ib.*
cavea (*a cave*) *Lat.*
colla, *an helmet.*
galea (*an helmet*) *ib.*
copp, *an apex, a top.*
cop (*the top*) *Welsh.*
coſn, *corn.*
kier (*food*) *Armen.*
coſntſneoþ, *a cornel-tree.*
cornus (*a cornel-tree*) *Lat.*
coſ, *a kiss.*
cus, (*a kiss*) *Welsh.*
coſtheſ, *a multitude.*
cordd (*a multitude*) *ib.*
coſſ, *execration.*
coſſian, *to curse.*
chrm (*he cursed*) *Heb.*
chrf (*he upbraided*) *ib.*
coſþ, *a fetter.*
cosp (*a fetter*) *Welsh.*
cospi (*to chastise*) *ib.*
cot, *a house, a cottage.*
cut (*a hovel*) *ib.*
cott, *a chamber.*
κοιτη, *a bed-room.*
cſacettan, *to croak.*
crocitare (*to croak*) *Lat.*
crocio (*to croak*) *ib.*
crecian (*to scream*) *Welsh.*
cſadel, *a cradle.*
cryd (*a cradle*) *ib.*
cſæſta, *a crest.*
crista (*a crest*) *Lat.*
cſæt, *a cart.*
carrum (*a cart*) *ib.*
cſaþ, *a crow.*
corvus (*a crow*) *ib.*
cſeopan, *to crcep.*
repere (*to creep*) *ib.*
cſoh, *saffron.*
crocus (*saffron*) *ib.*
cſuce, *a gibbet*, or *cross.*
crux (*a gibbet*, or *cross*) *ib.*

cꞃuꝼꞇ, *a vault, a grot.*
crypta (*a vault, a grot*) *Lat.*
cu, *a cow.*
t' kau (*a buffalo*) *Hottentot.*
t' goos (*a cow*) *ib.*
curcummi (*a cow*) *Ethiop.*
chhui (*a ram*) *Arm.*
cucıan, *to be alive.*
kea, kja (*he lived*) *ib.*
chich (*he lived*) *Heb.*
chich (*life*) *ib.*
culꝼeꞃ, *a dove.*
columba (*a dove*) *Lat.*
cula, *a cowl.*
cucullus (*a cowl*) *ib.*
culꞇoꞃ, *a ploughshare.*
culter (*a ploughshare*) *ib.*
cunnan, *to know.*
ceniaw (*to perceive*) *Welsh.*
con (*astute*) *Heb.*
gen (*the intellect*) *Welsh.*
cuꞃꞅ, *a curse.*
kier (*passion*) *Arm.*
cuꞅc, *chaste.*
kuis (*a virgin*) *Arm.*
cuꞇh, *known.*
get (*knowing*) *ib.*
cꝑꝺꝺen, *said.*
cꝑıꝺ, *a saying.*
cwed (*a saying*) *Welsh.*
cꝑæꞇhan, *to say.*
cwedla (*to talk*) *ib.*
cꝑaꞇan, *to shake.*
quatere (*to shake*) *Lat.*
çwyvan (*to waver*) *Welsh.*
çwaen (*a sudden motion*) *ib.*
cꝑellan, *to kill.*
cꝑelan, *to die.*
cꝑealen, *slaughter.*
κολȣείν, *to cut off.*
cꝑeman, *to please, to flatter.*
kam (*desire*) *Pers.*
çwara (*to play*) *Welsh.*
çweg (*pleasant*) *ib.*
khrm (*pleasing*) *Pers.*
cꝑen, *wife, queen.*
kin (*wife*) *Heb.*
cꝑıc, *alive, quickened.*
çwyth (*life*) *Welsh.*
çweiaw (*to quicken*) *ib.*

cꝑıman, *to come.*
çwin (*motion*) *ib.*
cꝑıꝺol, *evil-mouthed.*
cwidw (*a sorcerer*) *ib.*
cꝑẏꞅan, *to shake.*
quassare (*to shake*) *Lat.*
cꝑẏꞇhan, *to lament.*
cwithaw (*to be in a dilemma*) *Welsh.*
cẏcene, *a kitchen.*
coquina (*a kitchen*) *Lat.*
cẏȝean, *to call.*
vocare (*to call*), vox (*voice*) *ib.*
cẏlene, *a kitchen.*
culina (*a kitchen*) *ib.*
cẏn, *the chin.*
γενος, *the chin.*
gen (*the chin*) *Welsh.*
cẏn, *an offspring.*
γενοι, *an offspring.*
genus (*an offspring*) *Lat.*
cẏne, *royal.*
cẏneȝ, *king.*
cyn (*a chief*) *Welsh.*
khan (*a chief*) *Pers.*
cẏnn, *a tribe.*
genus (*a race*) *Lat.*
cẏnꞃen, *a nation.*
gens (*a nation*) *ib.*
cẏpa, *a basket.*
cophinus (*a basket*) *ib.*
cẏpeleac, *a monument, a gravestone.*
cippus (*a monument, a gravestone*) *ib.*
cẏꞃꝺe, *he turned.*
çwired (*a sudden turn*) *Welsh.*
cẏꞃꞃan, *to return.*
cor (*a circle, a round*) *ib.*
corawl (*a turning round*) *ib.*
cẏꞃꞅ-ꞇꞃeoꝑ, *a cherry-tree.*
cerasus (*a cherry-tree*) *Lat.*

Da, *a doe.*
dama (*a doe*) *Lat.*
ꝺæꝺ, *a deed.*
dad (*any thing*) *Egypt.*
dad (*an act*) *Pers.*

ᵭæʒ, *a day.*
dies (*a day*) *Lat.*
diah (*a day*) *Gaelic.*
div (*a day*) *Arm.*
diaw (*a day*) *Welsh.*
ᵭæl, *a part.*
dail (*a share*) *Gaelic.*
ᵭal, *division.*
dal (*a share*) *ib.*
ᵭalɪ, *a button.*
dal (*to catch hold*) *Welsh.*
ᵭeaᵭ, *dcad.*
daudr (*dead*) *Gaelic.*
daf (*dead*) *Arab.*
ᵭeaʒ, *colour.*
dakal (*a dye*) *Arab.*
ᵭeah, *a tincture.*
dean (*colour*) *Gaelic.*
ᵭeʒle, *hiddcn, secret.*
daghl (*false*) *Arab.*
dagmar (*an hidden thing*) *ib.*
dgi (*dark*) *ib.*
ᵭem, *slaughter.*
dema (*blood*) *ib.*
din (*slaughter*) *Heb.*
ᵭema, *a judgc.*
din (*a judge*) *ib.*
don (*he judgcd*) *ib.*
ᵭemn, *a loss.*
damnum (*a loss*) *Lat.*
damikal (*a misfortune*) *Pers.*
damar (*ruin*) *Arab.*
ᵭeneʒan, *to beat, to ding.*
ding (*to beat, to strike*) *Sus.*
ᵭeoɼl, *devil.*
diabolus (*devil*) *Lat.*
ᵭeoɲ, *deer, wild beasts.*
ϑηρ, *deer, wild beasts.*
ᵭeoɲc, *dark.*
dorcha (*dark*) *Gaelic.*
darka (*a cloud*) *Pers.*
dghe (*dark*) *Arab.*
ᵭɪlʒɪan, *to destroy.*
dileu (*to destroy*) *Welsh.*
delere (*to dcstroy*) *Lat.*
ᵭɪm, *dim, obscure.*
dihms (*dark*) *Pers.*
dins (*dim, obscure*) *Arab.*
ᵭoema, *a judge.*
doms (*a judge*) *Syriac.*

ᵭochᴛeɲ, *a daughter.*
ᵭohᴛeɲ, *a daughter.*
dokht (*a daughter*) *Pers.*
dokhter (*a daughter*) *ib.*
ᵭoɲa, *a door.*
doras (*a door*) *Gaelic.*
ᵭɲabbe, *dirt.*
drab (*a spot*) *ib.*
ᵭɲaʒan, *to drag, to draw,*
trahere (*to drag*) *Lat.*
dragan (*to pull*) *Gaelic.*
ᵭɲeam, *melody, an organ.*
dran (*a tune*) *ib.*
ᵭɲecan, *to torment.*
drag (*anger*) *Gael.*
drice (*angry*) *ib.*
ᵭɲeɼan, *to disturb.*
drip (*affliction*) *ib.*
ᵭɲopɪan, *to drop.*
dreogan (*to drop*) *ib.*
ᵭɲẏ, *a magician.*
draoi (*a magician*) *ib.*
ᵭuʒeᴛh, *nobility.*
dux (*a leader*) *Lat.*
ᵭun, *a hill,* or *downs.*
dun (*a fortified hill*) *Gael.*
ᵭunn, *a dun colour.*
donn (*a dun colour*) *ib.*
ᵭuɲ, *a door.*
dar (*a door*) *Pers.*
dorus (*a door*) *Gael.*
ᵭuɾᴛ, *dust.*
dus (*dust*) *ib.*
ᵭẏnan, *to dine, to feed.*
dong (*to eat*) *Susoo.*
ᵭẏnᴛ, *a blow.*
ding (*to beat*) *ib.*

Ɛa, *water.*
ie (*water*) *ib.*
eaɼeɲ, *a boar.*
aper (*a boar*) *Lat.*
eaʒe, *an eye.*
oculus (*an eye*) *ib.*
eahᴛa, *eight.*
octo (*eight*) *ib.*
eahᴛaɾɪᴛhon, *the eighth time.*
octies (*the eighth time*) *ib.*
eal, *an awl.*
sub-ula (*an awl*) *ib.*

eanian, *to yean.*
enitor (*to yean*) *Lat.*
eaꝛ, *an ear of corn.*
arista (*an ear of corn*) *Lat.*
eaꝛ, *the ear.*
auris (*the car*) *ib.*
eax, *an axle.*
axis (*an axle*) *ib.*
ecan, *to increase.*
augere (*to increase*) *ib.*
eceð, *vinegar.*
acetum (*vinegar*) *ib.*
ecg, *an edge.*
acies (*an edge*) *ib.*
efꝛt, *haste.*
festinatio (*haste*) *ib.*
efꝛtan, *to hasten.*
festinare (*to hasten*) *ib.*
egle, *a dormouse.*
glis (*a dormouse*) *ib.*
egoꝛ, *the waves of the sea.*
equor (*the waves of the sea*) *ib.*
ele, *oil.*
oleum (*oil*) *ib.*
elehtre, *amber.*
electrum (*amber*) *ib.*
elleꝛ, *otherwise.*
aliter (*otherwise*) *ib.*
alias (*another time*) *ib.*
elloꝛ, *elsewhere.*
alio (*elsewhere*) *ib.*
alias (*elsewhere*) *ib.*
elm, *an elm.*
ulmus (*an elm*) *ib.*
elpenð, *an elephant.*
elephanta (*an elephant*) *ib.*
eneð, *a duck.*
anas (*a duck*) *ib.*
enge, *sorrow.*
angustia (*sorrow*) *ib.*
eoꝛoð, *a body of men.*
cohors (*a body of men*) *ib.*
eoꝛꝛa, *anger.*
ira (*anger*) *ib.*
eoꝛꝛian, *to be angry.*
irasci (*to be angry*) *Lat.*
eop, *alas.*
heu (*alas*) *ib.*
væ (*alas*) *ib.*
eoꝛol, *an ass.*
asinus (*an ass*) *ib.*
eopa, *an ewe.*
ovis (*an ewe*) *ib.*
eꝛe, *a chest.*
arca (*a chest*) *Lat.*
eꝛian, *to plough.*
ερα, *the earth.*
arare (*to plough*) *Lat.*
etan, *to eat.*
edere, (*to eat*) *ib.*

Facan, *to make, to acquire.*
facere (*to do*) *ib.*
fucan (*to do*) *Tonga.*
ꝼacen, *deceit.*
fuco (*to counterfeit*) *Lat.*
facinus (*wickedness*) *ib.*
ꝼæccean, *to fetch.*
facesso (*to procure*) *ib.*
ꝼæcele, *a little torch.*
fæcula (*a little torch*) *ib.*
ꝼæge, *glad.*
φαιδρος, *glad.*
ꝼæger, *beautiful, fair.*
φαικος, *splendid.*
ꝼæle, *faithful.*
fidelis (*faithful*) *Lat.*
ꝼællan, *to offend.*
fallax (*deceitful*) *ib.*
fallere (*to deceive*) *ib.*
φαλλειν, *to deceive.*
ꝼam, *foam.*
ꝼæman, *to foam.*
fumare (*to smoke*) *Lat.*
ꝼæmna, *a girl.*
femina (*a woman*) *ib.*
ꝼæꝛ, *sudden.*
fors (*chance*) *Lat.*
ꝼæꝛan, *to terrify.*
fera (*a wild beast*) *ib.*
ferus (*wild*) *ib.*
ferire (*to strike*) *ib.*
ferox (*fierce*) *ib.*
ꝼæꝛlice, *by chance.*
forte (*by chance*) *ib.*
ꝼæꝛm, *supper.*
far (*corn*) *ib.*

ꝼæꝛꝛ, *a verse.*
versus (*a verse*) *Lat.*
ꝼæꝛꞇh, *the mind.*
ꝼæꝛꞇhꝛaꝺe, *strong.*
fortis (*strong*) *ib.*
ꝼæꝛꞇen, *a fastness, a citadel.*
fastigium (*a summit*) *ib.*
ꝼaȝ, *a colour, many-coloured.*
fucus (*a paint*) *ib.*
ꝼaȝen, *glad.*
ꝼaȝnian, *to rejoice.*
fang (*to love*) *Susoo.*
ꝼah, *a foe.*
φαω, *to kill.*
ꝼah, *discoloured.*
φαιος, *dusky.*
ꝼalepe, *fallow-colour.*
flavus (*yellow*) *Lat.*
fulvus (*tawny*) *ib.*
ꝼana, (*cloth*) *Goth.*
pannus (*cloth*) *Lat.*
ꝼann, *a fan.*
vannus (*a fan*) *ib.*
ꝼaꝛan, *to go.*
fa (*to come, to go to*) *Sus.*
ꝼæꞇ, *a vessel, a cup.*
ꝼaꞇ, *a vessel.*
fete (*a small basket*) *ib.*
ꝼaꞇha, (*an enclosure*) *Goth.*
φατνη, *a stall.*
ꝼaul, *foul.*
φαυλος, *vile.*
ꝼea, *money.*
ꝼeo, *money.*
fe (*affairs, a concern*) *Sus.*
feo (*to give*) *ib.*
ꝼeallan, *to fall.*
φαλλειν, *to slip.*
fallere (*to slip*) *Lat.*
ꝼeꝼeꝛ, *a fever.*
ꝼebꝛian, *to be feverish.*
febris (*fever*) *ib.*
ꝼecele, *a torch.*
fax (*a torch*).
ꝼeꝺeꝛ, *a wing.*
φαιδρος, *swift.*
ꝼell, *a skin.*
pellis (*a skin*) *Lat.*
ꝼell, *choler, anger, cruel.*
fel (*bile*) *ib.*
ꝼeoꝛ, *far off.*
feras (*out of doors*) *ib.*
ꝼeꝛa, (*the borders*) *Goth.*
περας, *the borders.*
ꝼeꝛan, *to bear*, or *carry.*
ferre (*to bear*, or *carry*) *Lat.*
φερειν, *to bear*, or *carry.*
ꝼeꝛon, *fierce.*
ferus (*fierce*) *Lat.*
ꝼic, *a fig.*
ficus (*a fig*) *ib.*
ꝼiꝼ, *five.*
ꝼinie, *corrupted.*
finio (*I end*) *ib.*
finis (*end, death*) *ib.*
φενω, *I kill.*
ꝼinn, *a fin.*
pinna (*a fin*) *ib.*
ꝼinol, *fennel.*
fæniculum (*fennel*) *ib.*
ꝼiꝛaꝼ, *men.*
viros (*men*) *ib.*
ꝼiꝛe, *fish.*
piscis (*fish*) *ib.*
ꝼiꝛcian, *to fish.*
piscari (*to fish*) *ib.*
ꝼithele, *a fiddle.*
fidicula (*a fiddle*) *Lat.*
ꝼlean, *to flay, to unskin.*
φλοιειν, *to flay, to unskin.*
ꝼleoꞇan, *to float.*
fluitare (*to float*) *Lat.*
ꝼleoꝛan, *to flow.*
fluere (*to flow*) *ib.*
ꝼlepꝛa, *a flowing.*
fluxus (*a flowing*) *ib.*
ꝼloce, *a flock of sheep.*
floccus (*a lock of wool*) *ib.*
ꝼloꝺ, *a flood.*
φλοδαω, *I moisten.*
ꝼloh, *a flaw.*
φλαω, *I break.*
ꝼlotteꝛan, *to flutter.*
fluctus (*a wave*) *Lat.*
fluctuare (*to fluctuate*) *ib.*
ꝼlum, *a river.*
flumen (*a river*) *ib.*
ꝼlẏꝛ, *a fleece.*
φλοιος, *the bark.*

ƿon, *to take.*
funis (*a rope*) *Lat.*
ƿon (*fire*) *Goth.*
φαινειν, *to shine.*
φανος, *a torch.*
ƿoɲc, *a fork.*
furca (*a fork*) *Lat.*
ƿoɲhtleaƿ, *intrepid.*
fortis (*intrepid*) *ib.*
ƿɲaceð, *vile, filthy.*
fraceo (*to putrify*) *ib.*
fracidus (*rotten*) *ib.*
ƿɲacen, *dangerous.*
fragilis (*brittle*) *ib.*
ƿɲæne, *a bridle.*
frenum (*a bridle*) *ib.*
ƿɲicca, *a cryer.*
præco (*a cryer*) *ib.*
ƿɲinan, *to consult, to inquire.*
φρην, *the mind.*
ƿɲum, *beginning.*
formare (*to frame*) *Lat.*
ƿɲẏƿan, *to freeze.*
frigus (*cold*) *ib.*
ƿuʒel, *a bird.*
fugio (*I fly*) *ib.*
ƿul, *foul.*
φαυλος, *vile.*
ƿull, *full.*
ƿẏllan, *to fill.*
φλεειν, *to be full.*
ƿulƿtan, *to support.*
fulcire (*to support*) *Lat.*
ƿẏlneƿƿe, *soot.*
fuligo (*soot*) *ib.*
ƿẏɲ, *fire.*
furi (*heat*) *Susoo.*
furor (*fury*) *Lat.*
ƿẏɲn, *fire.*
furnus (*an oven*) *ib.*
ƿẏƿan, *to hasten.*
festinare (*to hasten*) *ib.*
ƿell, *the skin.*
φελλος, *the bark.*
ƿenʒan, *to seize.*
φενειν, *to plunder.*

Læc, *a cuckow.*
cuculus, (*a cuckow*) *Lat.*

ʒamol, *a camel.*
camelus (*a camel*) *Lat.*
ʒat, *a gate.*
gata (*to keep, to preserve*) *Sus.*
ʒea, *yes, truly.*
γε, *certainly.*
ʒeoc, *a yoke.*
jugum (*a yoke*) *Lat.*
yugh (*a yoke*) *Pers.*
ʒeolaɲe, *a flesh-colour.*
gilvus (*a flesh-colour*) *Lat.*
ʒiʒant, *a giant.*
gigantem (*a giant*) *ib.*
ʒim, *a gem.*
gemma (*a gem*) *ib.*
ʒoð, *the supreme.*
khoda (*the supreme*) *Pers.*
ʒɲað, *a degree.*
gradus (*a degree*) *Lat.*
ʒɲæƿ, *a grave.*
graphum (*a grave*) *ib.*
ʒɲennian, *to grunt.*
grunnire (*to grunt*) *ib.*
ʒɲaƿan, *to engrave.*
γλαφειν, *to engrave.*
γραφειν, *to write.*
ʒɲæʒ, *hoary, gray.*
γραια, *an old woman.*

habban, *to have.*
habere (*to have*) *Lat.*
heal, *a hall*, or *court.*
hælla, *a hall*, or *court.*
aula (*a hall*, or *court*) *ib.*
hælm, *a stalk.*
culmus (*a stalk*) *ib.*
hæthen, *a pagan.*
ethnicus (*a pagan*) *ib.*
haʒa, *a farm.*
agellus (*a farm*) *ib.*
helan, *to hide.*
celare (*to hide*) *ib.*
hemetho, *marriage.*
hæmeth, *marriage.*
hymen (*marriage*) *ib.*
henep, *hemp.*
cannabis (*hemp*) *ib.*
heno, *lo!*
en (*lo!*) *ib.*

henon, *hence.*
hinc (*hence*) *Lat.*
hnuꞇ, *a nut.*
nux (*a nut*) *ib.*
hoꞃn, *a horn.*
cornu (*a horn*) *ib.*
hꞃeh, *an inundation.*
ῥεω, *to flow.*
hꞃeman, *to cry out.*
ῥημα, *a word.*
ῥεω, *to speak.*
hꞃɪn, *touch.*
ῥινος, *the skin.*
hꞃuꞃan, *to rush.*
ruere (*to rush*) *Lat.*
hƿelc, *of what sort.*
qualis (*of what sort*) *ib.*
hƿeꞃƿɪan, *to be turned.*
versari (*to be turned*) *ib.*
hƿonne, *when.*
quando (*when*) *ib.*

Ic, *I.*
ego (*I*) *ib.*
εγω, *I.*
ɪðeꞃ, *a woman.*
ειδος, *beauty.*
ɪeꞃꞃe, *anger.*
ɪꞃꞃe, *anger.*
ira (*anger*) *Lat.*
ɪl (*the sun*) *Goth.*
ηλιος, *the sun.*
ɪmne, *a hymn.*
hymnus (*a hymn*) *Lat.*
ɪn, *in.*
in (*in*) *ib.*
ɪoɪc, *a joke.*
jocus (*a joke*) *ib.*
ɪꞃ (*he*) *Goth.*
is (*he*) *Lat.*
ɪꞃ, *he is.*
is (*he is*) *Heb.*
ɪꞃꞇ (*he is*) *Goth.*
est (*he is*) *Lat.*
εςι, *he is.*
ɪꞇ, *it.*
id (*it*) *Lat.*

Lac, *a lake.*
lacus (*a lake*) *ib.*

læƿel, *a level.*
libella (*a level*) *Lat.*
læʒe, *a law.*
legem (*a law*) *ib.*
lænʒ, *long.*
longus (*long*) *ib.*
lam, *loam.*
limus (*loam*) *ib.*
laueꞃce, *a lark.*
alauda (*a lark*) *ib.*
leaʒ, *a place.*
leʒa, *a place.*
locus (*a place*) *ib.*
lechꞇ, *light.*
lux (*light*) *ib.*
leon, *a lion.*
leo (*a lion*) *ib.*
λεω, *a lion.*
lɪccɪan, *to lick.*
lakiel (*to lick*) *Chald.*
lakiel (*to lick*) *Syr.*
lakiel (*to lick*) *Arm.*
lɪnen, linen.
lineus (*linen*) *Lat.*
lɪp, *a lip.*
labium (*a lip*) *ib.*
lɪxan, *to shine.*
lux (*light*) *ib.*
loƿ, *praise.*
laus (*praise*) *ib.*

Mæʒeꞃ, *thin, meagre.*
macer (*thin, meagre*) *ib.*
mæl, *a part.*
ml (*to cut off, to divide*) *Heb.*
melan, *to say.*
μελος, *a song.*
mænan, *to mean.*
manɪan, *to exhort.*
mens (*the mind*) *Lat.*
μενος, *the mind.*
mna (*to reckon*) *Chald.*
mænꞃumunʒe, *a dwelling.*
mansio (*a dwelling*) *Lat.*
mæꞃa, *borders.*
meræ (*borders*) *ib.*
maʒa, *the stomach.*
μαγειρος, *a cook.*
maꞃm, *marble.*
marmor (*marble*) *Lat.*

mæʒen, *power.*
micel, *great.*
magnus (*great*) *Lat.*
μεγαν, *great.*
mealpe, *mallow.*
malva (*mallow*) *ib.*
meca, *a sword.*
machœra (*a sword*) *ib.*
mucro (*a point*) *ib.*
μαχομαι, *to fight.*
meðeme, *great, dignified.*
μεδω, *to command.*
me, *me.*
με, *me.*
meoƒ, *moss.*
muscus (*moss*) *Lat.*
meƒƒc, *a marsh.*
mariscus (*a marsh*) *ib.*
maþhelan, *to speak.*
meþhel, *a discourse.*
μυθος, *a discourse.*
meþeƒ, *metre.*
metrum (*metre*) *Lat.*
mið, *middle.*
medius (*middle*) *ib.*
mið, *a bushel.*
modius (*a bushel*) *ib.*
mil, *a mile.*
miliare (*a mile*) *ib.*
mild, *mild.*
mlau (*to be soothing*) *Heb.*
mulceo (*I soothe*) *Lat.*
milƒc, *sweet.*
mulsus (*sweet*) *ib.*
miln, *a mill.*
mola (*a mill-stone*) *ib.*
μυλη, *a mill-stone.*
minƒian, *to make small.*
minuere (*to make small*) *ib.*
μινυος, *small.*
mna (*to distribute*) *Heb.*
minþ, *mint.*
mentha (*mint*) *Lat.*
moðeƒ, *mother.*
ματηρ, *mother.*
mater (*mother*) *Lat.*
mona, *the moon.*
μηνη, *the moon.*
monaþ, *a month.*
μην, *a month.*
mensis (*a month*) *Lat.*
moƒþ, *death.*
mors (*death*) *Lat.*
mot (*death*) *Heb.*
maoot (*death*) *Malay.*
moot (*death*) *Hindoostan.*
murk (*death*) *ib.*
mun, *a hand.*
manus (*a hand*) *Lat.*
μεθελ, *council.*
μεδος, *council.*
mul, *a mule.*
mulus (*a mule*) *Lat.*
munþ, *a mount.*
montem (*a mount*) *ib.*
muƒcnian, *to murmur.*
murmurare (*to murmur*) *ib.*
muƒ, *a mouse.*
μυς, *a mouse.*
mus (*a mouse*) *Lat.*
muƒcel, *a muscel-fish.*
musculus (*a muscel-fish*) *ib.*
muƒþ, *new wine.*
mustum (*new wine*) *ib.*
mẏlen, *a mill.*
molendinum (*a mill*) *ib.*
mẏlcian, *to milk.*
mulgere (*to milk*) *ib.*
mẏneʒian, *to admonish.*
monere (*to admonish*) *ib.*
mẏneþ, *money.*
moneta (*money*) *ib.*

Neoƒ, *new.*
νεος, *new.*
novus (*new*) *Lat.*
noƒian, *to make new.*
νευω, *to make new.*
novo (*to make new*) *Lat.*
innovo (*to make new*) *ib.*
no, *not.*
non (*not*) *ib.*
nu, *now.*
nunc (*now*) *ib.*
nẏe, *a nest.*
nidus (*a nest*) *ib.*
nacoð, *naked.*
νακος, *a skin with its fleece.*
næcan, *to kill.*
necare (*to kill*) *Lat.*

næʒan, *to nod.*
νεύω, *to nod.*
nuo (*to nod*) *Lat.*
nıhꞇ, *night.*
noctem (*night*) *ib.*
νυκτος, *night.*
nama, *name.*
nemn, *name.*
nomen (*name*) *Lat.*
næpe, *a turnip.*
napus (*a turnip*) *ib.*
næꝛe, *a nose.*
nasus (*a nose*) *ib.*
næꝛꝛa, *a promontory.*
νησος, *an island.*
naman, *to name.*
nominare (*to name*) *Lat.*
nan, *no one.*
nemo (*no one*) *ib.*
naꞇhæƿ, *neither.*
neuter (*neither*) *ib.*
neꝛa, *a nephew.*
nepos (*a nephew*) *ib.*
neꝛene, *a niece.*
neptis (*a niece*) *ib.*
nellan, *to be unwilling.*
nolle (*to be unwilling*) *ib.*

Oeꝛeꝛꞇ, *haste.*
festinatio (*haste*) *ib.*
oꝛꝛƿıan, *to offer, to sacrifice.*
offerre (*to offer, to sacrifice*) *ib.*
open, *open.*
apertus (*open*) *ib.*
openıan, *to open.*
aperio (*I open*) *ib.*
oƿ, *beginning.*
origo (*beginning*) *ib.*
oƿc, *a jar.*
orca (*a jar*) *ib.*

Pal, *a stake.*
palus (*a stake*) *Lat.*
pan, *cloth.*
pannus (*cloth*) *ib.*
panna, *a pan.*
patina (*a pan*) *ib.*
papıʒ, *the poppy.*
papaver (*the poppy*) *ib.*
papa, *a peacock.*
pavo (*a peacock*) *ib.*
pıc, *pitch.*
pix (*pitch*) *ib.*
πισσα, *pitch.*
pıl, *a pile.*
pila (*a pile*) *Lat.*
pılan, *to drive with a pile.*
παλλω, *to shake.*
pıle, *a pillow.*
pulvinar (*a pillow*) *Lat.*
pın, *pain.*
pæna (*pain*) *ib.*
ποινη, *pain.*
pınan, *to torture.*
πεινα, *hunger.*
πονεω, *to cause pain.*
πονος, *pain.*
pıꝛa, *pease.*
pisa (*pease*) *Lat.*
pıꞇꞇ, *a pit, a well.*
puteus (*a well*) *ib.*
plæca, *a sheet.*
platæa (*a sheet*) *ib.*
planꞇ, *a plant.*
planta (*a plant*) *ib.*
plæꞇꞇe, *a slap.*
pleꞇꞇıan, *to strike.*
πληττω, *to strike.*
planꞇıan, *to plant.*
plantare (*to plant*) *Lat.*
plaꝛꞇeƿ, *a plaster.*
emplastrum (*a plaster*) *ib.*
plume, *a plum.*
prunum (*a plum*) *ib.*
ponð, *a pound.*
pondo (*a pound*) *ib.*
poƿꞇ, *a port.*
portus (*a port*) *ib.*
puƿ, *pure.*
purus (*pure*) *ib.*
pẏnʒan, *to prick.*
pungere (*to prick*) *ib.*

Race, *history.*
ra (*to do*) *Coptic.*
ƿæð, *a discourse.*
ῥεω, *I speak.*
ῥεμα, *a word.*

ɲæð, *quick, ready.*
ξαδιος, *easy.*
ɲæʒn, *rain.*
ξαινω, *to pour.*
ɲenc, *glory, pride.*
ɲenc, *proud.*
ran (*a name*) *Copt.*
ɲeaɾian, *to rob.*
ɲeaɾeɲe, *a spoiler.*
ɲeɾa, *a spoiler.*
reftahe (*a spoiler*) *Copt.*
refkiou (*a spoiler*) *ib.*
ɲeccɐɲe, *a ruler.*
rector (*a ruler*) *Lat.*
ɲeʒn, *a ruler.*
regnum (*a kingdom*) *ib.*
regnare (*to reign*) *ib.*
ɲeʒel, *a rule.*
regula (*a rule*) *ib.*
ɲehc, *right.*
rectus (*right*) *ib.*
ɲice, *a region.*
regio (*a region*) *ib.*
ɲicɾian, *to rule.*
ɲixian, *to rule.*
rexi (*I have ruled*) *ib.*
ɲihce, *justly.*
rite (*justly*) *ib.*
ɲuðe, *rue.*
ruta (*rue*) *ib.*

Saban, *linen.*
sabi (*a shirt*) *Pers.*
sabibat (*a vest*) *Arm.*
ɾac, *contention, quarrel.*
sakhinat (*rage*) *Arab.*
sukht (*indignation*) *ib.*
sakht (*violent*) *Pers.*
skr (*a falsehood*) *Heb.*
ɾacc, *a sack.*
saccus (*a sack*) *Lat.*
σακκος, *a sack.*
sok (*a sack*) *Coptic.*
sk (*a sack*) *Heb.*
sakil (*weighty*) *Arab.*
ɾaðian, *to be full.*
sat (*sufficient*) *Lat.*
ɾæð, *seed.*
sid (*seed*) *Copt.*
sat (*to sow*) *ib.*

ɾæʒen, *a saying.*
ɾæʒan, *to say.*
sakhun (*a saying*) *Pers.*
sag (*to roar*) *Heb.*
saji (*to speak*) *Copt.*
ɾæʒeðnẏɾɾe, *a sacrifice.*
sgd (*he adored*) *Heb.*
ɾæʒeɲ, *a sword.*
σαγαρις, *a Persian sword.*
ɾæl, *time.*
salah (*age, years*) *Pers.*
sal (*a year*) *ib.*
ɾæl, *well.*
salim (*safe*) *ib.*
salus (*safety*) *Lat.*
ɾælch, *prosperity.*
σελας, *splendour.*
siloh (*to rest*) *Heb.*
ɾal, *a hall, a palace.*
salar (*a prince*) *Pers.*
ɾala, *a bond.*
saleb (*seizing*) *Arab.*
ɾalh, *a willow.*
salah (*a wicker-basket*) *Pers.*
ɾalc, *salt.*
sal (*salt*) *Lat.*
salt (*sharp*) *Arab.*
σαλος, *the sea-coast.*
ɾame, *the same.*
similis (*like*) *Lat.*
sinod (*likeness*) *Copt.*
ɾammœle, *concordant.*
saml (*reconciliation*) *Arab.*
ɾamu, *together.*
ɾamoð, *together.*
simul (*together*) *Lat.*
simal (*assistant*) *Arab.*
ɾænʒ, *song.*
sensen (*a sound*) *Copt.*
sensen (*to sound*) *ib.*
ɾape, *soap.*
sabun (*soap*) *Arab.*
sapo (*soap*) *Lat.*
ɾaɲ, *sore, sorry.*
sa (*infirmity*) *Arab.*
sarisk (*a tear*) *Pers.*
sarsan (*fear*) *ib.*
ɾauð (*a sacrifice*) *Goth.*
sajjat (*an idol*) *Arab.*
sajjad (*adoring*) *ib.*

ſcæþ, *a ploughshare.*
skai (*to plough*) *Copt.*
ſcamian, *to be ashamed.*
shaamat (*adversity*) *Pers.*
ſcanc, *the thigh.*
iskana (*the thigh*) *Arab.*
ſcaceþe, *a thief.*
shaki (*a criminal*) *ib.*
ſceala, *scales.*
scalæ (*scales*) *Lat.*
ſceam, *shame.*
asham (*a crime*) *Pers.*
ſceaþð, *a fragment.*
askardan (*to bruise*) *Pers.*
ſceaƫ, *a part.*
shat (*dispersed, distinct*) *Arab.*
shatey (*a share*) *ib.*
ſcen, *shining.*
askar (*polishing*) *ib.*
ſcep, *a sheep.*
sha (*a sheep*) *ib.*
shat (*a sheep*) *ib.*
þculðen, *the shoulder.*
scapula (*the shoulder*) *Lat.*
ſcuþþ, *scurf.*
iskuran (*dross*) *Arab.*
ſcẏld, *a crime.*
σκυλον, *plunder.*
ſcẏrt, *short.*
curtus (*short*) *Lat.*
ſcẏrtan, *to shorten.*
curtare (*to shorten*) *ib.*
ſeþa, *the intellect.*
sufi (*wise*) *Arab.*
sabe (*wise*) *Copt.*
sabo (*to learn*) *ib.*
ſæþt, *quiet.*
safa (*content*) *Pers.*
ſæglian, *to sail.*
sayl (*flowing*) *Arab.*
σαλος, *the sea.*
þægnian, *to sign.*
signare (*to sign*) *Lat.*
ſegne, *a drag-net.*
sagena (*a drag-net*) *ib.*
ſegen, *a sign.*
signum (*a sign*) *ib.*
ſel, *time, opportunity.*
seoi (*time*) *Copt.*
ſel, *good.*
salih (*good*) *Arab.*
saluh (*good*) *ib.*
salah (*virtue*) *ib.*
σελας, *brightness.*
selsol (*to adorn*) *Copt.*
ſema, *a judge.*
simmet (*an old man*) *Arab.*
ſeman, *to adjust a dispute.*
samn (*adjusting*) *ib.*
semne (*to dispose*) *Copt.*
ſemle, *always.*
semper (*always*) *Lat.*
ſẏnð, *they are.*
sunt (*they are*) *ib.*
ſendan, *to send.*
sen (*to pass over*) *Copt.*
ſeoc, *sick.*
sakim (*sick*) *Arab.*
sakam (*sickness*) *ib.*
ſeoþen, *seven.*
septem (*seven*) *Lat.*
ſeon, *to see.*
sima (*the face*) *Pers.*
ſeon, *to flow.*
σειω, *to agitate.*
ſetan, *to plant.*
set (*to sow*) *Copt.*
ſetan, *to set.*
set (*the tail*) *ib.*
ſethel, *a seat.*
sedes (*a seat*) *Lat.*
ſex, *six.*
sex (*six*) *Lat.*
ἑξ, *six.*
ſexta, *the sixth part.*
sextus (*the sixth part*) *Lat.*
ſi, *be thou.*
sis (*be thou*) *ib.*
ſib, *peace.*
sabat (*rest*) *Heb.*
ſib, *a kinsman.*
sabab (*affinity*) *Pers.*
ſibun, *seven.*
sabia (*seven*) *Arab.*
sba (*seven*) *Heb.*
ſiþe, *a sieve.*
ſiþtan, *to sift.*
safsafat (*sifting*) *Pers.*

ſiftan, *to sift.*
saſtan (*to bore*) *Pers.*
suffidan (*to perforate*) *ib.*
ſigel, *a bracelet, a button.*
σιγλαι, *ear-rings.*
ſin, *sin.*
sintayel (*evil*) *Arab.*
sintayel (*obscene*) *ib.*
snaah (*hatred*) *Heb.*
ſineigſ (*an old man*) *Goth.*
senex (*an old man*) *Lat.*
ſitan, *to sit.*
sitan (*reclining*) *Pers.*
ſittath, *he sits.*
sedel (*he sits*) *Lat.*
ſlide, *a fall.*
slat (*a fall*) *Copt.*
ſlim, *slime.*
limus (*slime*) *Lat.*
ſmean, *to inquire.*
sme (*voice*) *Copt.*
ſmeoc, *smoke.*
σμυχω, *to consume.*
σμυχω, *to inflame.*
ſmiþian, *to smear.*
σμιαω, *to wipe.*
ſon, *sound.*
sonus (*sound*) *Lat.*
ſtop, *histories.*
ustarah (*a story*) *Arab.*
ſtan, *a stone, a rock.*
setoni (*to stone*) *Copt.*
astun (*a column*) *Pers.*
ſtandan, *to stand.*
istandan (*to stand*) *ib.*
ſted, *a place* or *station.*
istandan (*to stop*, or *dwell*) *ib.*
ſteor, *a heifer.*
astar (*a mule*) *ib.*
ſteorra, *a star.*
ſterr, *a star.*
istarah (*a star*) *ib.*
astar (*a star*) *ib.*
sitareh (*a star*) *ib.*
ſtræte, *a bed.*
stratum (*a bed*) *Lat.*
ſtreapian, *to strew.*
sternere (*to strew*) *ib.*
ſtreop, *straw.*
stramentum (*straw*) *ib.*

ſtýle, *steel.*
stali (*steel*) *Copt.*
ſuccan, *to suck.*
sugere (*to suck*) *Lat.*
ſuga, *a sow.*
συς, *a sow.*
sus (*a sow*) *Lat.*
ſul, *a plough.*
suli (*a plough*) *Pers.*
ſum, *some.*
suman (*a little*) *ib.*
ſunna, *the sun.*
sanan (*clear*) *Arab.*
sanat (*a year*) *ib.*
ſutere, *a cobbler.*
sutor (*a cobbler*) *Lat.*
ſpa, *so.*
se (*also*) *Copt.*
ſpiftt, *swift.*
sufuce (*swift*) *Arab.*
sufya (*swift*) *ib.*
ſpige, *silence.*
sukut (*silence*) *ib.*
ſyn, *sin.*

Ta, *the toe.*
teb (*a finger*) *Copt.*
tale, *opprobrium, calumny.*
tale (*erring*) *Arab.*
talan (*plunder*) *Pers.*
tela, *well.*
talske (*health*) *Copt.*
telan, *to tell, to count.*
tale (*to add*) *ib.*
tem, *a yoke of oxen.*
tom (*to join*) *ib.*
tendan, *to take fire.*
tan (*fire*) *Welsh.*
temmo (*to burn*) *Copt.*
teoche *a leader.*
duce (*a leader*) *Lat.*
thanne, *then.*
tunc (*then*) *ib.*
thec, *a covering.*
tectum (*a covering*) *ib.*
thecan, *to cover.*
tegere (*to cover*) *ib.*
thinman, *to thin.*
tenuare (*to thin*) *ib.*

ꞇhin, *thin.*
tenuis (*thin*) *Lat.*
ꞇhꞑe, *three.*
tres (*three*) *ib.*
ꞇhꞑeȝian, *to torture.*
torquere (*to torture*) *ib.*
ꞇhꞑẏm, *a crowd.*
turma (*a crowd*) *ib.*
ꞇhu, *thou.*
tu (*thou*) *Lat.*
ꞇhunian, *to thunder.*
ꞇhuneꞑian, *to thunder.*
tonare (*to thunder*) *ib.*
ꞇim, *time.*
tempus (*time*) *ib.*
ꞇiꞇhian, *to grant.*
tei (*to give*) *Copt.*
ꞇo, *to.*
ta (*to*) *Pers.*
ꞇop, *the summit.*
top (*to rise up*) *Copt.*
toor (*a mountain*) *ib.*
ꞇoꞑꞑ, *a tower.*
turres (*a tower*) *Lat.*
ꞇꞑoȝ, *he drew.*
traxit (*he drew*) *ib.*
ꞇu, *two.*
duo (*two*) *ib.*
δυο, *two.*
ꞇuꞑꞇl, *a turtle-dove.*
turtur (*a turtle-dove*) *Lat.*
ꞇpiȝ, *a twig.*
togi (*a plant*) *Copt.*
ꞇẏman, *to summon.*
tame (*to make known*) *ib.*

Weȝ, *a way.*
via (*a way*) *Lat.*
pælꞇan, *to turn round.*
volutare (*to turn round*) *ib.*
pæꞑ, *a man.*
vir (*a man*) *ib.*
peoδueo, *a widow.*
vidua (*a widow*) *ib.*
pill, *the will.*
volitio (*the will*) *ib.*
voluntas (*the will*) *ib.*
pillan, *to will.*
velle (*to will*) *ib.*
pin, *wine.*
vinum (*wine*) *ib.*
pinδ, *the wind.*
ventus (*the wind*) *Lat.*
pẏnꞇꞇe, *the left.*
sinister (*the left*) *ib.*
piꞇꞇ, *food.*
victus (*food*) *ib.*
poꞑδ, *a word.*
verbum (*a word*) *ib.*
pẏꞑm, *a worm.*
vermis (*a worm*) *ib.*

Ynce, *an inch.*
uncia (*an inch*) *Lat.*
ẏnδꞇa, *an ounce.*
uncia (*an ounce*) *ib.*
ẏmen, *a hymn.*
hymnus (*a hymn*) *ib.*
ẏꞑꞑe, *anger.*
ira (*anger*) *ib.*

APPENDIX.

No. II.

MONEY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

The payments mentioned in Domesday-book are stated in pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings, exactly as our pecuniary calculations are now made. Twenty shillings constitute a pound, and a shilling is composed of twelve pence. The same computation occurs elsewhere. Elfric, in his translation of Exodus,[a] adds, of his own authority, "They are twelve scythinga of twelve pennies;" and in the moneys mentioned in the Historia Eliensis, edited by Gale, we find numerous passages which ascertain that a pound consisted of twenty shillings. Thus, three hides were sold by a lady to an abbot for a hundred shillings each. The owner is afterwards said to have come to receive the fifteen pounds. When seven pounds and a half only had been paid, the ealdorman asked the abbot to give the lady more of her purchase money. At his request the abbot gave thirty shillings more; thus, it is added, he paid her nine pounds. On another occasion the money agreed for was thirty pounds. One hundred shillings were received, and twenty-five pounds were declared to remain due.[b]

The Saxon money was sometimes reckoned by pennies, as the French money is now by livres. Thus, in one charta, three plough-lands are conveyed for three thousand pennies. In another, eighty acres were bought for three hundred and eighty-five pennies. In another, one thousand four hundred and fifty pennies occur.[c]

The name for money, which is oftenest met with in the charters, is the mancus. On this kind of money we have one curious passage of Elfric: he says, five pennies make one shilling, and thirty pennies one mancus.[d] This would make the mancus six

[a] Chap. xxi. 10.
[b] 3 Gale, Script. p. 473, and see 485, 488.
[c] Astle's MS. Chart. Nos. 7, 22, 28.
[d] Hickes, Diss. Ep. 109, and Wan. Cat. MS. 113.

shillings. The passage in the laws of Henry the First intimates the same.[e] Two passages in the Anglo-Saxon laws seem to confirm Elfric's account of the mancus being thirty pennies; for an ox is valued at a mancus in one, and at thirty pence in another.[f]

But there is an apparent contradiction in five pennies making a shilling if twelve pennies amounted to the same sum. The objection would be unanswerable, but that, by the laws of Alfred, it is clear that there were two sorts of pennies, the greater and the less; for the violation of a man's borg was to be compensated by five pounds, mærra peninga, of the *larger* pennies.[g]

The mark is sometimes mentioned: this was half a pound, according to the authors cited by Du Fresne;[h] it is stated to be eight ounces by Aventinus.[i]

The money mentioned in our earliest law consists of shillings, and a minor sum called scætta. In the laws of Ina, the pening occurs, and the pund as a weight. In those of Alfred the pund appears as a quantity of money, as well as the shilling and the penny; but the shilling is the usual notation of his pecuniary punishments. In his treaty with the Danes, the half-mark of gold, and the mancus, are the names of the money; as is the ora in the Danish compact with Edward. In the laws of Athelstan, we find the thrymsa, as well as the shilling and the penny; the scætta and the pund. The shilling, the penny, and the pound, appear under Edgar. The ora and the healf-marc pervade the Northumbrian laws. In the time of Ethelred, the pound is frequently the amount of the money noticed. The shilling and penny, the healf-marc, and the ora, also occur.[j]

The Anglo-Saxon wills that have survived to us mention the following money: In the archbishop Elfric's will we have five pundum, and fifty mancusan of gold.[k] In Wynflæd's will, the mancæs of gold, the pund, the healfes pundes wyrthne, and sixty pennega wyrth, are noticed. In one part she desires that there should be put, in a cup which she bequeaths, healf pund penega, or half a pound of pennies. In another part she mentions sixteen mancusum of red gold; also thirty penega wyrth.[l]

In Thurstan's will, twelf pund be getale occurs. In Godric's we perceive a mark of gold, thirteen pounds, and sixty-three pennies.[m] In Byrhtric's will, sixty mancos of gold and thirty mancys goldes are mentioned; and several things are noticed, as

[e] Debent reddi secundum legem triginta solidi ad Manbotam, id est, hodie 5 mancæ. Wilk. p. 265. So p. 249.

[f] Wilk. p. 66, and 126. Yet this passage is not decisive, because the other accompanying valuations do not correspond.

[g] Ibid. 35.

[h] Du Fresne, Gloss. ii. p. 437.

[i] Ann. Boi. lib. vi. p. 524.

[j] See Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Sax. passim.

[k] MS. Cott. Claud. B. c. p. 103.

[l] Hickes, Gram. Præf.

[m] Hickes, Diss. Ep. 29, 30.

of the value of so many gold mancus. Thus, a bracelet of eighty mancysan goldes, and a necklace of forty mancysa; a hand secs of three pounds is also bequeathed, and ten hund penega.[n]

In Wulfar's will, the mancus of gold is applied in the same way to mark the value of the things bequeathed, and also to express money.[o] The mancus of gold is the money given in Elfhelm's will; in Dux Elfred's pennies; in Ethelwryd, both pennies and the pund occur. In Athelstan's testament we find the mancosa of gold, the pund of silver, the pund be getale, and pennies.[p]

In the charters, we find pennies, mancusa, pounds, shillings, and sicli, mentioned. In one we find one hundred sicli of the purest gold;[q] and in another, four hundred sicli in pure silver.[r] In a third, fifteen hundred of shillings in silver are mentioned, as if the same with fifteen hundred sicli.[s] The shilling also at another time appears as if connected with gold, as seventy shillings of auri obrizi.[t] Once we have two pounds of the purest gold.[u] The expressions of pure gold, or the purest gold, are often added to the mancos.

That the pound was used as an imaginary value of money, is undoubted. One grant says, that an abbot gave in money quod valuit, what was of the value of one hundred and twenty pounds.[v] Another has four pound of lic-wyrthes feos,[w] which means money or property agreeable to the party receiving it. We read also of fifteen pounds of silver, gold, and chattels;[x] also sixty pounds in pure gold and silver.[y] Sometimes the expression occurs, which we still use in our deeds, "One hundred pounds of *lawful money*."[z]

As no Anglo-Saxon gold coins have reached modern times, though of their silver coinage we have numerous specimens, it is presumed by antiquaries that none were ever made. Yet it is certain that they had plenty of gold, and it perpetually formed the medium of their purchases and gifts. My belief is, that gold was used in the concerns of life, in an uncoined state,[a] and to such a species of gold money I would refer such passages as these: fifty "mancussa asodenes gold," "sexies viginti marcarum auri pondo," "appensuram novem librarum purissimi auri juxta magnum pondus Normanorum," eighty "mancusa auri purisimi et

[n] Hickes, Diss. Ep. p. 51.
[o] Ibid. p. 51.
[p] Sax. Dict. App.
[q] The late Mr. Astle's MS. Charters, No. 10.
[r] App. to Bede, p. 770.
[s] MS. Claud. C. 9.
[t] Mr. Astle's Charters, No. 28, b.
[u] Ibid. p. 25.
[v] MS. Claud. C. 9.
[w] Heming. Chart. p. 180.
[x] 3 Gale, p. 410.
[y] Heming. Chart. p. 8.
[z] Ingulf, p. 35.
[a] One coin has been adduced as a Saxon gold coin. See Pegge's Remains. But its pretensions have not been admitted.

sex pondus electi argenti," "duo uncias auri." I think that silver was also sometimes passed in an uncoined state, from such intimations as these: "twa pund mere hwites seolfres," and the above-mentioned "sex pondus electi argenti." The expressions that pervade Domesday-book imply, in my apprehension, these two species of money, the coined and the uncoined. Seventy libras pensatis, like two uncias auri, are obviously money by weight. But money ad numerum, or arsuram, I interpret to be coined money: also the pund be getale. The phrases, sex libras ad pensum et arsuram et triginti libras arsas et pensatas, appear to express the indicated weight of coined money. The words arsas and arsuram I understand to allude to the assay of coin in the mint.

Whether the mancus was, like the pund, merely a weight, and not a coin, and was applied to express, in the same manner as the word pound, a certain quantity of money, coined or uncoined, I cannot decide; but I incline to think that it was not a coin. Indeed there is one passage which shows that it was a weight, "duas bradiolas aureas fabrefactas quas pensarent xlv mancusas."[b] I consider the two sorts of pennies as the only coins of the Anglo-Saxons above their copper coinage, and am induced to regard all their other denominations of money as weighed or settled quantities of uncoined metal.[c]

That money was coined by the Anglo-Saxons in the octarchy, and in every reign afterwards, is clear from those which remain to us. Most of them have the mintmaster's name. It does not appear to me certain, that they had coined money before their invasion of England, and conversion.

It was one of Athelstan's laws, that there should be one coinage in all the king's districts, and that no mint should be outside the gate. If a coiner was found guilty of fraud, his hand was to be cut off, and fastened to the mint smithery.[d] In the time of Edgar, the law was repeated, that the king's coinage should be uniform; it was added, that no one should refuse it, and that it should measure like that of Winchester.[e] It has been mentioned of Edgar, that finding the value of the coin in his reign much diminished by the fraud of clipping, he had new coins made all over England.

We may add a few particulars of the coins which occur in Domesday-book. Sometimes a numeration is made very similar to our own, as 11*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Sometimes pounds and sometimes

[b] Heming. Chart. p. 86.

[c] It is the belief of an antiquarian friend, who has paid much attention to this subject, that even the Saxon seyllinga was a nominal coin; as he assures me no silver coin of that value has been found which can be referred to the Saxon times.

[d] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 59. [e] Ibid. p. 78.

shillings are mentioned by themselves. In other places some of the following denominations are inserted:

Una marka argenti,
Tres markas auri,
Novem uncias auri,
c solidos et unam unciam auri,
xxiv libras et unciam auri,
xx libras et unam unciam auri, et un. marcum,
xxv libras ad pond.
l libras appretiatas,
xiv libras arsas et pensatas, et v libras ad numerum,
cvi libras arsas et pensatas, et x libras ad numerum,
xxii libras de alb. denariis, ad pensum hujus comitis,
xvi libras de albo argento.
xlvii libras de albo argento xvi denariis minus,
xxiii lib. denar. de xx in ora,
xv lib. de xx in ora,
iii solid. de den. xx in ora, et xxvi denar. ad numerum,
v oris argenti,
i denarium,
i obolum,
i quadrantem,
viii libras et xx denar.[f]

It seems reasonable to say, that such epithets as purissimi auri, and æsodenes gold, that is, melted gold, refer to money paid and melted.

But if the Saxon silver coins were only the larger and smaller pennies, what then was the scyllinga? In the translation of Genesis, the word is applied to express the Hebrew shekels.[g] In the New Testament, thirty pieces of silver, which the Gothic translates by the word ΣΙΛΗΒΚΙΝ, or silver, the Saxon version calls scyllinga.[h]

The etymology of the word scyllinga would lead us to suppose it to have been a certain quantity of uncoined silver; for, whether

[f] The meaning of arsas and arsuram, as applied to money, is explained in the Black Book of the Exchequer to be the *assay* of money. The money might be sufficient in number and weight, yet not in quality. It by no means followed that twenty shillings, which constituted a pound weight, was in fact a pound of silver, because copper or other metal might be intermixed when there was no examination. For this reason, the books say that the bishop of Salisbury instituted the arsura in the reign of Henry the First. It is added, that if the examined money was found to be deficient above sixpence in the pound, it was not deemed lawful money of the king. Liber Niger Scacarii, cited by Du Cange, Gloss. 1, p. 343. The bishop cannot, however, have invented the arsura in the reign of Henry, because Domesday-book shows that it was known in the time of the Conqueror. In Domesday-book it appears that the king had this right of assay only in a few places. Perhaps the bishop, in a subsequent reign, extended it to all money paid into the exchequer.

An intelligent friend has favoured me with the following extract from Domesday: "Totum manerium T. R. E. et post valuit xl libras. Modo similiter xl lib. Tamen reddit l lib. ad arsuram et pensum, quæ valent xlv lib." Domesday, vol. i. fo. 15. b. This passage seems to express, that 65*l.* of coined money was only worth 50*l.* in pure silver, according to the assay of the mint. Whether this depreciation of the coin existed in the Saxon times, or whether it followed from the disorders and exactions of the Norman conquest, I have not ascertained.

[g] See Genesis, in Thwaite's Heptateuch.

[h] Matthew, xxvii. 3.

we derive it from ꝩcylan, to divide, or ꝩceale, a scale, the idea presented to us by either word is the same; that is, so much silver cut off, as in China, and weighing so much.

I would therefore presume the scyllinga to have been a quantity of silver, which, when coined, yielded five of the larger pennies, and twelve of the smaller.

The Saxon word scæt or sceatt, which occurs in the earliest laws as a small definite quantity of money, is mostly used to express money generally. I would derive it from ꝩceaꝛ, a part or division; and I think it meant a definite piece of metal originally in the uncoined state. The sceat and the scyllinga seem to have been the names of the Saxon money in the pagan times, before the Roman and French ecclesiastics had taught them the art of coining.

The value of the scæt in the time of Ethelbert would appear, from one sort of reasoning, to have been the twentieth part of a shilling. His laws enjoin a penalty of twenty scyllinga for the loss of the thumb, and three scyllinga for the thumb-nail. It is afterwards declared that the loss of the great toe is to be compensated by ten scyllinga, and the other toes by half the price of the fingers. It is immediately added, that for the nail of the great toe thirty sceatta must be paid to bot.[i]

Now as the legislator expresses that he is estimating the toes at half the value of the fingers, and shows that he does so in fixing the compensation of the thumb and the great toe, we may infer, that his thirty sceatta for the nail of the great toe were meant to be equal to half of the three scyllinga which was exacted for the thumb-nail. According to this reasoning, twenty sceatta equalled one scyllinga.

About three centuries later, the scætta appears somewhat raised in value, and to be like one of their smaller pennies; for the laws of Athelstan declare thirty thousand scætta to be cxx punda.[j] This gives two hundred and fifty sceatta to a pound, or twelve and a half to a scyllinga. Perhaps, therefore, the sceat was the smaller penny, and the pening, properly so called, was the larger one.

We may be curious to inquire into the etymology of the pening. The word occurs for coin in many countries. In the Franco-theotisc, it occurs in Otfrid as pfenning;[k] and on the continent one gold pfenning was declared to be worth ten silver pfennings.[l] It occurs in Icelandic, in the ancient Edda, as penning.[m]

The Danes still use penge as their term for money or coin;

[i] Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 6.
[j] Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 72.
[k] It is used by Otfrid, l. 3, c. 14, p. 188.
[l] I. Alem. prov. c. 229, cited by Schilter in his Glossary, p. 657.
[m] Ægis drecka, ap. Edda Sæmundi, p. 168.

and if we consider the Saxon penig as their only silver coin, we may derive the word from the verb punian, to beat or knock, which may be deemed a term applied to metal coined, similar to the Latin, cudere.[n]

That the Anglo-Saxons did not use coined money before the Roman ecclesiastics introduced the custom, is an idea somewhat warranted by the expression they applied to coin. This was mynet, a coin, and from this, mynetian, to coin, and mynetere, a person coining. These words are obviously the Latin moneta and monetarius; and it usually happens that when one nation borrows such a term from another, they are indebted to the same source for the knowledge of the thing which it designates.

An expression of Bede, once induced me to doubt if it did not imply a Saxon gold coin. He says that a lady, foretelling her death, described that she was addressed in a vision by some men, who said to her, that they were come to take with them the aureum numisma (meaning herself) which had come thither out of Kent. This complimentary trope Alfred translates by the expressions, gyldene mynet.[o]

The passage certainly proves, that both Bede and Alfred knew of gold coins; and it certainly can be hardly doubted, that when gold coins circulated in other parts of Europe, some from the different countries would find their way into England. The use of the word aureos, in the Historia Eliensis, implies gold coin;[p] and that coins called aurei were circulated in Europe, is clear from the journal of the monks who travelled from Italy to Egypt in the ninth or tenth century. In this they mention that the master of the ship they sailed in charged them six aureos for their passage.[q] But whether these aurei were those coined at Rome or Constantinople, or were the coins of Germany or France, or whether England really issued similar ones from its mint, no authority, yet known, warrants us to decide.

That the pennies of different countries varied in value, is proved by the same journal. Bernard, its author, affirms that it was then the custom of Alexandria to take money by weight, and that six of the solidi and denarii, which they took with them, weighed only three of those at Alexandria.[r]

The silver penny was afterwards called, in the Norman times, an esterling, or sterling; but the time when the word began to be applied to money is not known.[s]

[n] Schilter has quoted an author who gives a similar etymology from another language, "Pænings nomine pecunia tantum numerata significat, a pæna, quod est cudere, signare." Gloss. Teut. p. 657.

[o] Bede, l. 3, c. 8, and Transl. p. 531.

[p] Laureos, p. 485. x aureos, ib. lxxx aureis, p. 484. c aureos, p. 486.

[q] See first volume of this history, b. vi. ch. viii.

[r] See Ibid.

[s] The laws of Edward I. order the penny of England to be round, without clipping, and to weigh thirty-two grains of wheat, in the middle of the ear. Twenty of these were to make an ounce, and twelve ounces a pound. Spelm. Gloss. p. 241.

There has been a variety of opinions about the value of the Saxon pound.[t] We have proof, from Domesday, that in the time of the Confessor it consisted of twenty solidi or shillings. But Dr. Hickes contends that the Saxon pound consisted of sixty shillings,[u] because, by the Saxon law in Mercia, the king's were gild was one hundred and twenty pounds, and amounted to the same as six thegns, whose were was twelve hundred shillings each.[v] And certainly this passage has the force of declaring that the king's were was seven thousand two hundred shillings, and that these were equivalent to one hundred and twenty pounds; and according to this passage, the pound in Mercia contained sixty shillings. Other authors[w] assert that the pound had but forty-eight shillings.

We have mentioned that a scyllinga, or shilling, consisted of five greater pennies, or of twelve smaller ones. But in the time of the Conqueror the English shilling had but four pennies: "15 solz de solt Engleis co est quer deners."[x] This passage occurs in the Conqueror's laws. It has been ingeniously attempted to reconcile these contradictions, by supposing that the value of the shilling was that which varied, and that the pound contained sixty shillings of four pennies in a shilling, or forty-eight shillings of five pennies in a shilling.[y] To which we may add, twenty shillings of twelve pence in a shilling. These different figures, respectively multiplied together, give the same amount of two hundred and forty pennies in a pound. Yet though this supposition is plausible, it cannot be true, if the shilling was only a nominal sum, like the pound, because such variations as these attach to coined money, and not the terms merely used in numeration.

The styca, the helfling, and the feorthling, are also mentioned. The styca and feorthling are mentioned in a passage in Mark. "The poor widow threw in two stycas, that is, feorthling peninges, or the fourth part of a penny."[z] The hælfling occurs in Luke: "Are not two sparrows sold for a helflinge?"[a] We cannot doubt that these were copper moneys.

The thrymsa is reckoned by Hickes to be the third part of a shilling, or four pence.[b] Yet the passage which makes the king's were thirty thousand sceatta, compared with the other which

[t] The Welsh laws of Hoel dda use punt or pund as one of their terms for money. They have also the word ariant, which means literally silver, and ceiniawg, both these seem to imply a penny. See Wotton's Leges Walliceæ, p. 16, 20, 21, 27. Their word for a coin is bath.

[u] Hickes, Dissert, Ep. p. 111. [v] Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 72.

[w] As Camden, Spelman, and Fleetwood.

[x] Wilkins, Leg. Anglo Sax. p. 221. In the copy of these laws in Ingulf, p. 89, the expression is quer *bener* deners, or four better pennies.

[y] Clarke's preface to Wotton's Leges Walliceæ.

[z] Mark, chap. xii. 42. [a] Luke, chap. xii. 6. [b] Hickes, Diss. Ep.

reekons it as thirty thousand thrymsa[c] seems to express that the thrymsa and the scætta were the same.

On this dark subjeet of the Anglo-Saxon eoinage, we must however confess, that the elouds which have long surrounded it have not yet been removed. The passages in Alfred's and in the Conqueror's laws imply that there were two sorts of pennies, the mærra or bener pennies, and the smaller ones. We have many Anglo-Saxon silver eoins of these speeies; but no others.

Some ecclesiastieal persons, as well as the king, and several plaees, had the privilege of eoining. In the laws of Ethelstan, the places of the mints in his reign are thus enumerated:

"In Canterbury there are seven myneteras; four of the king's, two of the bishop's, and one the abbot's.

"In Rochester there are three; two of the king, and one of the bishop.

"In London eight,
In Winchester six,
In Lewes two,
In Hastings one,
Another in Chichester,
In Hampton two,
In Wareham two,
In Exeter two,
In Shaftesbury two,
Elsewhere one in the other burgs."[d]

In Domesday-book we find these monetarii mentioned:

Two at Dorchester,
One at Bridport,
Two at Wareham,
Three at Shaftesbury.

Eaeh of these gave to the king twenty shillings and one mark of silver when money was eoined.

The monetarii at Lewes paid twenty shillings eaeh.

One Suetman is mentioned as a monetarius in Oxford.

At Woreester, when money was eoined, eaeh gave to London fifteen shillings for cuneis to reeeive the money.

At Hereford there were seven monetarii, of whom one was the bishop's. When money was renewed, eaeh gave eighteen shillings, pro cuneis reeipiendis; and for one month from the day in whieh they returned, eaeh gave the king twenty shillings, and the bishop had the same of his man. When the king went into the eity, the monetarii were to make as many pennies of his silver as he pleased. The seven in this city had their sac and soe. When the king's monetarius died, the king had his heriot: and if he died without dividing his estate, the king had all.

[c] Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 72, and 71. . [d] Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 59.

Huntingdon had three monetarii, rendering thirty shillings between the king and comes.

In Shrewsbury the king had three monetarii, who, after they had bought the cuneos monetæ, as other monetarii of the country, on the fifteenth day gave to the king twenty shillings each; and this was done when the money was coining.

There was a monetarius at Colchester.

At Chester there were seven monetarii, who gave to the king and comes seven pounds extra firmam, when money was turned.[e]

[e] For these, see Domesday-book, under the different places.

In April, 1817, a ploughman working in a field near Dorking, in Surrey, struck his plough against a wooden box which was found to contain nearly seven hundred Saxon silver coins, or pennies, of the following kings:

Ethelweard of Wessex	16	Edmund, E. Angl.	3
Ceolulf of Mercia,	1	Ethelstan Do.	3
Biornwulf, Do.	1	Ceolneth, A. B. Cant.	86
Wiglaf Do.	1	Eegbeorht Wess.	20
Berhtulf Do.	23	Ethelwulf	265
Burgred Do.	1	Ethelbearth	249
		Pepin K. of Soissons	1

with about forty more that were dispersed. See Mr. T. Coombe's letter in Archol. V. xix. p. 110.

But the Annals of the coinage, by the late Rev. R. Ruding, give the best account and plates of the Anglo-Saxon coins.

Since this work was published, about the beginning of this year, 1820, a number of old silver coins, nine silver bracelets, and a thick silver twine, were found by a peasant, on digging a woody field in Bolstads Socked, in Sweden. Of the legible coins, eighty-seven were Anglo-Saxon ones. Eighty-three of these bear the date of 1005, and are of king Ethelred's reign: and two of them of his father's, king Edgar. The king of Sweden has purchased them; and they are now deposited in the Royal Cabinet of Antiquities at Stockholm.

APPENDIX.

No. III.

THE HISTORY OF THE LAWS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

CHAPTER I.

Homicide.

To trace the principles on which the laws of various nations have been formed, has been at all times an interesting object of intellectual exertion; and as the legislation of the more polished periods of states is much governed by its ancient institutions, it will be important to consider the principles on which our Anglo-Saxon forefathers framed their laws to punish public wrongs, and to redress civil injuries.

We shall select for this purpose homicide, personal injuries, theft, and adultery.

The principle of pecuniary punishment distinguishes the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, and of all the German nations. Whether it arose from the idea, that the punishment of crime should be attended with satisfaction to the state, or with some benefit to the individual injured, or his family, or his lord; or whether, in their fierce dispositions and warring habits, death was less dreaded as an evil than poverty; or whether the great were the authors of most of the crimes committed, and it was easier to make them responsible in their property than in their lives, we cannot at this distant era decide.

The Saxons made many distinctions in HOMICIDES. But all ranks of men were not of equal value in the eye of the Saxon law, nor their lives equally worth protecting. The Saxons had therefore established many nice distinctions in this respect. Our present legislation considers the life of one man as sacred as that of another, and will not admit the degree of the crime of murder

to depend on the rank or property of the deceased. Hence a peasant is now as secured from wilful homicide as a nobleman. It was otherwise among the Saxons.

The protection which every man received was a curious exhibition of legislative arithmetic. Every man was valued at a certain sum which was called his were; and whoever took his life, was punished by having to pay this were.

The were was the compensation allotted to the family or relations of the deceased for the loss of his life. But the Saxons had so far advanced in legislation, as to consider homicide as a public as well as private wrong. Hence, besides the redress appointed to the family of the deceased, another pecuniary fine was imposed on the murderer, which was called the wite. This was the satisfaction to be rendered to the community for the public wrong which had been committed. It was paid to the magistrate presiding over it, and varied according to the dignity of the person in whose jurisdiction the offence was committed; twelve shillings was the payment to an eorl, if the homicide occurred in his town, and fifty were forfeited to the king if the district were under the regal jurisdiction.[a]

In the first Saxon laws which were committed to writing, or which have descended to us, and which were established in the beginning of the 7th century, murder appears to have been only punishable by the were and the wite, provided the homicide was not in the servile state. If an esne, a slave, killed a man, even "unsinningly," it was not, as with us, esteemed an excusable homicide; it was punished by the forfeiture of all that he was worth.[b] A person so punished presents us with the original idea of a felon; we consider this word to be a feo-lun, or one divested of all property.

In the laws of Ethelbert the were seems to have been uniform. These laws state a meduman leod-gelde, a general penalty for murder, which appears to have been 100 shillings.[c] The differences of the crime arising from the quality of the deceased, or the dignity of the magistrate within whose jurisdiction it occurred, or the circumstances of the action, were marked by differences of the wite rather than of the were. The wite in a king's town was fifty shillings; in an earl's twelve. If the deceased was a freeman, the wite was fifty shillings to the king as the drichtin, the lord or sovereign of the land. So, if the act was done at an open grave, twenty shillings was the wite; if the deceased was a ceorl, six shillings was the wite. If a læc killed the noblest guest, eighty shillings was the wite; if the next in rank, sixty; if the third, forty shillings.[d]

[a] Wilkins, Leg. Saxon. p. 2, 3.
[b] Wilkins, p. 7.
[c] Ibid. p. 2.
[d] Ibid. p. 1–7.

The wite and the leod gelde were to be paid by the murderer from his own property, and with good money. But if he fled from justice, his relations were made responsible for it.[e]

The Saxon law-makers so far extended their care as to punish those who contributed to homicide by introducing weapons among those who were quarrelling. Twenty shillings composed the wite.[f]

The usual time for the payment of the wite and were is not stated; but forty days is mentioned in one case as the appointed period.[g]

As the order and civilization of the Anglo-Saxon society increased, a greater value was given to human life, and the penalties of its deprivation were augmented.

The first increase of severity noticed was against the esne, the servile. Their state of subjection rendered them easy instruments of their master's revenge; and it was therefore found proper to make some part of their punishment extend to their owner. Hence, if any man's esne killed a man of the dignity of an corl, the owner was to deliver up the esne, and make a pecuniary payment adequate to the value of three men. If the murderer escaped, the price of another man was exacted from the lord, and he was required to show by sufficient oaths, that he could not catch him. Three hundred shillings were also imposed as the compensation. If the esne killed a freeman, one hundred shillings were the penalty, the price of one man, and the delivery of the homicide; or if he fled, the value of two men, and purgatory oaths.[h]

A succeeding king exempted the killer of a thief from the payment of his were.[i] This, however, was a mitigation that was capable of great abuse, and therefore Ina required oath that the thief was killed "sinning," or in the act of stealing, or in the act of flying on account of the theft.[j]

Humanity dictated further discrimination. A vagrant in the woods, out of the highway, who did not cry out or sound his horn (probably to give public notice of his situation), might be deemed a thief, and slain;[k] and the homicide, by affirming that he slew him for a thief, escaped all penalties. It was, however, wisely added, that if the fact were concealed, and not made known till long time after, the relations of the slave should be permitted to show that he was guiltless.[l] Mistake or malice was further guarded against by requiring that where a homicide had killed the thief in the act of flying, yet if he concealed the circumstance he should pay the penalties.[m] The concealing was construed to be presumptive proof of an unjustifiable homicide.

[e] Wilkins, p. 3. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.
[h] Ibid. p. 7, 8. [i] Ibid. p. 12. [j] Ibid. p. 17, 20.
[k] Ibid. p. 12. [l] Ibid. p. 18. [m] Ibid. p. 20.

Modern law acts on a similar presumption, when it admits the hiding of the body to be an indication of felonious discretion in an infant-murderer, between the age of seven and fourteen.

In the days of Ina, the were, or protecting valuation of an individual life, was not uniform. The public were arranged into classes, and each class had an appropriate were.

Rank and property seem to have been the criterion of the estimation. The were of some in Ina's time was thirty shillings: of others, 120; of others, 200.[n] The same principle of protection, and of discriminating its pecuniary valuation, was applied to foreigners. The were of a Welshman, who was proprietor of a hide of land, was 120 shillings; if he had but half that quantity, it was 80; and if he had none, it was 60.[o] Hence it appears, that the wealthier a man was, the more precious his life was deemed. This method of regulating the enormity of the crime by the property of the deceased, was highly barbarous. It diminished the safety of the poor, and gave that superior protection to wealth which all ought equally to have shared.

The were, or compensatory payment, seems to have been made to the relations of the defunct. As the exaction of the wite, or fine to the magistrate, kept the crime from appearing merely as a civil injury, this application of the were was highly equitable. But if the deceased was in a servile state, the compensation seems to have become the property of the lord. On the murder of a foreigner, two-thirds of the were went to the king, and one-third only to his son or relations: or, if no relations, the king had one-half, and the gild-scipe, or fraternity to which he was associated, received the other.[p]

The curious and singular social phenomenon of the gild-scipes, we have already alluded to. The members of these gilds were made to a certain degree responsible for one another's good conduct. They were, in fact, so many bail for each other. Thus, in Alfred's laws, if a man who had no paternal relations killed another, one-third of the were of the slain was to be paid by the maternal kinsman, and one-third by the gild; and if there were no maternal kinsmen, the gild paid a moiety. On the other hand, the gild had also the benefit of receiving one-half the were, if such a man of their society were killed."[q]

The principle of making a man's society amenable for his legal conduct was carried so far, that by Ina's law, every one who was in the company where a man was killed, was required to justify himself from the act, and all the company were required to pay a fourth part of the were of the deceased.[r]

The same principle was established by Alfred in illegal asso-

[n] Wilkins, p. 25. [o] Ibid. p. 20. [p] Ibid. p. 18.
[q] Ibid. p. 41. [r] Ibid, p. 20.

ciations. If any man with a predatory band should slay a man of the valuation of twelve hundred shillings, the homicide was ordered to pay both his were and the wite, and every one of the band was fined thirty shillings for being in such an association. If the guilty individual were not avowed, the whole band were ordered to be accused, and to pay equally the were and the wite.[s]

The Anglo-Saxons followed the dictates of reason in punishing in homicide those whom we now call accessories before the fact. Thus, if any one lent his weapons to another to kill with them, both were made responsible for the were. If they did not choose to pay it in conjunction, the accessory was charged with one-third of the were and the wite.[t] A pecuniary fine was imposed on the master of a mischievous dog.[u]

Excusable homicide was not allowed to be done with impunity. If a man so carried a spear as that it should destroy any individual, he was made amenable for the were, but excused from the wite.[v]

Thus stood the laws concerning murder, up to the days of Alfred. The compact between his son Edward and Guthrun made a careful provision for the punctual payment of the were. The homicide was required to produce for this purpose the security of eight paternal and four maternal relations.[w]

In the reign of Edmund, an important improvement took place. The legal severity against murder was increased on the head of the offending individual; but his kindred were guarded from the revenge of the family of the deceased. If the full were was not discharged within twelve months, the relations of the criminal were exempted from hostility, but on the condition that they afforded him neither food nor protection. If any supported him, he became what would now be termed an accessory after the fact; he forfeited to the king all his property, and was also exposed to the enmity of the relations of the deceased. The king also forbade any wite or homicide to be remitted.[x] And whoever revenged a homicide on any other than the criminal, was declared the enemy of the king and his own friend, and forfeited his possessions. The reason alleged by the sovereign for these and his other provisions was, that he was weary of the unjust and manifold fights which occurred.[y] The object was to extinguish that species of revenge which became afterwards known under the name of deadly feud. This was the fæhthe, the enmity which the relations of the deceased waged against the kindred of the murderer.

[s] Wilkins, p. 40. [t] Ibid. p. 39. [u] Ibid. p. 40. [v] Ibid. p. 42.
[w] Ibid. p. 54. [x] Ibid. p. 73, 74. [y] Ibid. p. 73.

Though the wite was all the penalty that society exacted to itself for murder, and the were all the pecuniary compensation that was permitted to the family, yet we must not suppose that murder was left without any other punishment. There seems reason to believe, that what has been called the deadly feud existed amongst them. The relations of the deceased avenged themselves, if they could, on the murderer or his kinsmen. The law did not allow it. The system of wites and weres tended to discountenance it, by requiring pecuniary sacrifices on all homicides, and of course on those of retaliation as well as others. But as all that the law exacted was the fine and the compensation, individuals were left at liberty to glut their revenge, if they chose to pay for it.

But this spirit of personal revenge was early restricted. Ina's laws imposed a penalty of thirty shillings, besides compensation, if any one took his own revenge before he had demanded legal redress.[z] So Alfred's laws enjoined, that if any one knew that his enemy was sitting at home, yet that he should not fight with him until he had demanded redress; but he might shut his adversary up, and besiege him for seven days if he could. If at the expiration of this time the person would surrender himself, he was to have safety for thirty days, and to be given up to his friends and relations. The ealdorman was to help those who had not power enough to form this siege. If the ealdorman refused it, he was to ask aid of the king before he fought. So if any one fell accidentally in with his enemy, yet if the latter was willing to surrender himself, he was to have peace for thirty days. But if he refused to deliver up his arms, he might be fought with immediately.[a]

If any one took up a thief, he not only had a reward, but the relations of the criminal were to swear, that they would not take the fæhthe, or deadly feud for his apprehension.[b] So if any one killed a thief in the act of flying, the relations of the dead man were to swear the unceastes oath; that is, the oath of no enmity, or of not taking the fæhthe.[c]

Every man was ordered to oppose the warfæhthe, if he was able, or could dare to attempt it.[d]

Edmund the First interfered to check this system of personal revenge, with marked severity, as before mentioned. He declared that the delinquent should bear his crime on his own head;

[z] Wilkins, p. 16. [a] Ibid. p. 43, 44. [b] Ibid. p. 19.

[c] Wilkins and Lye call this the unceases oath, which they interpret unmeaningly *the oath not select.* The reading of the Roff. MS. is unceastes, which is intelligible, and is obviously an expression synonymous with the unfæhtha oath mentioned in the preceding page. Both passages clearly mean, that the taker and killer of the thief were to be absolved from the fæhthe of his relations.

[d] Ibid. p. 22.

and that if his kinsmen did not save him by paying the compensation, they should be protected from all fæhthe, provided that they afforded him neither mete nor mund, neither food nor shelter.[e]

CHAPTER II.

Personal Injuries.

The compensation allotted to personal injuries, arising from what modern lawyers would call assault and battery, was curiously arranged. Homer is celebrated for discriminating the wounds of his heroes with anatomical precision. The Saxon legislators were not less anxious to distinguish between the different wounds to which the body is liable, and which, from their laws, we may infer that they frequently suffered. In their most ancient laws these were the punishments:

The loss of an eye or of a leg appears to have been considered as the most aggravated injury which could arise from an assault; and was therefore punished by the highest fine, or 50 shillings.

To be made lame was the next most considerable offence, and the compensation for it was 30 shillings.

For a wound that caused deafness, 25 shillings.

To lame the shoulder, divide the chin-bone, cut off the thumb, pierce the diaphragm, or to tear off the hair and fracture the skull, was each punished by a fine of 20 shillings.

For breaking the thigh, cutting off the ears, wounding the eye or mouth, wounding the diaphragm, or injuring the teeth so as to affect the speech, was exacted 12 shillings.

For cutting off the little finger, 11 shillings.

For cutting off the great toe, or for tearing off the hair entirely, 10 shillings.

For piercing the nose, 9 shillings.

For cutting off the fore-finger, 8 shillings.

For cutting off the gold-finger, for every wound in the thigh, for wounding the ear, for piercing both cheeks, for cutting either nostril, for each of the front teeth, for breaking the jaw bone, for breaking an arm, 6 shillings.

For seizing the hair so as to hurt the bone, for the loss of either of the eye-teeth, or of the middle finger, 4 shillings.

For pulling the hair so that the bone became visible; for piercing the ear, or one cheek; for cutting off the thumb-nail, for the first double tooth, for wounding the nose with the fist, for

[e] Wilkins, p. 73.

wounding the elbow, for breaking a rib, or for wounding the vertebræ, 3 shillings.

For every nail (probably of the fingers), and for every tooth beyond the first double tooth, 1 shilling.

For seizing the hair, 50 scættas.

For the nail of the great toe, 30 scættas.

For every other nail, 10 scættas.

To judge of this scale of compensations by modern experience there seems to be a gross disproportion, not only between the injury and the compensation, in many instances, but also between the different classes of compensation. Six shillings is a very inconsiderable recompense for the pain and confinement that follows an arm or the jaw-bone broke; and it seems absurd to rank in punishment with these serious injuries the loss of a front tooth. To value the thumb at a higher price than the fingers, is reasonable; but to estimate the little finger at 11 shillings, the great toe at 10 shillings, the fore-finger at 8 shillings, the ring-finger at 6 shillings, and the middle finger at 4 shillings, seems a very capricious distribution of recompense. So the teeth seem to have been valued on no principle intelligible to us: a front tooth was atoned for by 6 shillings, an eye-tooth by 4 shillings, the first double tooth 3 shillings, either of the others 1 shilling. Why to lame the shoulder should occasion a fine of 20 shillings, and to break the thigh but 12, and the arm but 6, cannot be explained, unless we presume that the surgical skill of the day found the cure of the arm easier than of the thigh, and that easier than the shoulder.[a]

Alfred made some difference in these compensations, which may be seen in his laws.[b]

He also appointed penalties for other personal wrongs.

If any one bound a ceorl unsinning, he was to pay ten shillings, twenty shillings if he whipped him, and thirty if he brought him to the pillory. If he shaved him in such a manner as to expose him to derision, he forfeited ten shillings, and thirty shillings if he shaved him like a priest, without binding him; but if he bound him and then gave him the clerical tonsure, the penalty was doubled. Twenty shillings was also the fine if any man cut another's beard off.[c] These laws prove the value that was attached to the hair and the beard in the Anglo-Saxon society.

Alfred also enjoined that if any man carrying a spear on his shoulder pierced another, or wounded his eyes, he paid his were, but not a wite. If it was done wilfully, the wite was exacted, if he had carried the point three fingers higher than the shaft. If the weapon was carried horizontally, he was excused the wite.[d]

[a] Wilkins, p. 4–6. In the compensation for the teeth, the injury to the personal appearance seems to have occasioned the severest punishment. The fine was heaviest for the loss of the front tooth.

[b] Ibid. p. 44–46. [c] Ibid. p. 42. [d] Ibid.

CHAPTER III.

Theft and Robbery.

Theft appears to have been considered as the most enormous crime, and was, as such, severely punished. If we consider felony to be a forfeiture of goods and chattels, theft was made felony by the Anglo-Saxons in their earliest law; for if a freeman stole from a freeman, the compensation was to be threefold; the king had the wite and all his goods.[a]

The punishment was made heavier in proportion to the social rank of the offender. Thus, while a freeman's theft was to be atoned for by a triple compensation, the servile were only subjected to a twofold retribution.[b]

The punishment of theft was soon extended farther. By the laws of Wihtræd, if a freeman was taken with the theft in his hand, the king had the option of killing him, or selling him, or receiving his were.[c]

Ina aggravated the punishment yet more. If the wife and family of a thief witnessed his offence, they were all made to go into slavery.[d] The thief himself was to lose his life, unless he could redeem it by paying his were.[e] Ina's law defines these kinds of offenders. They were called thieves, if no more than seven were in a body; but a collection of above seven, up to thirty-five, was a hloth; a greater number was considered as a here, or an army:[f] distinct punishments were allotted to these sorts of offenders.

The Saxon legislators were never weary of accumulating severities against thieves; the amputation of the hand and foot was soon added.[g] If a man's geneat stole, the master himself was subjected to a certain degree of compensation.[h] A reward of ten shillings was allowed for his apprehension;[i] and if a thief taken was suffered to escape, the punishment for the neglect was severe.[j]

In the reign of Ethelstan, a milder spirit introduced a principle which has continued to prevail in our criminal jurisprudence ever since, and still exists in it. This was, that no one should lose his life for stealing less than twelve pence. The Saxon

[a] Wilkins, p. 2. [b] Ibid. p. 7. [c] Ibid. p. 12.
[d] Ibid. p. 16. [e] Ibid. p. 17. [f] Ibid. p. 17.
[g] Ibid. p. 18, 20. [h] Ibid. p. 18, 20. [i] Ibid. p. 19.
[j] Ibid. p. 20.

legislators added, indeed, a proviso, which we have dropped: "unless he flies or defends himself."[k]

They introduced another mitigating principle, which we still attend to in practice, though not in theory; this was, that no youth under fifteen should be executed. The same exception of his flight or resistance was here also added;[l] his punishment was to be imprisonment, and bail was to be given for his good behaviour. If his relations would not give the bail, he was to go into slavery. If he afterwards stole, he might be hanged.[m]

The many provisions made for the public purchases of goods before witnesses, or magistrates, seem to have arisen partly from the frequency of thefts in those days, and partly from the severity with which they were punished. To escape this, it was necessary that every man, and especially a dealer in goods, should be always able to prove his legal property in what he possessed. Hence in Athelstan's laws, it is enacted, that no purchases above twenty pennies should be made outside the gate; but that such bargains should take place within the town, under the witness of the port gerefa, or some unlying man, or of the gerefas in the folc-gemot.[n]

CHAPTER IV.

Adultery.

The criminal intercourse between the sexes is not punished among us as a public wrong committed against the general peace and order of society. No personal punishments, and no criminal prosecutions can be directed against it, although the most trifling assault and the most inconsiderable misdemeanour are liable to such consequences. It is considered by us, if unaccompanied by force, merely as a matter of civil injury, for which the individual must bring an action and get what damages he can; and even this right of action is limited to husbands and fathers; and the latter sues under the guise of a fiction, pretending to have sustained an injury by having lost the service of his daughter.

Our Saxon legislators did not leave the punishment of this intercourse to the will and judgment of individuals. But they enacted penalties against it as a public wrong, always punishable when it occurred. In the amount of the penalty, however, they followed one of the great principles of their criminal legislation,

[k] Ibid. p. 70. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. [n] Ibid. p. 58.

and varied it according to the rank of the female. The offence with a king's maiden incurred a payment as high as to kill a freeman, which was fifty shillings;[a] with his grinding servant half that sum, and with his third sort twelve shillings.

With an earl's cupbearer the penalty was twelve shillings, which was the same that attached if a man killed another in an earl's town. With a ceorl's cupbearer, six shillings was the fine, fifty scættas for his other servant, and thirty for his servant of the third kind.[b]

Even the poor servile esne was protected in his domestic happiness. To invade his connubial rights incurred the penalty of a double compensation.[c]

Forcible violation was chastised more severely. If the sufferer was a widow, the offender paid twice the value of her mundbyrd. If she were a maiden, fifty shillings were to be paid to her owner, whether father or master, and the invader of her chastity was also to buy her for his wife at the will of her owner. If she was betrothed to another in money, he was to pay twenty shillings; and if she was pregnant, in addition to a penalty of thirty-five shillings, a further fine of fifteen shillings was to be paid to the king.[d]

The next laws subjected adulterers to ecclesiastical censure and excommunication, and enjoined the banishment of foreigners who would not abandon such connections.[e] The pecuniary penalties were also augmented.

The laws remained in this state till the time of Alfred, when some new modifications of correction were introduced. He governed the punishment of adultery by the rank of the husband. If he was a twelfhynd-man, the offender paid one hundred and twenty shillings. If a syxhynd-man, one hundred shillings. If a ceorl, forty shillings. This was to be paid in live property; but no man was to be personally sold for it.[f]

But the most curious part of Alfred's regulations on this subject was the refinement with which he distinguished the different steps of the progress towards the completion of the crime. To handle the neck of a ceorl's wife incurred a fine of five shillings. To throw her down, without further consequences, occasioned a penalty of ten shillings; and for a subsequent commission of crime, sixty shillings.[g]

But as we now allow the previous misconduct of the wife to mitigate the amount of the damages paid by the adulterer; so Alfred and his witan provided, that if the wife had transgressed before, the fines of her paramour were to be reduced a half.[h]

[a] Wilkins, p. 2. [b] Ibid. p. 3. [c] Ibid p. 7.
[d] Ibid. [e] Ibid. p. 10. [f] Ibid. p. 37.
[g] Ibid. p. 37. [h] Ibid. p. 37.

For the rape of a ceorl's slave, five shillings were to be paid the owner, and sixty shillings for the wife. But the violence of a theow on a fellow-slave was punished by a personal mutilation.[i]

CHAPTER V.

The Were and the Mund.

As the WERE and the MUND are expressions which occur frequently in the Saxon laws, it may be useful to explain what they mean.

Every man had the protection of a were and the privilege of a mund. The were was a legal valuation of an individual, varying according to his situation in life.

If he was killed, it was the sum his murderer had to pay for the crime—if he committed crimes himself, it was the penalty which, in many cases, he had to discharge.

The were was therefore the penalty by which his safety was guarded, and his crimes prevented or punished. If he violated certain laws, it was his legal mulct; if he were himself attacked, it was the penalty inflicted on others. Hence it became the measure and mark of a man's personal rank and consequence, because its amount was exactly regulated by his condition in life.

The king's were geld or were payment was thirty thousand thrymsas, or one hundred and twenty pounds; an etheling's was fifteen thousand; a bishop and ealdorman's, eight thousand; a holde's and heh-gercfa's, four thousand; a thegn, two thousand, or twelve hundred shillings; a ceorl's, two hundred and sixty-six thrymsas, or two hundred shillings, unless he had five hides of land at the king's expeditions, and then his were became that of a thegn. The were of a twelfhynd-man was one hundred and twenty shillings, of a syxhynd-man was eighty shillings, and of a twyhynd-man thirty shillings.[a]

A Welshman's were who had some land, and paid gafol to the king, was two hundred and twenty shillings; if he had only half a hide of land, it was eighty shillings; and if he had no land, but was free, it was seventy shillings.[b]

The amount of a person's were determined even the degree of his legal credibility. The oath of a twelfhynd-man was equal to the oaths of six ceorl's; and if revenge was taken for the murder of a twelfhynd-man, it might be wreaked on six ceorls.[c]

[i] Wilkins, p. 40. [a] Ibid. p. 25, 71, 72. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid.

To be deprived of this were was the punishment of some crimes, and then the individual lost his greatest social protection.

The mundbyrd was a right of protection or patronage which individuals possessed for their own benefit and that of others. The violation of it towards themselves, or those whom it sheltered, was punished with a severity, varying according to the rank of the patron. The king's mundbyrd was guarded by a penalty of fifty shillings. That of a widow of an earl's condition was equally protected, while the mund of the widow of the second sort was valued at twenty shillings, of the third sort at twelve shillings, and of the fourth sort at six shillings. If a widow was taken away against her consent, the compensation was to be twice her mund. The penalty of violating a ceorl's mund was six shillings.[d] This privilege of the mund seems to be the principle of the doctrine, that every man's house is his castle.

The mund was the guardian of a man's household peace, as the were was of his personal safety. If any one drew a weapon where men were drinking, and the floor was stained with blood, besides forfeiting to the king fifty shillings, he had to pay a compensation to the master of the house for the violation of his mundbyrd.[e]

CHAPTER VI.

Their Borh, or Sureties.

The system of giving sureties, or bail, to answer an accusation, seems to have been coeval with the Saxon nation, and has continued to our times. In one of our earliest laws, it was provided, that the accused should be bound over by his sureties to answer the crime of which he was accused, and to do what the judges should appoint.

If he neglected to find bail, he was to forfeit twelve shillings.[a] These bail were not to be taken indiscriminately; for the laws of Ina enact, that the bail might be refused if the magistrate knew that he acted right in the refusal.[b]

Felonies are not bailable now; in the Anglo-Saxon times it was otherwise.

If a man was accused of theft he was to find borh, or sure-

[d] Wilkins, p. 2, 7. [e] Ibid. p. 9. [a] Ibid. p. 8. [b] Ibid. p. 21.

ties; if he could not do this, his goods were taken as security. If he had none he was imprisoned till judgment.[c]

When a homicide pledged himself to the payment of the were, he was to find borh for it. The borh was to consist of twelve sureties; eight from the paternal line, and four from the maternal.[d]

If a man was accused of witchcraft, he was to find borh to abstain from it.[e]

If a man was found guilty of theft by the ordeal, he was to be killed, unless his relations would save him by paying his were and ceap-gyld, and give borh for his good behaviour afterwards.[f]

But the most curious part of the Saxon borh was not the sureties which they who were accused or condemned were to find, to appear to the charge or to perform the judgment pronounced; but it was the system, that every individual should be under bail for his good behaviour.

It has been mentioned that Alfred is stated to have divided England into counties, hundreds, and tithings; that every person was directed to belong to some tithing or hundred; and that every hundred and tenth were pledged to the preservation of the public peace, and answerable for the conduct of the inhabitants.[g]

Of this statement, it may be only doubted whether he divided England into counties or shires. These divisions certainly existed before Alfred. The shire is mentioned in the laws of Ina;[h] and we know that the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex, existed as little kingdoms from the first invasion of the Saxons. Of the other counties, we also find many expressly mentioned in the Saxon history anterior to Alfred's reign.

It may however be true, that he may have separated and named some particular shires, and this partial operation may have occasioned the whole of the general fact to be applied to him.

The system of placing all the people under borh originated from Alfred, according to the historians; but we first meet with it clearly expressed in the laws in the time of Edgar. By his laws it is thus directed: "Every man shall find and have borh, and the borh shall produce him to every legal charge, and shall keep him; and if he have done any wrong and escapes, his borh shall bear what he ought to have borne. But if it be theft, and the borh can bring him forward within twelve months, then what the borh paid shall be returned to him."[i]

This important and burthensome institution is thus again repeated by the same prince: "This is then what I will; that every man be under borh, both in burghs and out of them; and

[c] Wilkins, p. 50. [d] Ibid. p. 54. [e] Ibid, p. 57. [f] Ibid. p. 65.
[g] See book v. chap. vi. [h] Wilkins, p. 20, 16. [i] Ibid. p. 78.

where this has not been done, let it be settled in every borough and in every hundred."[j]

It is thus again repeated in the laws of Ethelred: "Every freeman shall have true borh, that the borh may hold him to every right, if he should be accused."[k] The same laws direct that if the accused should fly, and decline the ordeal, the borh was to pay the accuser the ceap-gyld, and to the lord his were.[l] And as to that part of the population which was in the servile state, their lords were to be the sureties for their conduct."[m]

The man who was accused and had no borh, might be killed, and buried with the infamous.[n]

Nothing seems more repugnant to the decorous feelings of manly independence, that this slavish bondage and anticipated criminality. It degraded every man to the character of an intended culprit; as one whose propensities to crime were so flagrant that he could not be trusted for his good conduct, to his religion, his reason, his habits, or his honour. But it is likely that the predatory habits of the free population occasioned its adoption.

CHAPTER VII.

Their Legal Tribunals.

The supreme legal tribunal was the witena-gemot, which, like our present house of lords, was paramount to every other.

The scire-gemots may be next mentioned. One of these has been mentioned in the chapter on the disputes concerning land: another may be described from the Saxon apograph which Hickes has printed.

This was a shire-gemot at Aylston, in Canute's days. It was composed of a bishop, an ealdorman, the son of an ealdorman; of two persons who came with the king's message, or writ; the sheriff, or scir-gerefa; three other men, and all the thegns in Herefordshire.

To this gemot Edwin came, and spake against his mother, concerning some lands. The bishop asked who would answer for her. Thurcil the White said, he would if he knew the complaint, but that he was ignorant about it. Three thegns of the gemot were shown where she lived, and rode to her, and asked

[j] Wilkins, p. 80. [k] Ibid. p. 102. [l] Ibid.
[m] Ibid. [n] Ibid. p. 103.

her what dispute she had about the land for which her son was impleading her. She said she had no land which belonged to him, and was angry, earl-like, against her son. She called Leofleda, her relation, the wife of Thurcil the White, and before them thus addressed her: "Here sits Leofleda, my kinswoman; I give thee both my lands, my gold, and my clothes, and all that I have, after my life." She then said to the thegns, "Do thegn-like, and relate well what I have said to the gemot, before all the good men, and tell them to whom I have given my lands and my property; but to my own son nothing; and pray them to be witness of this."—And they did so, and rode to the gemot, and told all the good men there what she had said to them. Then stood up Thurcil the White in that gemot, and prayed all the thegns to give his wife the lands which her relation had given to her; and they did so; and Thurcil the White rode to St. Ethelbert's minister, by all the folks' leave and witness, and left it to be set down in one Christ's book.[a]

By the laws of Canute it was ordered, that there should be two shire-gemots and three burgh-gemots every year, and the bishop and the ealdorman should attend them.[b] By the laws of Ethelstan, punishments were ordered to those who refused to attend gemots.[c] Every man was to have peace in going to the gemot and returning from it, unless he were a thief.[d]

Sometimes a gemot was convened from eight hundreds, and sometimes from three.[e] On one occasion, the ealdorman of Ely held a plea with a whole hundred below the cemetery at the north gate of the monastery; at another time, a gemot of two hundreds was held at the north door of the monastery.[f]

A shire-gemot is mentioned at which the ealdorman and the king's gerefa presided. "The cause having been opened, and the reasons of both sides heard, by the advice of the magnates there, thirty-six barons, chosen in equal number from the friends on both sides, were appointed judges." These went out to examine the affair, and the monks were asked why and from whose donation they possessed that land. They stated their title, and length of possession. They were asked if they would dare to affirm this statement on the sacrament, that the controversy might be terminated. The monks were going to do this, but the ealdorman would not suffer them to swear before a secular power. He therefore declared himself to be their protector, the witness of their devotion and credibility, alleging that the exhibition of the cautionary oath belonged to him. All who were present admired the speech of the ealdorman, and determined that the oath was unnecessary; and for the false suit and unjust vexation of

[a] Hickes, Dissert. Epist. p. 2.
[b] Wilkins, p. 136.
[c] Ibid. p. 60.
[d] Ibid. p. 136.
[e] 3 Gale, 469, 473.
[f] Ibid. p. 473, 475.

the relations who had claimed the lands from the monastery, they adjudged all the landed property and goods of the other to be at the king's mercy. The king's gerefa, and the other great men, then interfered; and the complainant, perceiving the peril of his situation, publicly abjured the land in question, and pledged his faith never to disturb the monastery in its possession; a reconciliation then took place.[g] The administration of justice in this affair seems to have been very summary and arbitrary, and not very compatible with our notions of legal evidence.

We have one account of a criminal prosecution. A wife having poisoned a child, the bishop cited her and her husband to the gemot; he did not appear, though three times summoned. The king in anger sent his writ, and ordered him, that, "admitting no causes of delay," he should hasten to the court. He came, and before the king and the bishop affirmed his innocence. It was decreed that he should return home, and that on the summons of the bishop he should attend on a stated day at a stated place, with eleven jurators, and that his wife should bring as many of her sex, and clear their fame and the conscience of others by oath. On the appointed day, and in the meadow where the child was buried, the cause was agitated. The relics, which an abbot brought, were placed upon a hillock, before which the husband, extending his right arm, swore that he had never consented to his son's death, nor knew his murderer, nor how he had been killed. The wife denying the fact, the hillock was opened by the bishop's command, and the bones of the child appeared. The wife at last fell at the prelate's feet, confessed the crime, and implored mercy. The conclusion of the whole was, that the accused gave a handsome present of land to the ecclesiastics concerned, as a conciliatory atonement.[h]

A bishop having made a contract for land with a drunken Dane, the seller, when sober, refused to fulful it. The cause was argued in the king's forum; the fact of the bargain was proved; and the king adjudged the land to the bishop, and the money to the Dane.[i] The forum regis is mentioned again.[j]

The folc-gemot occurs in the laws. "It is established for ceapmen, or merchants, that they bring the men that they lead with them before the king's gerefa in the folc-gemot, and say how many of them there be, and that they take these men up with them, that they may bring them again to the folc-gemot, if sued. And when they shall want to have more men with them in their journey, they shall announce it as often as it occurs to the king's gerefa, in the witness of the folc-gemot."[k]

These folc-gemots were ordered not to be held on a Sunday;

[g] 3 Gale, p. 416. [h] Ibid. 440. [i] Ibid. 442.
[j] Ibid. 444. [k] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 41.

and if any one disturbed them by a drawn weapon, he had to pay a wite of one hundred and twenty shillings to the ealdorman.[l]

The following may be considered as proceedings before a folc-gemot. Begmund having unjustly seized some lands of a monastery, when the ealdorman came to Ely, the offenders were summoned to the placitum, of the citizens and of the hundred, several times, but they never appeared. The abbot did not desist, but renewed his pleading, both within and without the city, and often made his complaint to the people. At length the ealdorman, coming to Cambridge, held a great placitum of the citizens and hundreds, before twenty-four judges. There the abbot narrated before all, how Begmund had seized his lands, and though summoned had not appeared. They adjudged the land to the abbot, and decreed Begmund to pay the produce of his fishery to the abbot for six years, and to give the king the were; and, if he neglected to pay, they authorized a seizure of his goods.[m]

Much of their judicial proceedings rested on oaths, and therefore their punishment of perjury was severe. A perjured man is usually classed with witches, murderers, and the most obnoxious beings in society; he was declared unworthy of the ordeal; he was disabled from being a witness again, and if he died he was denied Christian burial.[n]

We have some specimens of the oaths they took:

The oath of a plaintiff in the case was, "In the Lord: As I urge this accusation with full folc-right, and without fiction, deceit, or any fraud; so from me was that thing stolen of which I complain, and which I found again with N."

Another oath of a plaintiff was, "In the Lord: I accuse not N. neither for hate nor art, nor unjust avarice, nor do I know any thing more true, but so my mind said to me, and I myself tell for truth, that he was the thief of my goods."

A defendant's oath was, "In the Lord: I am innocent both in word and deed of that charge of which N. accused me."

A witnesses's oath was, "In the name of the Almighty God: As I here stand in true witness, unbidden and unbought; so I oversaw it with mine eyes and overheard it with mine ears, what I have said."

The oath of those who swore for others was, "In the Lord the oath is clean and upright that N. swore."[o]

[l] Wilk. 42.
[m] Hist. El. 3 Gale, 478.
[n] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 49, 53, 61.
[o] Ibid. 63, 64.

CHAPTER VIII.

Their Ordeals and legal Punishments.

We have a full account of the Anglo-Saxon ordeals, of hot water and hot iron, in the laws of Ina.

The iron was to be three pounds in weight for the threefold trial, and therefore probably one pound only for the more simple charge; and the accused was to have the option, whether he would prefer the water "ordal" or the iron "ordal."

No man was to go within the church after the fire was lighted by which the ordeal was to be heated, except the priest and the accused. The distance of nine feet was to be then measured out, from the stake, of the length of the foot of the accused. If the trial was to be by hot water, the water was heated till it boiled furiously; and the vessel that contained it was to be iron or copper, lead or clay.

If the charge was of the kind they called anfcald, or simple, the accused was to immerse his hand as far as the wrist in the water, to take out the stone; if the charge was of threefold magnitude, he was to plunge his arm up to the elbow.

When the ordeal was ready, two men were to enter of each side, and to agree that the water was boiling furiously. Then an equal number of men were to enter from each side, and to stand along the church on both sides of the ordeal, all fasting. After this the priest was to sprinkle them with holy water, of which each was to taste; they were to kiss the Gospels, and to be signed with the cross. All this time the fire was not to be mended any more; but the iron, if the ordeal was to be by hot iron, was to lie on the coals till the last collect was finished; and it was then to be placed on the staples which were to sustain it.

While the accused was snatching the stone out of the water, or carrying the hot iron for the space of nine feet, nothing was to be said but a prayer to the Deity to discover the truth. The hand was to be then bound up and sealed, and to be kept so for three days; after that time the seal and the bandage were removed, and the hand was to be examined, to see whether it was foul or clear.[a]

From this plain account, the ordeal was not so terrible as it may at first sight appear; because, independently of the oppor-

[a] Wilk. Leg. Inæ, p. 27.

tunity which the accused had, by going alone into the church, of making terms with the priest, and of the ease with which his dexterity could have substituted cold iron or stone for the heated substances, at the moment of the trial, and the impossibility of the detection, amid the previous forms of the holy water, the diminution of the fire, prayers on the occasion, and the distance of the few spectators; independently of these circumstances, the actual endurance of the ordeal admitted many chances of acquittal. It was not exacted that the hand should not be burnt, but that after the space of three days it should not exhibit that appearance which would be called foul, or guilty. As the iron was to be carried only for the space of nine of the feet of the accused, it would be hardly two seconds in his hand. The hand was not to be immediately inspected, but it was carefully kept from air, which would irritate the wound, and was left to the chances of a good constitution to be so far healed in three days as to discover those appearances, when inspected, which were allowed to be satisfactory. Besides, there was, no doubt, much preparatory training, suggested by the more experienced, which would indurate the epidermis so much as to make it less sensible to the action of the hot substances which it was to hold.[b]

Ordeals were forbidden on festivals and fast days.[c]

Of the single ordeal, it was ordered, that if the persons had been accused of theft, and were found guilty by it, and did not know who would be their borh, they should be put into prison, and be treated as the laws had enjoined.[d]

An accused mintmaster was to undergo the ordeal of the hot iron.[e]

The ordeal might be compounded for.[f]

The law of Athelstan added some directions as to the ordeal. Whoever appealed to it was to go three nights before to the priest who was to transact it, and should feed on bread and salt, water and herbs. He was to be present at the masses in the mean time, and make his offerings and receive the holy sacrament on the day of his going through the ordeal; and he should swear, that with folc-right he was guiltless of the accusation before he went to the ordeal. If the trial was the hot water, he was to plunge his arm half-way above the elbow on the rope. If the ordeal was the iron, three days were to pass before it was examined. They who attended were to have fasted, and not to exceed twelve in number of either side; or the ordeal was to be void unless they departed.[g]

A thief found guilty by the ordeal was to be killed, unless his

[b] Some authors have mentioned the preparations that were used to indurate the skin.

[c] Wilk. p. 53. [d] Ibid. p. 57. [e] Ibid. p. 59.
[f] Ibid. p. 60. [g] Ibid. p. 61.

relations redeemed him by paying his were, and the value of the goods, and giving borh for his good behaviour.[h]

The command of the ordeals must have thrown great power into the hands of the church; and as in most cases they who appealed to them did so from choice, it is probable, that whoever expressed this deference to the ecclesiastical order were rewarded for the compliment, as far as discretion and contrivance would permit.

The ordeal was a trial, not a punishment. The most popular of the legal punishments were the pecuniary mulcts. But as the imperfection and inutility of these could not be always disguised —as they were sometimes impunity to the rich, who could afford them, and to the poor, who had nothing to pay them with, other punishments were enacted. Among these we find imprisonment,[i] outlawry,[j] banishment,[k] slavery,[l] and transportation.[m] In other cases we have whipping,[n] branding,[o] the pillory,[p] amputation of limb,[q] mutilation of the nose and ears and lips,[r] the eyes plucked out, hair torn off,[s] stoning,[t] and hanging.[u] Nations not civilized have barbarous punishments.

CHAPTER IX.

The Trial by Jury.

In considering the origin of the happy and wise institution of the English Jury, which has contributed so much to the excellence of our national character, and to the support of our constitutional liberty, it is impossible not to feel considerable diffidence and difficulty. It is painful to decide upon a subject on which great men have previously differed. It is peculiarly desirable to trace, if possible, the seed, bud, and progressive vegetation of a tree so beautiful and so venerable.

It is not contested that the institution of a jury existed in the time of the Conqueror. The document which remains of the

[h] Ibid. 65. For the ordeal of other nations, see Muratori, v.; and Du Cange.
[i] Wilkins, Leg. Sax. 34, 70.
[j] Ibid. p. 74, Sax. Chron.
[k] Sax. Chron.
[l] Wilk. 12, 15, 18, 20, 50.
[m] Ibid. p. 12.
[n] Ibid. p. 12, 22, 52, 53, 81.
[o] Ibid. p. 139.
[p] Ibid. p. 11, 54, 75.
[q] Ibid. p. 18, 134, 139.
[r] Ibid. p. 138, 142.
[s] Ibid. p. 138.
[t] Ibid. p. 67.
[u] Ibid. p. 18, 70, 139.

dispute between Gundulf, the bishop of Rochester, and Pichot, the sheriff, ascertains this fact. We will state the leading circumstances of this valuable account.

The question was, Whether some land belonged to the church or to the king? "The king commanded that all the men of the county should be gathered together, that by their judgment it might be more justly ascertained to whom the land belonged." This was obviously a shire-gemot.

"They being assembled, from fear of the sheriff, affirmed that the land was the king's: but as the bishop of Bayeux, who presided at that placitum, did not believe them, he ordered, that if they knew that what they said was true, they should choose twelve from among themselves, who should confirm with an oath what all had declared. But these, when they had withdrawn to counsel, and were there harassed by the sheriff through his messenger, returned and swore to the truth of what they asserted."

By this decision the land became the king's. But a monk, who knew how the fact really stood, assured the bishop of Rochester of the falsehood of their oath, who communicated the information to the bishop of Bayeux. The bishop, after hearing the monk, sent for one of the twelve, who, falling at his feet, confessed that he had forsworn himself. The man on whose oath they had sworn theirs, made a similar avowal.

On this the bishop "ordered the sheriff to send the rest to London, and twelve other men from the best in the county, who confirmed that to be true which they had sworn."

They were all adjudged to be perjured, because the man whose evidence they had accredited had avowed his perjury. The church recovered the land; and when "the last twelve wished to affirm that they had not consented with those who had sworn, the bishop said they must prove this by the iron ordeal. And because they undertook this, and could not do it, they were fined three hundred pounds to the king, by the judgment of other men of the county."[a]

By this narration, we find that a shire-gemot determined on the dispute, in the first instance; but that in consequence of the doubts of the presiding judge, they chose from among themselves twelve, who swore to the truth of what they had decided, and whose determination decided the case.

The jury appears to me to have been an institution of progressive growth, and its principle may be traced to the earliest Anglo-Saxon times. One of the judicial customs of the Saxons was, that a man might be cleared of the accusation of certain crimes, if an appointed number of persons came forward and

[a] Thorpe, Regist. Roffen. 32.

swore that they believed him innocent of the allegation. These men were literally juratores, who swore to a veredictum; who so far determined the facts of the case as to acquit the person in whose favour they swore. Such an oath, and such an acquittal, is a jury in its earliest and rudest shape; and it is remarkable that for accusations of any consequence among the Saxons of the continent, twelve juratores were the number required for an acquittal. Thus, for the wound of a noble, which produced blood, or disclosed the bone, or broke a limb; or if one seized another by the hair, or threw him into the water; in these and some other cases twelve juratores were required.[b] Similar customs may be observed in the laws of the continental Angli and Frisiones, though sometimes the number of the jury or juratores varied according to the charge; every number being appointed, from three to forty-eight.[c] In the laws of the Ripuarii, we find that in certain cases the oaths of even seventy-two persons were necessary to his acquittal.[d] It is obvious, from their numbers, that these could not have been witnesses to the facts alleged. Nor can we suppose that they came forward with the intention of wilful and suborned perjury. They could only be persons who, after hearing and weighing the facts of the case, proffered their deliberate oaths that the accused was innocent of the charge. And this was performing one of the most important functions of our modern juries.

In the laws of the Alemanni, the principle appears more explicitly; for in these the persons who are to take the oath of acquittal are called nominati, or persons named. And in the case of murdering the messenger of a dux, the juratores were to be twelve named and twelve elected.[e] This named and elected jury seems to approximate very closely to our present institution.

In referring to our own Anglo-Saxon laws, we find three jurators mentioned in those of the kings of Kent, in the latter end of the seventh century. If a freeman were accused of theft, he was to make compensation, or to acquit himself by the oaths of four ꝑım æꝑꝺa men. These words are literally "the number of four legal men," or "four of the numbered legal men."[f] In either construction they point to a meaning similar to the nominati in the laws of the Alemanni; that is, persons legally appointed as jurators.

The principle of an acquittal by the peers of the party accused appears in the laws of Wihtræd, where the clergyman is to be acquitted by four of his equals, and the ceorlisc man by four of his own rank.[g]

An acquittal from walreaf, or the plunder of the dead, re-

[b] Lindenborg. Leg. Sax. p. 474.
[c] Lind. Lex. Angli. 482, and Lex. Fris. 490.
[d] Lind. Lex. Ripuar. p. 451.
[e] Lind. Lex. Aleman. p. 370, 371.
[f] Leg. Hloth. Wilk. p. 8.
[g] Leg. Wiht. Wilk. p. 12.

quired the oaths of forty-eight full-born thegns.[h] These, of course, could not be witnesses. They must have been a selection of so many in the shire-gemot, who, on hearing the facts of the accusation, would, upon their oaths, absolve the accused. And what is this but a jury? The Danish colonists probably used it.

In the treaty between Alfred and Guthrun, more lights appear: "If any accuse the king's thegn of manslaughter (manslihtes), if he dare absolve himself, let him do it by twelve king's thegns. If the accused be less than a king's thegn, let him absolve himself by eleven of his equals, and one king's thegn."[i] Here the number of twelve, and the principle of the peers, both appear to us.

Something of the principle of a jury appears to us in these laws: "If any one takes cattle, let five of his neighbours be named, and out of these, let him get one that will swear with him, that he took it to himself according to folc-right; and he that will implead him, let ten men be named to him, and let him get two of these and swear that it was born in his possession, without the rim æthe, the oath of number, and let this eyre oath stand above twenty pennies."

"Let him who prays condemnation for a slain thief get two paternal and one maternal relation, and give the oath that they knew of no theft in the kinsman, and that he did not deserve death for that crime; and let some twelve go and try him."[j]

This passage seems to have an allusion to this subject:

"Let there be named, in the district of every gerefa, as many men as are known to be unlying men, that they may witness every dispute, and be the oaths of these unlying men of the value of the property without choice."[k] These men, so named, may have been the rim æwda men noticed before.

"If any kill a thief that has taken refuge within the time allowed, let him compensate for the mund byrde; or let some twelve absolve him that he knew not the jurisdiction."[l]

This injunction seems also to provide a jury: On an accusation of idolatry or witchcraft, "if it be a king's thegn who denies it, let there be then named to him twelve, and let him take twelve of his relations, and twelve strangers; and if he fails, let him pay for the violation of the law, or ten half marcs."[m] This seems a jury: twelve persons were to be appointed, and he was to add twelve of his kinsfolks; and this law concerning Northumbria, where they were chiefly Danes, as many foreigners were to be added. If they absolved him, he was cleared; if not, he was to be mulcted. It is one of the rules established concerning our jury, that a foreigner has a right to have half of the jury foreigners.

[h] Leg. Inæ. Wilk. 27.
[i] Wilk. p. 47.
[j] Ibid. p. 58.
[k] Ibid. p. 62.
[l] Ibid. p. 63.
[m] Ibid. p. 100.

The following law of Ethelred has the same application:

"Let there be gemots in every wæpentace; and let twelve of the eldest thegns go out with the gerefa, and swear on the relics, which shall be given into their hands, that they will condemn no innocent man, nor screen any that is guilty."[n] This passage seems to have no meaning but so far as it alludes to a jury.

Two other laws are as applicable: "If any be accused that he has fed the man who hath broken our lord's peace, let him absolve himself with thrinna twelve, and let the gerefa name the absolving persons; and this law shall stand where the thegns are of the same mind. If they differ, let it stand as eight of them shall declare."[o] This is surely a jury, of whom eight constituted the legal majority.

There is another passage, in the laws made by the English witan and the Welsh counsellors, which bears upon this subject: "Twelve lahmen, of whom six shall be English and six shall be Welsh, shall enjoin right. They shall lose all that they have if they enjoin erroneously, or absolve themselves that they knew no better."[p]

On the whole, it would seem that the custom of letting the oaths of a certain number of men determine legal disputes in favour of the person for whom they swore, was the origin of the English jury. It was an improvement on this ancient custom, that jurators were named by the court instead of being selected by the parties. It was a further progress towards our present mode of jury, that the jurators were to hear the statements of both parties before they gave their deciding veredictum, or oath of the truth. While the ordeals were popular, the trials by jurators were little used; but as these blind appeals to Heaven became unfashionable, the process of the legal tribunals was more resorted to, and juries became more frequent.[q]

The excellence of the English trial by jury seems to arise from the impartiality of the sheriff in summoning a sufficient number of jurors: from their being indifferently called and put on the trial at the time of the cause coming on; from their having no interest or prejudices as to the matter in decision; from their habits of serving on juries; from their general good meaning and common sense; from a fair sentiment of their own importance as judges of the fact of the case; from their moral sense of their own duties as a jury; from a conscientious desire of doing right between the parties; from an acuteness of mind which prevents them from being misled by declamation; from

[n] Wilk. p. 117. [o] Ibid. p. 118. [p] Ibid. p. 125.

[q] The following passage in the old law-book, the Mirror, shows that jurors were used in the time of Alfred. It says of this king, "Il pendist les suitors d'Dorcester, pur ceo que ils judgerent un home a la mort per jurors de lour franchise pur felony que il fist; en le forrein et dount ils ne puissent conustre pur la forrainte." p. 300.

the respectful attention to the observations and legal directions of the presiding judge; and from a general acquaintance of the rules of wrong and right between man and man. These qualities cannot be attained by any country on a sudden; our population has been educated to these important duties by many centuries of their practical discharge, and therefore it will be long before either the juries of Scotland, France, Spain, or Germany, can equal the English in utility, efficiency, judgment, or rectitude.

APPENDIX.

No. IV.

ON THE AGRICULTURE AND LANDED PROPERTY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

CHAPTER I.

Their Husbandry.

The agricultural state may have been coeval with the pastoral, in the climates of the East, where nature is so profuse of her rural gifts, that cultivation is scarcely requisite; but in the more ungenial regions of the north of Europe, where the food of man is not to be obtained from the earth, without the union of skill and labour, the pastoral state seems to have been the earliest occupation of uncivilized man. While this taste prevailed, agricultural attentions were disreputable and despised, as among the ancient Germans. But when population became more numerous and less migratory, husbandry rose in human estimation and use, until at length it became indispensable to the subsistence of the nation who pursued it.

When the Anglo-Saxons invaded England, they came into a country which had been under the Roman power for about four hundred years, and where agriculture, after its more complete subjection by Agricola, had been so much encouraged, that it had become one of the western granaries of the empire. The Britons, therefore, of the fifth century may be considered to have pursued the best system of husbandry then in use, and their lands to have been extensively cultivated with all those exterior circumstances which mark established proprietorship and improvement; as small farms; inclosed fields; regular divisions into meadow, arable, pasture, and wood; fixed boundaries; planted

hedges; artificial dykes and ditches; selected spots for vineyards, gardens, and orchards; connecting roads and paths; scattered villages, and larger towns, with appropriate names for every spot and object that marked the limits of each property, or the course of each way. All these appear in the earliest Saxon charters, and before the combating invaders had time or ability to make them, if they had not found them in the island. Into such a country the Anglo-Saxon adventurers came, and by these facilities to rural civilization soon became an agricultural people. The natives, whom they despised, conquered, and enslaved, became their educators and servants in the new arts, which they had to learn, of grazing and tillage; and the previous cultivation practised by the Romanized Britons will best account for the numerous divisions, and accurate and precise descriptions of land which occur in almost all the Saxon charters. No modern conveyance could more accurately distinguish or describe the boundaries of the premises which it conveyed.

The Anglo-Saxons seem to have had both large and small farms, as both are enumerated in the Domesday Register; and it is most probable that the more extensive possessions, though belonging to one proprietor, were cultivated in small subdivisions. The number of petty proprietors was, according to the same record, greater in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, where the Northmen colonists settled themselves, than in other parts of the island. But the British custom of gavelkind, which preceded the Anglo-Saxon invasions, was favourable to the increase of small proprietorships. Large farms seem to be the best adapted to bring an extensive surface of the country into a state of cultivation, but not for raising the greatest quantity of produce from every part. Small farms, manual labour, and that minute and frequent tillage which the larger owner will not think of, or descend to, will probably obtain the most abundant harvests from the particular lands to which they are applied.

It must, however, be recollected, that large portions of the country were, in every part, in a state of forests, lakes, pools, marsh, moor, slough, and heath; but they turned the watery parts, which they had not the skill or the means to drain, to the best advantage, by making them productive of fish. In most of their ditches we read of eels, and in several descriptions, of fish waters. Brooks and bourns were so common as to form parts of almost all their boundaries.

The Anglo-Saxons cultivated the art of husbandry with some attention. The articles which they raised from the earth, and the animals which they fed, have been mentioned in the chapter on their food. A few particulars of their practical husbandry need only be mentioned here.

They used hedges and ditches to separate their fields and

lands;[a] and these were made necessary by law; for if a freeman broke through a hedge, he had to pay six shillings.[b] A ceorl was ordered to keep his farm enclosed both winter and summer; and if damage arose to any one who suffered his gate to be open, and his hedge to be broken down, he was subjected to legal consequences.[c]

They had common of pasture attached to the different portions of land which they possessed; and they had other extensive districts laid out in meadow. Every estate had also an appropriated quantity of wood. In Domesday-book, the ploughed land, the meadow, the pasture, and the wood, are separately mentioned, and their different quantities estimated.

They sowed their wheat in spring.[d] It was a law, that he who had twenty hides of land should take care that there should be twelve hides of it sown when he was to leave it.[e]

They had ploughs, rakes, sickles, scythes, forks, and flails, very like those that have been commonly used in this country.[f] They had also carts or wagons. Their wind-mills and water-mills are frequently mentioned, in every period of their history.

Their woods were an object of their legislative attention. If any one burnt or cut down another's wood without permission, he was to pay five shillings for every great tree, and five pennies for every other, and thirty shillings besides, as a penalty.[g] By another law, this offence was more severely punished.[h]

They were careful of the sheep. It was ordered by an express law, that these animals should keep their fleece until midsummer, and that the value of a sheep should be one shilling until a fortnight after Easter.[i]

There are some curious delineations in a Saxon calendar, which illustrate some of their agricultural labours.[j]

In January are men ploughing with four oxen; one drives, another holds the plough, and another scatters seeds.

In February men are represented as cutting or pruning trees, of which some resemble vines.

In March one is digging, another is with a pick-axe, and a third is sowing.

In April three persons are pictured as sitting and drinking, with two attendants; another is pouring out liquor into a horn; and another is holding a horn to his mouth.

[a] These appear in most of the boundaries described in the Saxon grants. Hedges are mentioned in Domesday. A nemus ad sepes faciendum occurs in Middlesex, fo. 127.

[b] Wilk. Leg. 4. [c] Ibid. p. 21.

[d] Bede, p. 244. [e] Wilk. Leg. p. 25.

[f] Their drawings in their MSS. show a great resemblance between the Saxon instruments and those still used in the northern counties of England.

[g] Wilk. p. 37. [h] Ibid. p. 21. [i] Ibid. p. 25, 23.

[j] Cott. MS. Tib. B. 5. See them copied in Strutt's Hord. Angl. vol. i. tab. x. xi. xii.

In May a shepherd is sitting; his flocks are about, and one man has a lamb in his arms; other persons are looking on.

In June some are reaping with a sickle, and some putting the corn into a cart. A man is blowing a horn while they are working.

In July they are felling trees.

In August they are mowing.

In September is a boar-hunting.

In October is hawking.

In November a smithery is shown.

In December two men are thrashing, others are carrying the grain in a basket; one has a measure, as if to ascertain the quantity; and another on a notched stick, seems to be marking what is measured and taken away.

In the Saxon dialogues already quoted, the ploughman gives this account of his duty:

"I labour much. I go out at daybreak, urging the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plough (ꝺhe ꝛẏl). It is not yet so stark winter that I dare keep close at home, for fear of my lord; but the oxen being yoked, and the share and cultro fastened on, I ought to plough every day one entire field, or more. I have a boy to threaten the oxen with a goad, who is now hoarse through cold and bawling. I ought also to fill the binns of the oxen with hay, and water them, and carry out their soil." He adds, "It is a great labour, because I am not free."

In the same MSS. we have this statement of a shepherd's and a cowherd's duty. "In the first part of the morning I drive my sheep to their pasture, and stand over them in heat and in cold with dogs, lest the wolves destroy them. I lead them back to their folds, and milk them twice a day; and I move their folds, and make cheese and butter; and I am faithful to my lord." The other says, "When the ploughman separates the oxen, I lead them to the meadows; and all night I stand watching over them, on account of thieves; and again, in the morning, I take them to the plough, well fed and watered."

Some circumstances may be selected from their grants, which illustrate the customs and produce of an Anglo-Saxon farm. "I give food for seventy swine in that woody allotment which the countrymen call Wulferdinleh, and five wagons full of good twigs, and every year an oak for building, and others for necessary fires, and sufficient wood for burning."[k]

A noble lady ordered out of her lands a yearly donation of forty ambra of malt, an old ram, four wethers, two hundred and forty loaves, and one weight of bacon and cheese, and four fother of wood, and twenty hen-fowls.[l]

In Ina's laws, ten hides were to furnish ten vessels of honey,

[k] Bede, App. 770.

[l] Hickes's Diss. Ep. 10.

three hundred loaves, twelve ambra of Welsh ale, thirty of clear ale, two old rams, ten wethers, ten geese, twenty hens, ten cheeses, an ambra full of butter, five salmon, twenty pounds weight of fodder, and an hundred eels.[m]

Another gives ten mittas of malt, five of grits, ten mittas of the flour of wheat, eight gammons, sixteen cheeses, and two fat cows; and in Lent eight salmon.[n]

Offa, in 785, grants some land, with permission to feed swine in the wood of Andreda; and another district to cut wood for building or for burning; and also wood sufficient to boil salt; and the fishing of one man; with one hundred loaded wagons, and two walking carts, every year.[o]

We frequently find salt pans, or places to boil salt in, conveyed, as, "with four vessels for the boiling of salt," and "with all the utensils and wells of salt."[p]

Fisheries were frequently given with land. To three plough lands in Kent a fishery on the Thames is added.[q] Ethelstan gives a piece of land for the use of taking fish.[r] So forty acres, with fishing, were given on the condition of receiving every year fifteen salmon.[s] So half of a fishery is given to a monastery, with the buildings and tofts of the fishermen.[t]

A vineyard is not unfrequently mentioned in various documents. Edgar gives the vineyard situate at Wecet, with the vine-dressers.[u] In Domesday-book, vineyards are noticed in several counties.

A wolf-pit is mentioned in one of the boundaries of an estate.[v]

In Domesday we frequently meet with parks. Thus, speaking of Rislepe, in Middlesex, it adds, "There is a park (parcus) of beasts of the wood."[w] At St. Albans and Ware, in Herts, similar parks are mentioned, and in other places.

Gardens also occur several times in Domesday. Eight cotarii and their gardens[x] are stated in the manor of Fuleham in Middlesex. And we may remark that Fulham still abounds with market gardeners. A house with its garden is mentioned in the burg of Hertford.[y]

Two or three intimations occur in Domesday of the increasing conversion of pasture into arable land. Thus at Borne in Kent, "a pasture from which strangers have ploughed six acres of land."[z]

We have many contracts extant of the purchases of land by

[m] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 25.
[n] 3 Gale, Hist. R. 410.
[o] Astle's MS. Charters, No. 4.
[p] Heming. Chart. Wig. p. 144.
[q] Thorpe Regist. 20.
[r] Heming. Chart. p. 111.
[s] Ibid. p. 171.
[t] 3 Gale x. Script. p. 405.
[u] MS. Claud. C. 9, p. 116.
[v] 3 Gale, p. 520.
[w] Domesday. 129, b.
[x] Ibid. p. 127, b.
[y] Ibid. p. 132.
[z] Ibid. p. 9.

the Anglo-Saxons, from which we may expect to gain some knowledge of the price of land. But this source of information is by no means sufficient to form an accurate criterion, because we cannot tell the degree of cultivation, or the quality of the land transferred; and also because many of the grants seem to have been rather gifts than sales, in which the consideration bears little proportion to the obvious value. A few of the prices given may however be stated:

1 hyde and a field for 100 shillings.
3 hydes for 15*l.*
10 hydes and two mills for 100 aureos.
7 hydes and an half for 200 aureos.[a]
6 cassatorum for 3 pundus argenti.
10 manentium for 31 mancosas.
20 manentium for 10 libris argenti.
2 mansiones for 20 manecusis auri probatissimi.[b]
15 manentes for 1500 solidis argenti.
5 manentium for 10 libras inter aurum et argentum.
5 manentium for 150 mancas de puro auro.
8 mansas for 90 mancusa of purest gold.
10 mansas for 30 mancusas of pure gold.
8 mansas for 300 criseis mancusis.[c]

It is obvious from this short specimen of the sums mentioned in their documents, that no regular estimate can be formed of the usual price of their land.

By the exorcisms to make fields fertile which remain, we may perceive that our superstitious ancestors thought that they could produce abundant harvests by nonsensical ceremonies and phrases. They who choose may see a long one in Calig. A. 7. It is too long and too absurd to be copied. But we may recollect, in justice to our ancestors, that Cato the censor, has transmitted to us a recipe as ridiculous.

The course of nature, in the revolutions of the seasons, has suffered no essential change since the deluge, which human records notice. We may therefore presume that the seasons in the Anglo-Saxon period resembled those which preceded and have followed them. Bede calls October Winterfylleth, because winter begins in this month. And we have a description of Anglo-Saxon winter from a disciple of Bede: "The last winter far and wide afflicted our island horribly, by its cold, its frosts, and storms of rain and wind."[d]

To give some notion of the state of the atmosphere and of the seasons in these times, it may not be uninteresting to mention

[a] 3 Gale, p. 480, 483, 485, 486.
[b] Heming. Chart. p. 69, 70, 222, 230.
[c] MS. Claud. C. 9.
[d] 16 Mag. Bib. p. 88.

some of the years which were more remarkable for the calamities of the weather which attended them.

A. D. 763–4. This winter was so severe, for its snow and frost, as to have been thought unparalleled. The frost lasted from the first of October to February. Most of the trees and shrubs perished by the excessive cold.[e]

793. A great famine and mortality.[f]

799. Violent tempest, and numerous shipwrecks in the British Ocean.[g]

807–8. A very mild and pestilential winter.[h]

820. From excessive and continual rains, a great mortality of men and cattle ensued. The harvest was spoilt. Great inundations prevented the autumnal sowing.[i]

821. A dreadful winter followed. The frost was so long and severe, that not only all the smaller rivers, but even the largest in Europe, as the Seine, the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Danube, were so frozen, that, for above thirty days, wagons passed over them as if over bridges.[j]

823. The harvests devastated by hail. A terrible pestilence among men and cattle.[k]

824. A dreadful and long winter. Not only animals, but many of the human species, perished by the intenseness of the cold.[l]

832. This year began with excessive rains. A frost succeeded so sudden and intense, that the iced roads were nearly impassable by horses.[m]

834. Great storms and excessive falls of rain.[n]

851. Severe famine on the continent.[o]

869. Great famine and mortality in England.[p]

874. A swarm of locusts laid waste the provinces of France. A famine so dreadful followed, that, in the hyberbolical language of the writers, nearly a third part of the population perished.

875. A long and inclement winter, succeeded with unusual falls of snow. The frost lasted from the first of November to the end of March.[q]

913. A severe winter.

956. A very mortal pestilence.[r]

976. A severe famine in England. A frost from first November to end of March.

[e] Simeon Dunelm, p. 105. Ann. Astron. ap. Ruberi, p. 18. Sigeb. Gembl. p. 551.
[f] Sim. Dun. p. 112.
[g] Ibid. p. 115.
[h] Adelmi Benedict. p. 409.
[i] Ibid. p. 421.
[j] Ibid. p. 422. Ann. Astron. p. 46.
[k] Adel. B. p. 425. Sigeb. Gemb. p. 561.
[l] Ann. Fuld. p. 6. Bouquet's Recueil, p. 208. Annales apud Ruberi, p. 49.
[m] Annales Ruberi, p. 56. Adel. Bened. p. 463.
[n] Annales Ruberi, p. 58.
[o] Sigeb. Gembl. apud Pistorium, p. 565.
[p] Asser, p. 20.
[q] Aimoini de gestis Fran. p. 489. Sigeb. Gembl. p. 569.
[r] Regino Chron. p. 568, 74, 79.

986. Great mortality amongst cattle in England.[s]
987. A dreadful flux and fever in England.[t]
988. A summer of extreme heat.
989. Great inundations. Very hot summer, unhealthy and unfruitful. Great drought and famine; much snow and rain; and no sowing.[u]
1005. A great and dreadful famine in England.
1006. The same over all Europe.[v]
1014. Great sea flood.
1016. Great hail, thunder, and lightning.[w]
1022. Extreme heat in the summer.
1039. A severe winter.
1041. Inclement seasons all the year, and unproductive; and great mortality amongst the cattle.[x]
1043–4. A dreadful famine in England and the continent. A sester of wheat sold for above sixty pennies.[y]
1047. An uncommon fall of snow. Trees broken by it.[z]
1048. Earthquake at Worcester, Derby, and other places; and a great mortality.[a]

Of the Anglo-Saxon husbandry we may remark, that Domesday Survey gives us some indications that the cultivation of the church lands was much superior to that of any other order of society. They have much less wood upon them, and less common of pasture; and what they had appears often in smaller and more irregular pieces; while their meadow was more abundant, and in more numerous distributions.

CHAPTER II.

Their Proprietorship in Land and Tenures.

When the Anglo-Saxons established themselves in Britain, a complete revolution in the possession of landed property must have taken place, so far as it concerned the persons of the pro-

[s] Sax. Chron. p. 123, 125. Sim. Dun. p. 160. Sig. Gemb. p. 587.
[t] Flor. Wig. and Sim. Dun. 161.
[u] Lamb. Schaff. p. 158. Sigeb. Gembl. p. 589.
[v] Sim. Dun. 165. Sig. Gembl. p. 591.
[w] Sax. Chron. p. 146. Lamb. Schaff. p. 158.
[x] Sig. Gemb. p. 593. Sim. Dun. p. 180.
[y] Sax. Chron. p. 157. Sig. Gembl. p. 596. The MS. Claud. C. 9, mentions that a sextarius of wheat sold for five shillings, p. 129. Henry of Huntingdon says the same, adding, that a sextarius of wheat used to be the burthen of one horse, p. 365.
[z] Sim. Dun. p. 180. Sig. Gembl. p. 597.
[a] Sax. Chron. p. 183.

prietors. They succeeded by the sword. All the chieftains of the octarchy had many years of warfare to wage, before they could extort the occupation of the country. In such fierce assaults, and such desperate resistance, the largest part of the proprietary body of the Britons must have perished.

What system of tenures the Anglo-Saxon conquerors established, will be best known from the language of their grants. Some antiquaries have promulged very inaccurate ideas on this subject; and we can only hope to escape error, by consulting the documents and studying the legal phrases of the Anglo-Saxon period.

We find the land distinguished in their laws by various epithets. We there meet with boc lande, gafole land, folc land, bisceopa land, thegne's land, neat land, and frigan earthe.[a] The proprietors of land are called dryhtne, hlaforde, agende or land hlaforde, and land agende.[b] The occupiers of land were named ceorl, geneat, landesman, tunesman,[c] and such like.

From Domesday-book, we find, that of some lands the king was the chief proprietor; of others, the bishops and abbots; of others, several earls and persons of inferior dignity. A few specimens may be given. Thus in Sussex—

The king had	59½ hides.
Archbishop of Canterbury,	214
Bishop of Chichester,	184
Abbot of Westminster,	7
Abbot of Fescamp,	135
Bishop Osbern,	149
Abbot of St. Peter, Winchester,	33
Church of Battle,	60½
Abbot of St. Edward,	21
Comes of Oro,	196¼
Comes of Moriton,	520
Comes Roger,	818
William of Warene,	620¼
William of Braiose,	452¼
Odo and Eldred,	10

These were the tenentes in capite, the great proprietors in demesne. The men who resided on the land, and in the burgs under these in this county, may be seen in Domesday-book. In other counties, we find the same description of persons possessing land, with the addition of others. Thus the greater proprietors in Hertfordshire were, the king, the archbishop of Canterbury, five bishops, three abbots, an abbess, two canons, four earls or comites, twenty-four less dignified individuals, and three ladies. Two of these ladies are described as wives. Thus: "Rothais, wife of Richard, son of earl Gislebert, holds Standor, and defends

[a] Wilkins, Leges Sax. p. 43, 47, 49, 65, 76.
[b] Ibid. p. 2, 10, 11, 15, 21, 28, 58, 63.
[c] Ibid. p. 18, 47, 101, 105.

herself for eleven hides; Adeliz, wife of Hugo of Grentmaisnil, holds Brochesborne, and defends herself for five hides and a half." The other was the daughter of Radulf Tailgebosch, and held four hides in Hoderdon.

In Buckinghamshire the chief proprietors were, the king, the archbishop, five bishops, two abbots, an abbess, a canon, a presbyter, two earls, thirty-eight other individuals; the queen, countess Judith Azelina, wife of Radulf Tailgebosch; the king, thane, and eleemosiners.

But subordinate tenures are also mentioned in this valuable record. Thus the abbess of Berching held Tiburn (Tyburn) under the king, and the canons of St. Paul held of the king five hides in Fulham. Many tenures of this sort appear.[d]

To several tenures it is added, that the possessors could not give or sell the land without leave.[e]

Other tenants are mentioned, who could turn themselves, with their land, wherever they pleased.[f]

Land held in elemosinam, or frankalmoigne, also appears.[g]

Of other tenants it is said, that they held certain manors, but rendered no service to the abbot, except thirty-shillings a-year.[h]

Sochmanni, and the terra sochmannorum, are mentioned: of two of them it is expressed, that they could sell without leave; while another is declared unable to give or sell without his lord's leave. Two other sochmanni are called men of the bishop of London.[i]

One of the sochmen, who could do what he chose with the land, was a canon of St. Paul's.

Of the tenures which appear from the Anglo-Saxon grants, the first that may be noticed is that of pure freehold of inheritance, unconnected with any limitation or service. Thus, in a conveyance made between 691 and 694, the kinsman of the king of Essex gives some land, amounting to 46 manentium. The conveying words are, "I Hodilredus, the kinsman of Sebbi, in the province of the East Saxons, with his consent, of my own will, in sound mind; and by just advice, for ever deliver to thee, and, from my right, transcribe into thine, the land, &c., with all things belonging to it, with the fields, wood, meadows, and marsh, that, as well thou as thy posterity, may hold, possess, and have free power to do with the land whatsoever thou wilt."[j]

In another, dated in 704, from a king to a bishop, of 30 cassatorum, at Tincenhom, in Middlesex, the words are, "We have decreed to give in dominio to Waldhare, bishop, part of a field, &c. The possession of this land so aforesaid, with fields to be

[d] Domesday-book.
[e] Ibid. fo. 129.
[f] Ibid. fo. 6, 7, 129.
[g] Ibid. fo. 12, 137.
[h] Ibid. fo. 12.
[i] Ibid. fo. 11, 129.
[j] MS. Augustus, 2, 26, printed in Smith's Appendix to Bede, p. 748.

sowed, pastures, meadows, marshes, fisheries, rivers, closes, and appurtenances, we deliver to be possessed in dominio by the above bishop in perpetual right, and that he have the free power of doing whatsoever he will."[k]

There seems to have been no prescribed form of words for the conveyance of a freehold estate, because we find that almost every grant varies in some of its phrases. The most essential requisite seems to have been that the words should imply an intended perpetuity of possession. One other specimen of a freehold grant, not quite so absolute as the above, may be added: "That it may be in his power, and may remain firmly fixed in hereditary right, both free from the services of all secular things within and without, and from all burden and injury of greater or smaller causes, and that he may have the liberty of changing or giving it in his life, and after his death may have the power of leaving it to whomsoever he will."[l]

Freehold estates also occur, made subject to the three great services to which almost all lands were liable. In these cases the duty of military expedition, and bridge and castle works, are expressly excepted.[m] A modification of this freehold tenure is, where the grant is for the life of the person receiving it, with a power of giving it to any person after his death in perpetual inheritance. This kind of estate very frequently occurs in the Saxon grants, and differs from the pure and absolute freehold, inasmuch as it does not appear that the tenant for life had the liberty of alienating it before his death, nor that it was descendible to his heirs if he made no testamentary devise.

Thus in a grant dated 756, the part which lawyers call the habendum, and which determines the nature of the tenure, is thus expressed: "I will give it him for ever—that he may have and possess it as long as he lives, and after that time, that he may leave it to any person he shall please, to be possessed in hereditary right, with the same liberty in which it is granted to him."[n]

Others are in these phrases: "To have and possess it in his own possession, and for his days to enjoy it happily, and after his days to leave to whomsoever shall be agreeable to him in everlasting inheritance."[o]

A very common tenure in the Anglo-Saxon times was, that the person to whom it was conveyed should hold it for his life, and should have the power of giving it after his death to any one, two, three, or more heirs, as mentioned in the grant; after which it should revert either to the original proprietor making the grant, or to some ecclesiastical body or other person mentioned in it.

[k] Appendix to Bede, p. 749.
[l] MS. Charters of the late Mr. Astle, No. 7.
[m] MS. Claud. c. 9, p. 112, 113.
[n] Smith's App. p. 767.
[o] Astle's MS. Charters, Nos. 12 and 16.

Thus Oswald gives lands to a person, in the stability of perpetual inheritance; that in having, he may hold it, and possessing it, may enjoy it, for the length of his life. After his death he might leave it to any two heirs whom he preferred, to have it continuedly—after their death it was to revert to the church of St. Mary.[p]

In 984 Oswald gave to his kinsman, Eadwig, and his wife, three mansæ, for their lives. If the husband survived her, he was to be deemed the first possessor, or heir of the land; or if she survived, she was to be the first heir. They were empowered to leave all to their offspring, if they had any; if not, the survivor was to leave it to any two heirs.[q]

Thus a bishop gave to Berhtwulf, the Mercian king, certain lands "for the space of the days of five men, to have and to enjoy it with justice; and after the number of their days, that it may be returned, without any dissension or conflict to the church in Worcester." This same land Berhtwulf gave to his minister, Ecbercht, "for the space of the days of five men, as before it was given to him."[r]

Sometimes an attempt was made to possess the land beyond the number of lives indicated. It is mentioned in a charter, that one Cynethryth had conveyed some land for three lives, and that Ælsted had added three more lives; when it was discovered, by inspecting the hereditarios libros of the king, Kenulf, who first granted it, that the person originally receiving it had only the power of giving it for one life. Consequently the subsequent grants were set aside.[s]

A life estate was also a very frequent tenure. Sometimes the remainder that was to follow a life estate was expressed. This was usually to the church.

Thus Aldred, in the middle of the eighth century, gave a monastery to his relation, "on condition that she possess it as long as she lives; and when she goes the way of her fathers," it was to revert to the church of Worcester, into the jus of the episcopal seat.[t] An archbishop devised land to a person for life, with remainder to an abbey.[u]

The land passing by these grants was called Bocland, as the land held by bishops was mentioned as bisceopa land; the land of thegns was Thegnes land, and the land of earles was Earles land. All these occur in Domesday-book. There was also King's land, Gerefa land, and such like; but these names attached to land seem rather to express the quality of the demesne proprietors than any other circumstance.

[p] Smith's App. Bede, p. 773.
[q] Ibid. p. 778.
[r] Heming. Chart. p. 6. 8.
[s] Ibid. p. 29.
[t] Smith's App. to Bede, p, 765.
[u] MS. Claud. c. 9, p. 125.

One grant is rather singular, in the limitations of the estate which it conveys. The king gives a manor to Edred, and permits Edred to give it to Lulla and Sigethrythe, who are enjoined to give part of the land to Eaulfe and Herewine. But Eaulfe was to give half of this part to Biarnulve, and to enjoy the other half for his own life, with the power of devising it as he pleased.[v]

To these tenures we may add the Gafoleland, or land granted or demised on the condition of paying some contribution in money or other property. Thus archbishop Ealdulf, in 996, gave land to a miles, for his life and two heirs; but annexed a condition, that he should provide every year fifteen salmon.[w] An abbot and the monks demised twenty-seven acres to a person, that he might have them in stipendium as long as he served them well.[x]

An ancient lease is mentioned in the year 852, by which Ceolred, abbot of Medeshamstede, and the monks, let (leot) to Wulfred the land at Sempigaham for her life, on condition that he gave (besides some other land) a yearly rent of sixty fother of wood, twelve fother of græfan (which may mean coals), six fother of turf, two tuns full of clear ale, two slain cattle, six hundred loaves, ten mittan of Welsh ale, one horse, thirty shillings, and a night's lodging.[y] A marsh was let at the rent of two thousand eels.[z] By the laws, a ceorl, who had gafol lande, was estimated at two hundred shillings.[a]

CHAPTER III.

The Burdens to which Lands were liable, and their Privileges.

The oldest Saxon grants we have contain reservations of services which the possessor of the land had to perform; and, from the language of those which have survived to our times, we perceive that certain burdens, though varying in kind and quantity, were attached to estates in every age. Some few were exempted from any; a larger proportion were freed from all but the three great necessities, which in one charter are described to be, "what it is necessary that all people should do, and from which work none can be excused."[b]

[v] Astle's MS. Charters, No. 20.
[w] Heming. Chart. p. 191.
[x] 3 Gale's Script. p. 475.
[y] Sax. Chron. p. 75.
[z] 3 Gale's Script. p. 477.
[a] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 47.
[b] Heming. Chart. p. 109.

These three common labours, or universal necessities, as they are frequently styled, are the fyrd-færelde; the bryge-geweorc; and the weal, or fæsten-geweorc.

The fyrd-færelde was the military service to which all the Saxon lands appear to have been subject, excepting those which the king, with the consent of his witena, or sometimes the king alone, expressly exempted from the obligation. This military service consisted in providing a certain number of armed men, proportioned to the rated quantity of land, who were to attend the king or his officers on expeditions made for the public safety, or against invading enemies. What number of men a given quantity of land was to furnish cannot now be precisely stated; though it would seem, from Domesday-book, that five hides found one soldier in most counties. In the year 821 a grant of various lands was made, with the specified condition, that the owner should attend the public expedition with twelve vassals and as many shields.[b] Even church lands were not exempt from this general obligation of military service. We find a person mentioned as a witness, who was "the leader of the army of the same bishop to the king's service."[c] Egelwin, prior of a monastery, gave to a miles the villa of Crohlea for life, on the condition that he should serve for the monastery in the expeditions by sea and land.[d]

There are many grants of lands to monasteries in which the military service is expressly reserved. It is almost always spoken of as a general, known, and established thing. It is mentioned in Domesday-book, of the burg of Lideford, in Devonshire, that when an expedition is on foot, either by land or sea, the burg has to render the same amount of service as should be required from Totness.

Of Totness it is said, that when expeditions are enjoined, as much service is to be rendered from Totness, Barnstaple, and Lideford, as from Exeter; and Exeter was to serve as for five hides of land.[e] The laws of Ethelred provided that for every plough two men, well horsed, should be furnished."[f]

It is from Domesday-book that we may collect the most precise information on this curious topic. It is said of Berkshire, that, "if the king should send an army anywhere, only one soldier should go for five hides; and for his victuals and pay, every hide was to give him four shillings for two months. This money was not to be sent to the king, but to be given to the soldiers."[g]

Of the city of Oxford it is said, that when the king should go

[b] MS. Claud. c. 9, p. 104.
[c] Heming. Chart. p. 81.
[d] Ibid. p. 265.
[e] Domesday-book, con. Devenscire.
[f] Wilk. Leg. p. 59.
[g] Domesday-book, con. Berockescire.

on an expedition, twenty burghers should go with him for all the others, or that twenty pounds should be paid, that all might be free.[h]

This curious article shows, that the military service might be commuted by a pecuniary mulct.

In Worcestershire it is declared, that "when the king goes against the enemy, if any one, after summoned by his mandate, should remain, he should (if he was a freeman having his sac, and able to go where he pleased) forfeit all his land at the plea-of the king." But if he was a freeman under another lord, his lord should carry another man for him, and the offender should pay his lord forty shillings. But if no one at all went for him, he was to pay his lord that sum, who was to be answerable for as much to the king.[i]

On these expeditions it was the privilege of the men serving for Herefordshire, that they should form the advanced guard in the progress, and the rear guard in a retreat.[j]

From Leicester twelve burghers were to go with the king when he went with an army by land. If the expedition was maritime, they were to send him four horses from the same burg, as far as London, to carry their arms and necessaries.[k]

The custom of Warwick was that ten burghers should go on the expedition for the rest. Whoever did not go after his summons, forfeited to the king one hundred shillings. When the king went by sea against his enemies, this burg was to send him four batsueins, or four pounds of pennies.[l]

The fyrde, or expedition, is mentioned so early as in the laws of Ina. If a sith-cund man owning land abstained from the fyrde, he was to pay one hundred and twenty shillings, and lose his land. If he were not a land-owner, he was to pay sixty shillings, and a ceorl sixty shillings, for the fyrde mulct.[m] In the laws of Ethelred the fyrde is ordered to take place as often as there be need, and the scyp-fyrdrunga, or naval expedition, was directed to be so diligently prepared as to be ready every year soon after Easter. It is added, that if any depart from the fyrde where the king himself is, both his life and goods should be the forfeit; if he, in any other case, quitted it, he was fined one hundred and twenty shillings.[n]

In one of the grants it is mentioned, that a land-owner had lost his rus of ten cassatos, because he had rebelled with the king's soldiers in his expedition, and had committed much rapine and other crimes.[o]

The other two great services to which land was generally

[h] Domesday-book, Oxenefordscire.
[i] Domesday-book, Wirccestrescire.
[j] Ibid. com. Herefordscire.
[k] Ibid. Ledecestrescire.
[l] Ibid. Warwicscire.
[m] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 23.
[n] Ibid. p. 109.
[o] MS. Claud. c. 9, p. 132.

liable were, the construction or reparation of bridges and fortresses or walls. These are enjoined to be done in almost every grant. In Domesday-book it is said of Chester, that the prepositus should cause one man for every hyde to come to rebuild the wall and bridge of the city: or if the man should fail to come, his lord was to pay forty shillings.[p]

Besides these three great services, which later writers have called the trinoda necessitas, there were many other burdens to which the landed interest was more or less liable in the hands of the sub-proprietors.

A careful provision is made in many grants against royal tributes and impositions, and those of the great and powerful. In one it is mentioned, that the king should not require his pasture, nor the entertainment of those men called Fæsting-men, nor of those who carry hawks, falcons, horses, or dogs.[q] In another it is agreed, that the wood should not be cut for the buildings of either king or prince.[r] It is elsewhere expressed, that the land should be free from the pasture and refection of those men called in Saxon Walhfæreld, and their feasting, and of all Englishmen or foreigners, noble and ignoble.[s] This burden of being compelled to entertain others, is mentioned in several grants. In one, the pasture of the king's horses and grooms,[t] and of his swine, which was called fearn leswe,[u] is noticed.

It is probable that these royal impositions attached only to the lands which were or had been of the royal demesne. The pecuniary payments which resulted to the king from the landed estates in England are enumerated in Domesday-book.

When the original proprietors aliened or demised their lands to others, they annexed a variety of conditions to their grants, which subsequent transfers either repeated or discharged. Some of these may be stated. One contract was, that the person to whom the land was given should plough, sow, reap, and gather in the harvest of two acres of it, for the use of the church.[v] Another was, that the tenant should go with all his craft twice a year, once to plough, and at the other time to reap, for the grantors.[w] Another grant reserves two bushels of pure grain. Another the right of feeding one hundred swine. Another exacts the ploughing and reaping of a field.[x] In others a ship, in others lead is reserved.[y] Offa gave the land of twenty manentium to the church at Worcester, on the terms of receiving a specified

[p] Domesday, Cestrescire.
[q] MS. Claud. C. 9, p. 104. Thorpe, R. R. 22.
[r] MS. Claud.
[s] Heming. Chart. 31.
[t] Ibid. 58.
[u] Ibid. 86.
[v] Heming. Chart. 134.
[w] Ibid. 189.
[x] Ibid. 144, p. 174, 208. I quote Hearne's edition of this book; but cannot avoid saying, that the Saxon passages are badly printed. Either the transcript was made, or the press set and corrected, by a person ignorant of Saxon.
[y] Dugdale, Mon. i. p. 19, 20, 141.

gafol from the produce of the land.[z] The services and customs attached to the possession of burghs, houses, and lands, which are mentioned in the Domesday Survey, may be consulted as giving much illustration to this topic. Sometimes an imposition was made on the land of a province by general consent. Thus, for building Saint Edmund's church, four denarii were put annually on every carucata of earth, by the consent of the landholders.[a] There were also ecclesiastical duties attached to land.

It is said by Lord Coke, that the first kings of this realm had all the lands of England in demesne, and that they reserved to themselves the grand manors and royalties, and enfeoffed the barons of the realm with the remainder, for the defence of the realm, with such jurisdiction as the courts baron now have, and instituted the freeholders to be judges of the court baron.[b] Much of this statement may be true; but it can be only made inferentially, for no positive information has descended to modern times of what lands the Saxon chieftains possessed themselves, nor how they disposed of them. We may recollect, that, according to the laws of the Britons in Wales, in the ninth century, all the land of the kingdom was declared to belong to the king;[c] and we may safely believe that the same law prevailed while the Britons occupied the whole island.

It is highly probable that the Saxon war-cyning succeeded to all the rights of the monarch he dispossessed; and, in rewarding his companions and warriors with the division of the spoil, it can be as little doubted, that from those to whom the cyning or the witena gave the lands of the British landholders a certain portion of military service was exacted, in order to maintain the conquest they had achieved. This was indispensable, as nearly a century elapsed before the struggle was completely terminated between the Britons and the invaders. It was also a law among the Britons, that all should be compelled to build castles when the king pleased.[d] But that the lands in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon proprietors were subject to the fyrd, as a general and inevitable burden, and that the military service was rigorously exacted, and its neglect severely punished, and was to be performed when called for by the king, the facts already adduced have abundantly proved. Enough has been also said to show that custom, or the will of individuals, had imposed on many estates personal services, pecuniary rents, and other troublesome exactions. Hence there can be no doubt that the most essential part of what has been called the feudal system actually prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons. The term vassals was also used by

[z] Dugdale, p. 101.
[a] Ibid. p. 291.
[b] Coke on Littleton, 58.
[c] Leges Wallicæ Hoel, chap. 337.
[d] Ibid. p. 165.

them. Asser, the friend of Alfred, has the expression, nobilibus vassalis;[e] and grants of kings to their vassals are not unfrequent.

The Anglo-Saxon proprietors of land in demesne were, in many respects, the little sovereigns of their territories, from the legal privileges which, according to the grants, and to the customs of the times, they possessed and were entitled to exercise. Their privileges consisted of their civil and criminal jurisdictions, their pecuniary profits and gafols, and their power over the servile part of their tenantry and domestics.

It is an appendage to many grants of land, that the possessors should have the sac and soc, on a certain extent of civil and criminal jurisdiction. Thus Edward the Confessor gave to the abbot of Abbendon sace and socne, toll and team, infangenetheof binnan burgan, and butan burgan; ham socne, grithbrice and[f] foresteal. Similar privileges are given, with many additions, in various grants; and they conveyed, not only the right of holding courts within the limits of the estate, to determine the causes and offences arising within it, but also the fines and payments, or part of them, with which the crimes were punished. In some grants these fines were shared with the king.[g] Sometimes the liberty of holding markets, and of receiving toll, is allowed, and sometimes an exemption from toll. There seems to be no doubt that the Anglo-Saxons took lands by inheritance. The peculiar modes of inheritance, called gavelkind, where all the children inherited; and borough-english, where the youngest son was the heir; have been referred to the Saxon times.

CHAPTER IV.

Their Conveyances.

We have several of their grants of land without any pecuniary consideration; of their conveyances on purchase; of their deeds of exchange; their testamentary devises, and their leases. These are all short and simple—as short and as simple as they might always be made, if the ingenuity of mankind were less directed to evade their legal contracts by critical discussions of their construction.

The Saxon conveyances consisted principally of these things.

[e] Asser. Vit. Alfredi, p. 33. [f] MS. Claud. c. 9, p. 130. [g] Ibid. p. 104.

1st. The grantor's name and title are stated. In the older charters the description is very simple. It is more full in those of a later period; but the grants of Edgar are generally distinguished from those of other kings by a pompous and inflated commencement.

2d. A recital is usually inserted, in many instances preceding the donor's name. Sometimes it states his title, or some circumstances connected with it. Sometimes the recital is on the brevity and uncertainty of life, and on the utility of committing deeds to writing—sometimes of the charitable or friendly feelings which occasioned the grant; and one recital states that the former land-boc, or conveyance, had been destroyed by fire, and that the owner had applied for new ones.

3d. The conveying words follow, which are usually "Do et concedo; donare decrevimus; concedimus et donamus; dabo; trado:" or other terms of equivalent import, either of Latin or Saxon.

4th. The person's name then occurs to whom the land is granted. The name is sometimes given without any addition, and sometimes the quality or parentage is simply mentioned, as Eadredo, Liaban fili Birgwines; meo fideli ministro Æthelwezde; Æthelnotho præfecto meo; Ealdberhto ministro meo, atque Selethrythe sorori tuæ, &c.

5th. What lawyers call the consideration of a deed is commonly inserted. This is sometimes pro intimo caritatis, affectu, pro ejus humili obedientia, pro redemptione animæ meæ, and such like. Often it is for money paid, or a valuable consideration.

6th. Another circumstance frequently mentioned in the royal grants is, that it was done with the consent of the witena or nobles.

7th. The premises are then mentioned. They are described shortly in the body of the grant by their measured or estimated quantity of land, and the name of the place where they were situate. Some general words then follow, often very like those annexed to the description of premises in our modern conveyances. The grants show that the land of the country was in a state of cultivated divisions, and was known by its divisional appellations. Sometimes the name given to it is expressed to be that by which it was locally known among the inhabitants of the district. At others the name is expressed to be its ancient or well-known denomination. The appellation, however, is usually Saxon; though in some few places it is obviously British.

When estates were large, they comprehended many pieces of land, of various descriptions. With the arable land, meadow, marsh, wood, and fisheries, were often intended to be passed. In our times, lest the words expressly used to indicate the land con-

veyed should not include all the property included in the purchase, words of large and general import are added, without any specific idea that such things are actually attached. Such expressions occur in the Saxon charters. Thus, in a grant dated in 679, after the land is mentioned, we have "with all things pertaining to it; fields, meadows, marshes, woods, fens, and all fisheries to the same land belonging." In the Anglo-Saxon grants of a more recent date, the general words are nearly as numerous as in our present deeds.

Besides the first description of the place, and the general words, there are commonly added, at the end of the grant, the particular boundaries of the land. The grants are, for the most part, in Latin, and the boundaries in Saxon.

8th. The nature of the tenure is then subjoined, whether for life or lives, or in perpetuity, or whether any reversion is to ensue.

9th. The services from which the land is liberated, and those to which it is to continue subject, are then expressed.

10th. Some exhortations are then inserted to others, not to disturb the donation, and some imprecations on those who attempt such disturbance.

11th. The date, the place of signature if a royal grant, and the witnesses, usually conclude it. The date is sometimes in the beginning.

It may be here remarked, that the Saxon deeds had no wax seals. These were introduced by the Norman conquest.[a]

The divisions of land mentioned in the Saxon charters are marked and distinguished by precise boundaries. We will mention some of them, as they will show, very satisfactorily, the agricultural state of the country. They sometimes occur concisely in Latin; but it was far more usual to express them in Saxon, even in Latin charters. This was perhaps that they might be more generally and exactly known, and, in case of dispute, easier proved. The jurics, gemots, and witnesses of the day, might mistake a Latin description, but not a vernacular one.

In 866 the boundaries of two manentes run thus: "From Sture on the Honey-brook, up behind the brook on the old hedge; along the hedge on the old way; along the way on the great street; along the street on four boundaries, then so to Calcbrook, along the brook; then so to Horsebrook, along the brook; then so to the ditch, along the ditch to the Sture again; on Sture to the ditch that is called Thredestreo, along the ditch on Heasecan-hill; from Heasecan-hill to the ditch, along the ditch to Wenforth, along Wenforth, and then again on the Sture."[b]

"First the Icenan at Brombridge, up along the way to Hlide-

[a] Ingulf, p. 70. 3 Gale, 409.

[b] Smith's App. Bede, 770.

gate; thence along the valley to Beamstead; then by the hedge to Searnegles-ford; then up by Swetheling to Sow-brook; then forth by the boundary to Culesfield, forth by the right measured to the Steedlea, so to the Kids-field; then to the boundary valley, so to the Tæppelea; so on to Sheep-lea, then to Broad-bramble, so to the old Gibbet-place, then on to the deep-dell; then by the wooden boundary mark to Back-gate; thence by the mark to the old fold; thence north and east to the military path, and by the military path to the Stocks of the high ford, so by the mere of the Hide-stream to Icenan; then up by the stream and so to the east of Wordige; thence by the right mark to the thorn of the mere; thence to the red cross; so on by the Ealderman's mark; from the mark then it cometh to Icenan up by the stream to the ford of Alders; thence to Kidburn, up and along the burn to the military path, so to the Turngate within the fish water to Sheepswick; then by the right mere to the Elderford, so to the Broad-valley, then to the Milk-valley, so to the Meal-hill, and along the way to the mark of the Forester's, south of the boundary to the hay-meadow, then to the Clæan-field, so on Copper-valley, forth by the hedge on the angle field: then forth on the Icenan north of Steneford, so with the stream till it cometh again on Brombridge."[c]

"These are the boundaries of the land to Cerotesege (Chertsey), and to Thorpe: That is, first on the Waymouth up and along the way to Way-bridge; from Way-bridge within the eel mill ditch; midward from the ditch to the old military street, and along the street on Woburn-bridge, and along the burn on the great willow; from the great willow along the lake on the pool above Crocford; from the head of this pool right to the elder; from the elder right on the military street; along the street to Curten-staple; from Curten-staple along the street to the hoar-thorn; from the thorn to the oak tree; from the oak tree to the three hills; from the three hills to the Sihtran; from the Sihtran to the limitary brook; from the limitary brook to Exlæpesburn; from Exlæpesburn to the hoar maple; from the hoar maple to the three trees; from the three trees along the deep brook right to the Wallgate; from the Wallgate to the clear pool; from the clear pool to the foul brook; from the foul brook to the black willow; from the black willow right to the Wallgate, and along the Thames to the other part of Mixten-ham in the water between the hill island and Mixten-ham, and along the water to Nettle-island; from that island and along the Thames about Ox-lake to Bere-hill, and so forth along the Thames to Hamen-island; and so along the middle of the stream to the mouth of the Way."[d]

In 743 these boundaries occur; "First from Turcan Spring's

[c] Dugd. Mon. 37. [d] Ibid. 76.

head and along the street on Cynelms-stone on the mill-way, then and along the ridge on Hart-ford; thence and along the streams on the city ford on the fosse on the speaking place; thence on Turcan-valley on the seven springs, midward of the springs to Bale's-hill, south, then on the chalk-wall; thence again on Turcan-valley, and along again on the Turcan Spring's head."[e]

"First from Thames mouth and along the Thames in Wynnabæce's mouth; from Wynnabæce to Woodymoor; from Woodymoor to the wet ditch; from the wet ditch to the beach, and from the beach to the old dike; from the old dike to the sedge-moor; from the sedge-moor to the head of the pool, and along to Thorn-bridge; from Thorn-bridge to Kadera-pool; from Kadera-pool to Beka-bridge; from Beka-bridge to the forepart of the Hipes-moor; from that moor within Coforth-brook; from the brook within the hedge; after the hedge to the hillock called Kett; from Kett to the barrows; from the barrows to Lawern; from Lawern into the ditch; and after the ditch to the Ship-oak; and from the Ship-oak to the great aspen, and so in to the reedy slough: from the slough within the barrows; from the barrows to the way of five oaks, and after that way within the five oaks; from the oaks to the three boundaries; from the three boundaries to the bourn of the lake; from that bourn to the mill-stone; from that stone to the hoar apple-tree; from that apple-tree within Doferie; after Doferie to Severn, and along the Severn to the Thames mouth."[f]

In one of the boundaries a wolf-pit occurs.[g]

CHAPTER V.

Some Particulars of the Names of Places in Middlesex and London, in the Saxon Times.

It appears from Domesday-book, that in the Saxon times the county of Middlesex had been divided into hundreds, which were distinguished by the names that they now bear, with small variations of pronunciation or orthography.

Domesday Names for the Hundreds of Middlesex.	Modern Names.
Osuluestone,	Ossulston.
Gara,	Gore.

[e] Heming. Chart. 57. [f] Ibid. 75. [g] 3 Gale, 520.

Helethorne,	Elthorne.
Spelethorne,	Spelthorne.
Adelmetone,	Edmonton.
Honeslaw,	Hounslow.

Among the places mentioned in the county in Domesday-book, we may easily discern the following ancient and modern names to correspond:—

Holeburne,	Holborn.
Stibenhede,	Stepney.
Fuleham,	Fulham.
Tueverde,	Twyford.
Wellesdone,	Wilsdon.
Totehele,	Tothil.
Scepertone,	Shepperton.
Hochestone,	Hoxton.
Neutone,	Newington.
Pancrass,	Pancras.
Draitone,	Drayton.
Hamestede,	Hampstead.
Stanes,	Staines.
Sunneberie,	Sunbury.
Greneforde,	Greenford.
Hanewelle,	Hanwell.
Covelie,	Cowley.
Handone,	Hendon.
Hermodeswarde,	Harmondsworth.
Tiburne,	Tyburn.
Haneworde,	Hanworth.
Hardintone,	Harlington.
Hillendone,	Hillingdon.
Ticheham,	Twickenham.
Leleham,	Laleham.
Exeforde,	Uxbridge.
Bedefunt,	Bedfont.
Felteham,	Feltham.
Stanmere,	Stanmore.
Northala,	Northall.
Adelmetone,	Edmonton.
Eneffelde,	Enfield.
Rislepe,	Ruislip.
Chingesberie,	Kingsbury.
Stanwelle,	Stanwell.
Hamntone,	Hampton.
Hergotestane,	Hestone.
Cranforde,	Cranford.
Chelched,	Chelsea.
Chenesita,	Kensington.
Iseldone,	Islington, otherwise Isledon, or the Isel Hill.
Toteham,	Tottenham.
Hesa,	Hayes.

The local denominations by which the various places in England are now known seem to have been principally imposed by

our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Most of them, in their composition, betray their Saxon origin; and whoever will take the trouble to compare the names in Domesday-book, which prevailed in the island during the time of the Confessor, with the present appellations of the same places, will find that the greatest number of them correspond. The hundreds in the county of Sussex were sixty-three, and still remain so; of these, thirty-eight bore the same names as now; and of the villæ or maneria, which are about three hundred and forty-five, there are two hundred and thirty with appellations like their present.

London is mentioned in Bede as the metropolis of the East Saxons in the year 604, lying on the banks of the Thames, "the emporium of many people coming by sea and lande."[a]

In a grant, dated 889, a court in London is conveyed "at the ancient stony edifice called by the citizens hwæt mundes stone, from the public street to the wall of the same city."[b] From this we learn that so early as 889 the walls of London existed.

In 857 we find a conveyance of a place in London called Ceolmundinge haga, not far from the West Gate.[c] This West Gate may have been either Temple Bar or Holborn Bars.

Ethelbald, the Mercian king, gave a court in London, between two streets called Tiddberti-street and Savin-street.[d]

Snorre, the Icelander, mentions the battle in Southwark in the time of Ethelred II. He says the Danes took London. On the other side of the Thames was a great market, called Sudrvirki (Southwark), which the Danes fortified with many defences; with a high and broad ditch, and a rampart of stone, wood, and turf. The English under Ethelred attacked these in vain.

The bridge between the city and Southwark was broad enough for two vehicles to pass together. On the sides of the bridge, fortifications and breast-works were erected fronting the river. The bridge was sustained by piles fixed in the bed of the river. Olave, the ally of Ethelred, assailed the bridge, and succeeded in forcing it.[e]

Ethelbald grants the vectigal, or custom, paid by one ship in the port of London to the church of Rochester.[f]

[a] Bede, l. 2, c. 3. [b] Heming. 42. [c] Hem. 44.
[d] Dugd. Mon. 138.
[e] Snorre, excerpted in Johnstone's Celto-Scand. p. 89, 92.
[f] Thorpe, Reg. Roff. 14.

CHAPTER VI.

Lawsuits about Land.

We have some account of their legal disputes about landed property in some of their documents, from which we will select a few particulars.

One charter states that Wynfleth led her witnesses before the king. An archbishop, a bishop, an ealderman, and the king's mother were there. They were all to witness that Alfrith had given her the land. The king sent the writ by the archbishop, and by those who had witnessed it, to Leofwin, and desired that men should be assembled to the shire-gemot. The king then sent his seal to this gemot by an abbot, and greeted all the witan there. Two bishops, an abbot, and all the shire were there. The king commanded to be done that which was thought to be most right. The archbishop sent his testimony, and the bishop; they told her she must claim the land for herself. Then she claimed her possessions, with the aid of the king's mother. An abbot, a priest, an etheling, eight men, two abbesses, six other ladies, and many other good thegns and women were there. She obtained her suit.[a]

In another transaction, a bishop paid fifteen pounds, for two hides, to Lefsius and his wife at Cambridge. Ten pounds of the money were paid before several witnesses. A day was appointed for the other five pounds. They made another convention between them, which was, that Lefsius and his wife should give the fifteen pounds for the five hides at Cleie, with the condition that the bishop should give, besides, a silver cup of forty shillings which the father of Lefsius, on his death-bed, bequeathed to the bishop. This agreement being made, they exchanged all the live and dead stock on the two lands. But before they had returned to the bishop those ten pounds at Cleie, king Edgar died. On his death Lefsius and his wife attempted to annul their agreement with the bishop, sometimes offered him the ten pounds which he had paid them, and sometimes denied that they owed any thing. Thus they thought to recover the land which they had sold; but the bishop overcame them with his witnesses. Presuming on success, Lefsius seized other lands. This violence occasioned these lands to remain two years without either

[a] MS. Cott. Aug. 2, p. 15.

ploughing or sowing or any cultivation. At last a generale placitum was held at London, whither the duces, the princes, the satrapæ, the pleaders, and the lawyers, flowed from every part. The bishop then impleaded Lefsius, and before all expounded his cause, and the injury he had sustained.

This affair being well and properly and openly discussed by all, they decreed that the lands which Lefsius had forcibly taken should be restored to the bishop, and that Lefsius should make good all the loss and the mund, and forfeit to the king his were for the violence. Eight days afterwards they met again at Northampton: all the country having assembled, they exposed the same cause again before all; and it was determined in the same manner in which it had been adjudged at London. Every one then with oath on the cross returned to the bishop the lands which had been violently torn from him.

Thus far the narration gives no account of the two and the five hides about which the controversy began. But it is immediately afterwards mentioned, that soon after Lefsius died. On his death, the bishop and the ealderman and the primates of Northamptonshire, and the proceres of East Anglia, had a placitum at Walmesford in eight hundreds. It was there determined, among other things, that the widow of Lefsius and his heirs ought to compensate for the above-mentioned violence, as he ought to have done if he had lived; and they appreciated the injury which the bishop had sustained at one hundred pounds. The aforesaid matron, supported with the good wishes of all the optimates, humbly requested the bishop to have mercy on her, and that she might commute her were, and that of her sons, for one hundred shillings, which the bishop was about to give her for the two hides at Dunham. The bishop was more benevolent to her than she expected; for he not only remitted to her the money in which she had been condemned, but paid her the hundred shillings which she had proposed to relinquish. He also gave her seven pounds for the crop on the land at Dunham.[b]

A piece of water was leased at a rent of two thousand eels. The tenants unjustly possessed themselves of some land of the monastery, without the adjudication or legal permission of the citizens and the hundred. The ealderman came to Ely, and Begmund and others were called for this cause, and summoned to the placitum of the citizens and of the hundred several times, but never came. The abbot did not therefore desist, but renewed his claim at the placita within the city and without, and oftentimes made his complaint. At length the ealderman held at Cambridge a great placitum of the citizens and hundreds, before twenty-four judges, under Thorningefeld, near Maideneburge.

[b] Hist. Eli. 3 Gale, 468, 469.

The abbot related how Begmund and others had unjustly seized the land, and though often summoned to the placitum, would never come. Then they all adjudged that the abbot should have his land, pool, and fishery, and that Begmund and the others should pay their fish to the abbot for six years, and should give their forfeiture to the king. They also decreed that if this was not performed willingly, they should be justified in the seizure of the offender's property. The calderman also commanded that Oschetel, Oswy, of Becce, and Godere of Ely, should go round the land, lead the abbot over it, and do all this, which was performed accordingly.[c]

In another dispute, on the non-performance of an agreement for the sale of land, the ealderman commanded the defendant to be summoned, and, going to Dittune, began there to narrate the causes and complaints, the agreements and their violation, by the testimony of many legal men. The defendant denied the whole. They ordered him to purge himself by the requisite oath; but as neither he nor they, who ought to have sworn with him, could do this, the cause was adjudged against him, and this judgment was afterwards confirmed at Cambridge.[d]

As many curious particulars of their legal customs appear in these narrations, we will add another.

Wlstan forfeited some land, which the king had purchased and sold to a bishop. About this time a great gemot was appointed at Witlesford, of the ealderman and his brothers, and the bishop, and the widow of Wlstan, and all the better counsellors of the county of Cambridge. When they all had sat down, Wensius arose and claimed the land, and said that he and his relations had been unjustly deprived of the land, as he had received for it no consideration, either in land or money. Having heard this plea, the ealderman asked, if there were any one present who knew how Wlstan had acquired that land. Alfric of Wicham answered, that Wlstan had bought that land of Wensius for eight pounds, and he appealed to the eight hundreds on the south side of Cambridge as witnesses. He said Wlstan gave Wensius the eight pounds in two payments, the last of which he had sent by Leofwin, son of Adulf, who gave it to him in a purse, before the eight hundreds where the land lay. Having heard these things, they adjudged the land to the bishop, and they directed Wensius, or his relations, to look to the heirs of Wlstan if he wanted more money for his land.[e]

[c] Hist. Eli. 3 Gale, p. 478. [d] Ibid. p. 484. [e] Ibid.

CHAPTER VII.

Their Denominations of Land.

In the charters we find various names for the quantities of land conveyed. These are, hidæ, cassati, mansæ, manentes, aratrum, sulunga.

The cassati, mansæ, the manentes, the aratrum, and the sulunga, appear to have expressed the same meaning which the word hide signified.

That the cassati and the mansæ were the same, appears from several grants; thus, ten mansas are in another part of the same grants called ten cassatos;[a] and thirty mansas, thirty cassatos.[b] So ten cassatos, when mentioned again, are styled ten mansos or mansas.[c]

In other grants, hides are stated as synonymous with cassatos. Thus, ten cassatos are, in the same grant, called ten hides,[d] and twenty cassatos twenty hides.[e] In other grants, the land, which, in the first part of the document, is enumerated as hides, is afterwards termed cassatos. Thus, fifty hides, fifty cassatos;[f] seven hides, seven cassatos;[g] five hides five cassatos.[h]

The grants also identify the expressions mansæ and mansi with hide. A charter of 947 conveys twenty mansæ, "quod anglice dicitur twenty hides."[i] In another, seven hides are also called seven mansæ.[j] One mansa is one hide,[k] and five mansæ five hides.[l]

In one grant, the expressions fourteen mansiunculæ, and forty jugeribus, are identified with fourteen hides and forty acres.[m]

All these authorities prove, that the hide, the cassatus, and the mansa, were similar designations of land.

In one ancient MS. there is a note in the margin, in the same handwriting with the body, thus "No. qd. hide cassati et manse idem sunt."[n]

[a] Cotton MS. Claud. C. 9, p. 195.
[b] Ibid. p. 119, 195.
[c] Ibid. p. 131, 132.
[d] Ibid. C. 9.
[e] Ibid. p. 102, 194.
[f] Ibid. p. 118.
[g] Ibid. p. 121.
[h] Ibid. p. 130.
[i] Ibid. Claud. B. 6, p. 37.
[j] Ibid. MS. Claud. C. 9, p. 130.
[k] Heming. Chart. p. 150.
[l] Ibid. p. 143, 182, 183.
[m] MS. Claud. B. 6, p. 75.
[n] Ibid. C. 9, p. 113.

Other grants identify the sulunga with the preceding. Thus, one conveys sex mansas quod Cantigenæ dicunt sex sulunga.[o] Another mentions the land of three aratrorum as three sulong.[p] Another says twelve mansas "quod Cantigenæ dicunt twelf sulunga."[q] Two cassati are also called two sulunga.[r]

The hide seems to have contained one hundred and twenty acres. In one historical narration of ancient grants, a hide is so defined; "unam hydam per sexies viginti acras;"[s] two hides are afterwards mentioned as twelve times twenty arable acres.[t]

In Domesday-book we find hides and carucatæ mentioned.[u] Carucata implies so much land as a single plough could work during a year.[v] This ancient survey also contains acres, leucæ, and quarantenæ, among its terms for expressing the quantities of land.

The following measures of land occur in the Anglo-Saxon laws; 3 mila, 3 furlong, 3 æcera bræde, 9 fota, 9 scefta munda, 9 bere corna,[w] express the extent to which the king's peace was to reach.

[o] MS. Chart. of the late Mr. Astle, No. 23.
[p] Ibid. No. 7.
[q] Ibid. No. 24, and Thorpe, Reg. Roff. 189.
[r] MS. Chart. Aug. 2, p. 68.
[s] 3 Gale, Script. p. 472.
[t] Ibid. p. 475, 481.
[u] The word is usually abbreviated. In p. 77, and some other places, it occurs at full length.
[v] See Du Cange, Gloss. Med. Lat. 1, p. 859.
[w] Wilkins, Leges Sax. p. 63.

BOOK VII.

OF THE MANNERS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS AFTER THEIR OCCUPATION OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

On their Infancy, Childhood, and Names.

In the Appendix to the first volume of this history, we have described the Saxons as they were on the continent, before they possessed themselves of the south part of Britain, during the fifth and sixth centuries; and we may remark, that the human character has seldom displayed qualities more inauspicious to the improvement of intellect or of moral character. When they first landed, they were bands of fierce, ignorant, idolatrous, and superstitious pirates, enthusiastically courageous, but habitually cruel. Yet from such ancestors a nation has, in the course of twelve centuries, been formed, which, inferior to none in every moral and intellectual merit, is superior to every other in the love and possession of useful liberty: a nation which cultivates with equal success the elegancies of art, the ingenious labours of industry, the energies of war, the researches of science, and the richest productions of genius.

This improved state has been slowly attained under the discipline of very diversified events. The first gradation of the happy progress was effected during that period which it is the object of this work to elucidate.

The destruction of the Roman Empire of the West by the German nations has been usually lamented as a barbarization of the human mind; a period of misery, darkness, and ruin; as a replunging of society into the savage chaos from which it had so

slowly escaped, and from which through increased evils and obstacles, it had again to emerge. This view of the political and moral phenomena of this remarkable epoch is not correct. It suits neither the true incidents that preceded or accompanied, nor those which followed this mighty revolution. And our notions of the course of human affairs have been made more confused and unscientific by this exaggerated declamation, and by the inaccurate perceptions which have occasioned it.

The conquest and partition of the Western Roman Empire by the Nomadic nations of Germany was, in fact, a new and beneficial re-casting of human society in all its classes, functions, manners, and pursuits. The civilization of mankind had been carried in the previous Roman world to the fullest extent to which the then existing means of human improvement could be urged. That this had long been stationary, and for some time retrograding, the philosophical examiner into the government, literature, religion, public habits, and private morals of the Roman Empire, will, if he make his researches sufficiently minute and extensive, be satisfactorily convinced. Hence, either the progress of mankind must have been stopped, and their corrupting civilization have stagnated or feebly rolled on towards its own barbarization, or some extensive revolution must have broken up the existing system of universal degeneracy, and began a new career of moral agency and social melioration. The fact is incontestable that this latter state has been the result of the irruptions and established kingdoms of the Teutonic tribes; and this visible consequence of their great movement should terminate our dark and querulous descriptions of this momentous period, which suit rather the age and mind of a doleful Gildas than of an enlightened student of history of the nineteenth century.

That the invasions of the Roman Empire by the warlike tribes of the North was attended with great sufferings to mankind at the time of their occurrence is strictly true; but these calamities were not greater than those which all the wars of the ancient world had produced to almost every people in whose territory they had been waged. The hostilities of Rome against Carthage, against Gaul under Cæsar, and against Germany from the time of Drusus to the days of Stilicho, not to mention many others, had been as fatal to the Carthaginians, Gauls, and Germans, as those of the fierce invaders of the fourth and fifth centuries were to the then population of the debased Western Empire. The destruction of human life and comfort in the regions attacked were the same when the Romans invaded the barbarians, as when the latter retaliated their aggressions. War itself must cease, from the increasing wisdom and virtue of mankind, before such calamities will disappear; but it is consolatory to human reason to observe, that, while the moral imperfections of the world operate

to continue it, a benevolent order of things compels even its mischiefs to produce good; and, if this view of such periods be not taken, we shall never attain the discernment of the true philosophy of the moral government of the world.

That the settlements of the German kingdoms in the Roman Empire were not so calamitous to the world as so many have supposed, is most forcibly implied by the intimations, before mentioned, from Salvian, that many Romans emigrated from their parental empire to place themselves under the barbaric governments, that they might escape the oppressions of the Roman collectors of the imperial taxations. The barbaric establishments were a new order of things in Europe, but cannot have been so prolific of misery to mankind as we have hitherto too gratuitously assumed; when, notwithstanding the discouragement of new languages and institutions, and ruder habits, they were preferred by many to the country which was their birthplace, which had been so long consecrated by deserved fame, and whose feelings, mind, and social manners, were congenial to their own.

The invasions of the German nations destroyed the ancient governments, and political and legal systems of the Roman Empire in the provinces in which they established themselves; and dispossessed the former proprietors of their territorial property. A new set of land-owners was diffused over every country, with new forms of government, new principles, and new laws, new religious disciplines and hierarchies, with many new tenets and practices. A new literature, and new manners, all productive of great improvements, in every part superseded the old, and gave to Europe a new face, and to every class of society a new life and spirit. In the Anglo-Saxon settlements in Britain we see all these effects displayed with the most beneficial consequences; and proceed to delineate them as clearly as the distance of time, and the imperfections of our remaining documents, will permit us to discern them.

The Anglo-Saxons must have been materially improved in their manners and mental associations by the civilization to which Britain had attained at the time of their invasion, from the Roman government and intercourse, and which has been alluded to in the former part of this work.

The first great change in the Anglo-Saxons appeared in the discontinuance of their piracies. They ceased to be the ferocious spoilers of the ocean and its coasts; they became land-owners, agriculturists, and industrious citizens; they seized and divided the acquisitions of British affluence, and made the commonalty of the island their slaves. Their war-leaders became territorial chiefs; and the conflicts of capricious and sanguinary robbery were exchanged for the possession and inheritance of property

in its various sorts; for trades and manufactures, for useful luxuries, peaceful industry, and domestic comfort.

We will proceed to consider them as they displayed their manners and customs during their occupation of England, and before the Norman conquest introduced new institutions.

Their tenderest and most helpless years were under the care of females. The gratitude of Edgar to his nurse appears, from his rewarding with grants of land the noble lady, wife of an ealdorman, who had nursed and educated him with maternal attention.[a] This was not unusual: Ethelstan, an Anglo-Saxon ætheling, says, in his will, "I give to Alfswythe, my foster-mother, for her great deservingness, the lands of Wertune, that I bought of my father for two hundred and fifty mancusa of gold by weight."[b]

They had infant baptism: hence the Saxon homily says, "though the cild for youth may not speak when men baptize it."[c] They were enjoined to baptize their children within thirty days after birth.[d] They baptized by immersion; for when Ethelred was plunged in, the royal infant disgraced himself. They used the cradle.[e] It is mentioned in the laws, of a person of the dignity of a gesithcund man, that when he travelled he might have with him his gerefas, his smith, and his child's nurse.[f] Kings sometimes stood as godfathers; and their laws so venerated this relationship, as to establish peculiar provisions to punish the man who slew another's godson or godfather.[g] On the death of the father, the children were ordered to remain under the care of the mother, who was to provide them with sustenance; for this she was to be allowed six shillings, a cow in summer, and an ox in winter; but his relations were to occupy the frum-stol, the head seat, until the boy became of age.[h]

The Northmen were in the habit of exposing their children. The Anglo-Saxons seem not to have been unacquainted with this inhumanity; as one of the laws of Ina provides, that for the fostering of a foundling six shillings should be allowed the first year, twelve the next, thirty the third, and afterwards according to his wlite, or his personal appearance and beauty.[i]

Bede mentions, that their period of infancy ended with the

[a] Hist. Rames. 3 Gale, x. Script. 387, 405.
[b] Sax. Dict. App.
[c] Wanley, Catal. Sax. p. 196.
[d] Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 14.
[e] Tha cild the læg on tham cnadele, ibid, p. 145.
[f] Wilkins, p. 25.
[g] Ibid. p. 26.
[h] Ibid. p. 20.
[i] Ibid. p. 19.*

* At Repton, where the kings of Mercia had a palace, and in the monastery of which place many were buried, a stone coffin was found, containing a skeleton nine feet long. It was surrounded with a hundred other skeletons of a common size. Phil. Trans. v. 35. art. 9.

seventh year, and that the first year of their childhood began with the eighth.[j] In the early stage, he exhibits the person of whom he speaks as amusing himself with his playfellows in the tricks and sports of his age, but as excelling in his dexterity, and in his power of pursuing them without fatigue.[k] It is hardly worth a line to remark, that the Anglo-Saxon child must have resembled every other: restless activity without an object, sport without reasoning, grief without impression, and caprice without affectation, are the usual characteristics of our earliest years in every age and climate.

As the Anglo-Saxons were not a literary people, it is natural that their childish occupations should be the exercises of muscular agility. Leaping, running, wrestling, and every contention and contortion of limb which love of play or emulation could excite, were their favourite sports. Bede describes his hero as boasting of his superior dexterity, and as joining with no small crowd of boys in their accustomed wrestlings in a field; where, as usual, he says, they writhed their limbs in various but unnatural flexures.[l]

The names of the Anglo-Saxons were imposed, as with us, in their infancy, by their parents. In several charters it is mentioned, that the persons therein alluded to, had been called from their cradles by the names expressed; and which they had received, "not from accident," but from the will of "their parents."[m]

Their names seem to have been frequently compound words, rather expressive of caprice than of appropriate meaning. The appellation of Mucil, "large," which Alfred's wife's father bore,[n] may have been suggested by the size of the new-born infant; as hwithyse, "the white boy," or Egbert, "bright eye," might have been imposed from some peculiar appearance. But the following names, when considered as applied first in infancy, appear to be as fantastic, and as much the effusions of vanity, as the lofty names so dear to modern parents:

Æthelwulf,	the noble wolf.
Berthwulf,	the illustrious wolf.
Eadwulf,	the prosperous wolf.
Ealdwulf,	the old wolf.
Æthelwyn,	noble in battle, or the noble joy.
Eadric,	happy and rich.
Ælfred,	an elf in council.
Hundberht,	the illustrious hound.
Heardberht,	the illustrious protector.
Æthelheard,	the noble protector.
Sigered,	victorious counsel.

[j] Bede Vit. Cuthb. c. i. p. 229.
[k] Bede, ibid.
[l] Bede Vit. Cuthb. c. i. p. 230.
[m] MS. Claud. B. vi. p. 34, et 62, &c.
[n] Asser, p. 19.

Sigeric,	victorious and rich.
Æthelred,	noble in council.
Eadmund,	the prosperous patron.
Eadwin,	prosperous in battle.
Ælfheag,	tall as an elf.
Dunstan,	the mountain-stone.
Æthelbald,	noble and bold.
Wulfric,	powerful as a wolf.
Eadward,	the prosperous guardian.
Ethelstan,	the noble rock.
Ethelbert,	noble and illustrious.

Of the female names, the meaning is more applicable, and sometimes displays better taste. We give the following as specimens, taken as they occurred:

Æthelswytha,	very noble.
Selethrytha,	a good threatener.
Editha,	the blessed gift.
Elfhild,	the elf of battle.
Beage,	the bracelet.
Ethelfritha,	noble and powerful.
Adeleve,	the noble wife.
Eadburh,	the happy pledge.
Heaburge,	tall as a castle.
Eadfled,	the happy pregnancy.
Adelfleda,	the noble pregnancy.
Ælfgiva,	the elf favour.
Eadgifa,	the happy gift.
Æthelgifa,	the noble gift.
Wynfreda,	the peace of man.
Æthelhild,	the noble war-goddess.
Ælfthrythe,	threatening as an elf.

We will subjoin a few specimens of the names prevailing in the same families:

A father and three daughters:

Dudda,	the family stem.
Deorwyn,	dear to man, or the precious joy.
Deorswythe,	very dear.
Golde,	golden.[o]

A father and his four sons:

Æthelwyn,	the noble joy.
Æthelwold,	the noble governor.
Alfwold,	the ruling elf.
Athelsin,	always noble.
Æthelwyn.	

[o] The state of this family is thus mentioned in a Saxon MS. "Dudda was a husbandman in Hæthfelda; and he had three daughters: one was called Deorwyn; the other Deorswythe; and the third Golde. Wullaf, in Hæthfelda, hath Deorwyn for his wife; and Ælfstan, at Kingawyrth, hath Deorwythe; and Ealhstan, the brother of Æfstan, married Golde." Cott. MS. Tib. B. 5.

A brother and two sisters:

Leonric,	the lion of the kingdom.
Adelfled,	
Adeleve,	the noble wife.

A husband, wife, and daughter:

Ridda,	the horseman.
Bugega,	nimble as a hind.
Heaburge.	

To which we may add,

Ethelwulph and his four sons:

Ethelbald,
Ethelbert,
Ethelred,
Alfred.

It has been a subject of discussion, whether the Anglo-Saxons used surnames. There can be no question that many were distinguished by appellations added to their original, or Christian names. Thus we find a person called Wulfsic se blaca, or the pale; Thurceles hwitan, or the white; others Æthelwerde Stameran, and Godwine Dreflan. Sometimes a person is designated from his habitation, as Ælfric at Bertune; Leonmære at Biggrafan. Very often the addition expresses the name of his father, as Ælfgare Ælfan suna, Ælmær Ælfrices suna, Sired Ælfrides suna, Godwine Wolfnothes suna, or more shortly Wulfrig Madding; Badenoth Beotting. The office, trade, affinity, or possession, is frequently applied to distinguish the individuals mentioned in the charters: as Leofwine Ealdorman, Sweigen Scyldwirtha, Eadwig his mæg, Ægelpig munuc, Osword preost, Leowine se Canon, Heording gerefa, and such like.[p] But although it is certain that such additional appellations were occasionally used by the Anglo-Saxons, yet they appear to have been but personal distinctions, and not to have been appropriated by them as family names, in the manner of surnames with us. In the progress of civilization, the convenience of a permanent family denomination was so generally felt as to occasion the adoption of the custom. It is probable that the first permanent surnames were the appellations of the places of birth, or residence, or a favourite ancestor. To these, the caprice of individual choice or popular fancy, the hereditary pursuit of peculiar trades, and the continued possession of certain offices, added many others, especially in towns. But this custom of appropriating a permanent appellation to particular families, became established in the period which succeeded the Norman conquest.[q]

[p] See Hickes's Dissert. Epist. p. 22–25.

[q] And yet one Saxon MS. seems to express an actual surname, Hatte. Thus, "Hwita *Hatte* was a keeper of bees in Hæthfelda; and Tate *Hatte*, his daughter,

The power of the Anglo-Saxon parent over his child was limited; or at least the clergy, as soon as Christianity was introduced, began to confine it. Theodore, the second archbishop of Canterbury, in 668, allowed that a father, if compelled by necessity, might deliver up his son to a state of servitude, that is, slavery, without the child's consent. But he declared that a boy of fifteen might make himself a monk, and a girl of sixteen or seventeen might choose a religious life. Up to the age of fifteen the father might marry his daughter as he pleased; but after fifteen he was forbidden to dispose of her against her will.[r]

CHAPTER II.

Their Education.

We cannot detail the particular course of education by which the Anglo-Saxons conducted their children to maturity, but some information may be gleaned. Their society was divided into two orders of men, laymen and ecclesiastics. Among the latter as much provision was made for intellectual improvement, as the general darkness of the period would allow. The laity were more contented with ignorance; and neglecting the mind, of whose powers and nature they knew nothing, they laboured to increase the hardihood and agility of the body, and the intrepidity, perhaps the fierceness of the spirit.

Some men, rising above the level of their age, endeavoured to recommend the use of schools. Thus Sigebert, in the seventh century, having enlarged his mind during his exile in France, as soon as he regained the East Anglian throne, established a school in his dominions for youth to be instructed in learning.[a] So we find in Alfred's time, and under his improving auspices, most of the noble, and many of the inferior orders, were put under the care of masters, with whom they learnt both Latin and Saxon

was the mother of Wulfsige, the shooter; and Lulle *Hatte*, the sister of Wulfsige, Hehstan had for his wife in Wealadene. Wifus, and Dunne, and Seoloce, were born in Hæthfelda.

"Duding *Hatte*, the son of Wifus, is settled at Wealadene; and Ceolmund *Hatte*, the son of Dunne, is also settled there; and Ætheleah *Hatte*, the son of Seoloce, is also there; and Tate *Hatte*, the sister of Cenwald, Mæg hath for his wife at Weligan; and Ealdelm, the son of Herethrythe, married the daughter of Tate. Werlaf *Hatte*, the father of Werstan, was the rightful possessor of Hæthfelda," &c. Cott. MS. Tib. B. 6.—The above is a literal translation.

[r] Cæpitula Theodore ap. D'Acheri Spicel. vol. i. p. 489. [a] Bede.

books, and also writing, that "before they cultivated the arts adapted to manly strength, like hunting, and such others as suited the noble, they might make themselves acquainted with liberal knowledge." Hence Edward and Ælfthrythe are stated by Asser to have studiously learnt Psalms and Saxon books, and chiefly Saxon poetry.[b] But among the laity, these were transient gleams of intellectual sunshine, neither general nor permanent. The great and powerful undervalued knowledge; hence Alfred's brothers did not offer to attain the faculty of reading which he was tempted to acquire.[c] Hence, even kings state in their charters, that they signed with the cross, because they were unable to write;[d] and hence so many of Alfred's earls, gerefas, and thegns, who had been illiterate all their lives, were compelled by his wise severity to learn in their mature age, that they might not discharge their duties with such shameful insufficiency. It is mentioned on this occasion, that those who from age or want of capacity could not learn to read themselves, were obliged to have their son, kinsman, or, if they had none, one of their servants taught, that they might at least be read to, and be rescued from the total ignorance with which they had so long been satisfied. Asser expresses the great lamentations of these well-born, but untaught men, that they had not studied such things in their youth.[e] Nothing can more strongly display the general want of even that degree of education which our poorest charity-children receive, than these circumstances.

The clergy were the preceptors of those who sought to learn; and though Alfred tells us how few even of these could read, yet our history of the Anglo-Saxon literature will show some very brilliant exceptions. Such as they were, however, to them the moral and intellectual education of the age was entrusted. Thus Aldhem's father, a prince, put him under the tuition of the Abbot Adrian.[f] Thus the Irish monk Maildulf, who settled at Malmsbury, and was well skilled in Greek and Latin, took scholars to earn subsistence.[g] From a passage in the biographer of Wilfrid, we learn that children, who afterwards pursued the paths of ambition, received, in the first part of their lives, instruction from ecclesiastics. He says of Wilfrid, a bishop in the eighth century, "Princes and noblemen sent their children to him to be brought up, that they might be dedicated to God, if they should choose it; or that, when full grown, he might present them in armour to the king, if they preferred it."[h]

When they reached the age of fourteen, the aspiring, or the

[b] Asser. [c] Ibid.

[d] In a MS. charter of Wihtred, in the possession of the late Mr. Astle, to the king's mark was added, "ad cujus confirmationem pro ignorantia literarum."

[e] Asser.

[f] Malmsb. 3 Gale, 338. [g] Ibid. [h] Eddius, p. 62.

better conditioned, prepared themselves for arms. It was after completing his thirteenth year that Wilfrid, who had not then decided on a religious life, began to think of quitting the paternal roof. He obtained such arms, horses, and garments for himself and his boys, as were necessary to enable him to present himself to the royal notice. With these he travelled till he reached the queen of the province. He met there some of the nobles at her court, whom he had attended at his father's house. They praised him, and introduced him to the queen, by whom he was graciously received. As he afterwards chose the path of devotion, she recommended him to one of the nobles who accompanied the king, but who was induced, by the pressure of a paralytic disease, to exchange the court for the cloister.[i]

The Anglo-Saxons distinguished the period between childhood and manhood by the term cnihthade, knighthood. It is stated in Ina's laws, "that a cniht of ten winters old might give evidence;"[j] and Bede's expression, of a boy about eight years old, is translated by Alfred, "ꝑæꝛ eahta ꝑintꝛa cnicht."[k] A king also mentions of a circumstance, that he saw it cniht wesende, being a cniht, or while a boy.[l] It will be considered in another place how far the term bore the meaning of chivalry among the Anglo-Saxons. A daughter was under the power of her parents till the age of thirteen or fourteen, when she had the disposal of her person herself: at fifteen, a son had the right of choosing his path of life, and might then become a monk, but not before.[m]

In this season of cnihthood, or youth, we find them striving to excel each other at a horse-race. A person in Bede describes himself as one of a party, who on their journey came to a spacious plain, adapted to a horse-course. The young men were desirous to prove their horses in the greater course, or, as the Saxon translator expresses it, that we might run and try which had the swiftest horse. The individual spoken of at last joined them; but his animated horse, attempting to clear a concavity in the way, by a violent leap, the youth was thrown senseless against a stone, and with difficulty brought to life.[n]

The Saxon youth seem to have been accustomed to habits of docility and obedience. The word cniht was also used to express a servant;[o] and Wilfrid is characterized as having in his youth attentively ministered to all his father's visiters, whether royal attendants or their servants.[p]

The education of the Saxons was much assisted by the emigrations or visits of Irish ecclesiastics. We have mentioned

[i] Eddius, p. 44.
[j] Wilkins, Leg. p. 16.
[k] Bede, lib. v. c. 18. Alf. Transl. 635.
[l] Bede. Alf. Transl. p. 518.
[m] 1 Wilk. Concil. 130.
[n] Bede, lib. v. c. 6.
[o] Gen. xxiv. 65. Luke, xii. 45.
[p] Eddius, p. 44.

Maildulf at Malmsbury; it is also intimated, in Dunstan's life, that some Irishmen had settled at Glastonbury, whose books Dunstan diligently studied. This great, but ambitious man, was arraigned in his youth for studying the vain songs of his pagan ancestors, and the frivolous charms of histories.[q]

After the prevalence of Christianity, a portion of the youth was taken into the monasteries. We have a description, in Saxon, of the employment of the boys there. One of these, in answer to the question, 'What have you done to-day?' says,

"Many things. When I heard the knell, I rose from my bed and went to church, and sang the song for before-day with the brethren, and afterwards of All Saints, and, at the dawn of day, the song of praise. After these, I said the first and seventh Psalms, with the litany and first mass. Afterwards, before noon, we did the mass for the day, and after this, at mid-day, we sang, and ate, and drank, and slept, and again we rose and sang the noon, and now we are here before thee, ready to hear what thou shalt say to us."

The interrogation proceeds:

'When will ye sing the evening or the night song?' "When it is time."—'Wert thou flogged to-day?' "No."—'No?' "Every one knows whether he has been flogged to-day or not."—'Where do you sleep?' "In the sleeping-room with the brethren."—'Who rouses you to the song before day?' "Sometimes I hear the knell and rise; sometimes my master wakes me, sternly, with his rod."

On being questioned why they learnt so industriously, he is made to reply,

"Because we would not be like the stupid animals, who know nothing but their grass and water."[r]

That they used personal castigation in their education is frequently intimated.[s] Alcuin, in the preface to his Dialectica, adds a warm exhortation to his young contemporaries to improve themselves by education. "O ye, who enjoy the youthful age, so fitted for your lessons! Learn. Be docile. Lose not the day in idle things. The passing hour, like the wave, never returns again. Let your early years flourish with the study of the virtues, that your age may shine with great honours. Use these happy days. Learn, while young, the art of eloquence, that you may be a safeguard and defender of those whom you value. Acquire the conduct and manners so beautiful in youth, and your name will become celebrated through the world. But as I wish

[q] MS. Cleop. B. 13. [r] MS. Tib. A. 3.

[s] Thus Alcuin:—"As scourges teach children to learn the ornament of wisdom, and to accustom themselves to good manners." p. 1631. He says to the brethren of York Minster, where he was educated: "You cherished the weak mind of my infancy with maternal affection. You sustained my wanton day of childhood with pious patience. You brought me to the perfect age of manhood by the *disciplines of paternal castigation*, and confirmed my mind by the erudition of sacred instruction." p. 1627.

you not to be sluggish; so neither be proud. I worship the recesses of the devout and humble breast." Oper. p. 1353.

We have a short sketch of the better kind of intellectual education in Alcuin's description of the studies which, after he was invited from England by Charlemagne, he superintended at Tours. It is not expressed in the best taste, but it shows the studies that were valued in the eighth century. He writes to the emperor:

"According to your exhortations and kind wish, I endeavour to administer, in the schools of St. Martin, to some the honey of the Sacred Writings: I try to inebriate others with the wine of the ancient classics. I begin to nourish some with the apples of Grammatical subtlety. I strive to illuminate many by the arrangement of the Stars, as from the painted roof of a lofty palace.

"But," he adds, "I want those more exquisite books of scholastic erudition which I had in my own country. May it then please your wisdom, that I send some of our youths to procure what we need; and to convey into France the flowers of Britain, that they may not be locked up in York only, but that 'their fragrance and fruit may adorn, at Tours, the gardens and streams of the Loire.'"[t]

Some of the Anglo-Saxons, if we may judge from Alcuin, had a high and just idea of the efficacy of literary education in meliorating the temper, and in forming a noble character; and it appears that the sentiments of Charlemagne were as enlightened as those of his preceptor. Alcuin says to him:

"Yet as you wish that the *fierceness* of your youths should be mitigated by the sweetness of all kinds of poetry, you have provided for this with the wisest counsel. Sometimes the asperity of the mind does not feel the effects of sagacious advice, and sometimes the continued gentleness of the temper tends to enervate the spirit. But among these diseases the prudent temperament will arise from the middle path; now softening the swelling fury of the soul, and now rousing its slothfulness. This kind of virtue is peculiarly necessary to warriors. We read in ancient history, that a wise command of temper ought to guide and govern every thing that is done."[u]

In another place he expatiates ardently on the benefit of lettered education.

"Nothing tends to acquire more nobly a happy life; nothing is more pleasant for our recreation, nor more powerful against vice; nothing is more laudable in the highest ranks, nor more necessary for the due government of a state; nothing is more efficacious in forming life to the most becoming manners, than Wisdom, Study, and Knowledge!"—He adds, "Exhort, O King! all the noble youths in your palace to acquire and possess these advantages by their daily studies, that their blooming spring may so profit from them as to lead them to an honoured old age, and a blessed immortality."[v]

[t] Alc. Ep. p. 1463. [u] Alc. Ep. p. 1473. [v] Ibid. p. 1464.

CHAPTER III.

Their Food.

Their food was that mixture of animal and vegetable diet which always attends the progress of civilization. They reared various sorts of corn in inclosed and cultivated lands, and they fed domesticated cattle for the uses of their table.

For their animal food they had oxen, sheep, and great abundance of swine; they used likewise, fowls, deer, goats, and hares; but though the horned cattle are not unfrequently mentioned in their grants and wills, and were often the subjects of exchange, yet the animals most numerously stated are the swine. The country in all parts abounded with wood; and woods are not often particularized without some notice of the swine which they contained, or were capable of maintaining. They also frequently appear in wills. Thus Alfred, a nobleman, gives to his relations a hide of land with one hundred swine; and he directs one hundred swine to be given for his soul to one minister, and the same number to another; and to his two daughters he gives two thousand swine.[a] So Elfhelm gives land to St. Peter's at Westminster, on the express condition that they feed two hundred of these animals for his wife.[b]

They ate various kinds of fish; but, of this description of their animal food, the species which is most profusely noticed is the eel. They used eels as abundantly as swine. Two grants are mentioned, each yielding one thousand eels,[c] and by another two thousand were received as an annual rent. Four thousand eels were a yearly present from the monks of Ramsay to those of Peterborough.[d] We read of two places purchased for twenty-one pounds, wherein sixteen thousand of these fish were caught[e] every year; and, in one charta, twenty fishermen are stated, who furnished, during the same period, sixty thousand eels to the monastery.[f] Eel dikes are often mentioned in the boundaries of their lands.

In the dialogues composed by Elfric to instruct the Anglo-Saxon youths in the Latin language, which are yet preserved to us,[g] we have some curious information concerning the manners

[a] Will. in App. Sax. Dict.
[b] Ibid.
[c] 3 Gale, 477.
[d] Ibid. 456.
[e] Dugdale Mon. p. 244.
[f] Ibid. p. 235.
[g] In the Cotton Library, MS. Tib. A. 3.

and trades of our ancestors. In one colloquy the fisherman is asked, 'What gettest thou by thine art?' "Big loaves, clothing, and money."—'How do you take them?' "I ascend my ship, and cast my net into the river; I also throw in a hook, a bait, and a rod."—'Suppose the fishes are unclean?' "I throw the unclean out, and take the clean for food."—'Where do you sell your fish?' "In the city."—'Who buys them?' "The citizens; I cannot take so many as I can sell."—'What fishes do you take?' "Eels, haddocks, minnows, and eel-pouts, skate, and lampreys,[h] and whatever swims in the river."—'Why do you not fish in the sea?' "Sometimes I do; but rarely, because a great ship is necessary there."—'What do you take in the sea?' "Herrings and salmons, porpoises, sturgeons, oysters, and crabs, muscles, winkles, cockles, flounders, plaice, lobsters,[i] and such like."—'Can you take a whale?' "No, it is dangerous to take a whale; it is safer for me to go to the river with my ship than to go with many ships to hunt whales."—'Why?' "Because it is more pleasant to me to take fish which I can kill with one blow; yet many take whales without danger, and then they get a great price, but I dare not, from the fearfulness of my mind."

This extract shows the uniformity of human taste on the main articles of food. Fish was such a favourite diet, that the supply never equalled the demand, and the same fishes were then in request which we select, though our taste has declined for the porpoises. The porpoise is mentioned in a convention between an archbishop and the clergy at Bath, which enumerate six of them under the name of mere-swine, or the sea-swine, and thirty thousand herrings.[j]

In the earlier periods of the Anglo-Saxon colonization, their use of fish was more limited: for we read in Bede, that Wilfrid rescued the people of Sussex from famine in the eighth century by teaching them to catch fish: "For though the sea and their rivers abounded with fish, they had no more skill in the art than to take eels. The servants of Wilfrid threw into the sea nets made out of those by which they had obtained eels, and thus directed them to a new source of plenty."[k] It may account for Wilfrid's superior knowledge, to remark, that he had travelled over the continent to Rome.

It is an article in the Penitentiale of Egbert, that fish might be bought though dead.[l] The same treatise allows herrings to be

[h] The Saxon names for these are, ælaſ, hacoðaſ, mẏnaſ, ⁊ æleputan, ſceotan, ⁊ lampꝓeðan. MS. Tib. A. 3.

[i] ƀeꝓincgaſ ⁊ leaxaſ, meꝓeſpẏn, ⁊ ſtiꝓian, oſtꝓean ⁊ cꝓabban, muſlan, ꝑine ꝑinclan, ſæ coccaſ, ꝼaȝe, ꝼloc, lopẏſthan. MS. ib.

[j] MS. CCC. apud. Cantab. Miscell. G. p. 73.

[k] Bede, lib. iv. c. 13.

[l] 1 Wilkins's Conc. p. 123.

eaten, and states, that when boiled they are salutary in fever and diarrhœa, and that their gall mixed with pepper is good for a sore mouth![m]

Horse-flesh, which our delicacy rejects with aversion, appears to have been used, though it became unfashionable as their civilization advanced. The Penitentiale says, "Horse-flesh is not prohibited, though many families will not buy it."[n] But in the council held in 785, in Northumbria, before Alfwold, and in Mercia, before Offa, it was discountenanced. "Many among you eat horses, which is not done by any Christians in the East. Avoid this."[o]

But though animal food was in much use among our ancestors, it was, as it is with us, and perhaps will be in every country in which agriculture has become habitual, and population much increased, rather the food of the wealthier part of the community than of the lower orders.

That it could not be afforded by all, is clear, from the incident of a king and queen visiting a monastery, and inquiring, when they saw the boys eating only bread, if they were allowed nothing else. The answer returned was, that the scanty means of the society could afford no better. The queen then petitioned the king to enable them to provide additional food.[p]

They had wheat and barley in general use, but their prices were different; wheat, like meat, was a dearer article, and therefore less universal. It is said of the Abbey of St. Edmund, that the young monks eat barley-bread, because the income of the establishment would not admit of their feeding twice or thrice a day on wheaten bread.[q] Their corn was thrashed with a flail like our own, and ground by the simple mechanism of mills, of which great numbers are particularized in the Doomsday Survey. In their most ancient law, we read of a king's grinding-servant;[r] but both water-mills and wind-mills occur very frequently in their conveyances after that time.

They used warm bread.[s] The life of St. Neot states, that the peasant's wife placed on her oven "the loaves which some call loudas."[t] In the agreement of one of their social gilds, a broad loaf well besewon and well gesyfled is noticed.[u] In one grant of land we find six hundred loaves reserved as a rent,[v] and oftentimes cheeses. They were allowed to use milk, cheese, and eggs, on their fast-days.[w] Some individual devotees chose to be very rigorous. In 735, a lady is mentioned, in Oxford, of a noble family, who mortified herself by lying on the bare ground,

[m] 1 Wilkins's Conc. p. 123.
[n] Ibid.
[o] Ibid. p. 151.
[p] MS. Cotton Claud. C. 9, p. 128.
[q] Dugd. Mon. p. 296.
[r] Wilkins's Leg. Sax. p. 2.
[s] Bede, ed. Smith, p. 234.
[t] MS. Cott. Claud. A. 5, p. 157.
[u] Dugd. Mon. p. 278.
[v] Sax. Chron. 75.
[w] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 194.

and subsisting on broth made of the poorest herbs, and on a small quantity of barley-bread.[x] In the same century, Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary, complained of some priests, that they did not eat of the meats which God had given, and that others fed on milk and honey, rejecting animal food.[y]

Abstinence too rigorous was not, however, a general fault of the Anglo-Saxon monks. On the contrary, whenever the interior of a well-endowed monastery is opened to our view, we meet with an abundance which precluded mortification.[z]

Orchards were cultivated,[a] and we find figs, grapes, nuts, almonds, pears, and apples mentioned.[b] Lac acidum, perhaps buttermilk or whey, was used in a monastery in very handsome vessels, called creches, from Hokeday to Michaelmas, and lac dulce from Michaelmas to Martinmas. In the same place, placentas were allowed in the Easter and Whitsun weeks, and on some other festivals, and broth or soups every day.[c] In another monastery, we find land given to provide beans, salt, and honey for the brothers.[d] From the panegyric of Aldhelm, we may infer that honey was a favourite diet; for he says, that it excels all the dishes of delicacies and peppered broths.[e]

In the MS. before mentioned, a colloquy occurs with the baker (bæcere). 'Of what use is your art? we can live long without you.' "You may live through some space without my art, but not long, nor so well; for without my craft every table would seem empty, and without bread (hlafe) all meat would become nauseous. I strengthen the heart of man, and little ones could not do without me."[f]

In the same MS. the food of children is thus mentioned: 'What do you eat to-day?' "As yet I feed on flesh-meat, because I am a child living under the rod."—'What more do you eat?' "Herbs, eggs, fish, cheese, butter, and beans, and all clean things I eat with many thanks."[g]

They appear to have used great quantities of salt, from the numerous grants of land which specify salt-pans as important articles. In the end of autumn they killed and salted much meat for their winter consumption. It is probable that their provision of winter fodder for their cattle was very imperfect, and that salted meat was in a great measure their food till the spring reclothed the fields with verdure. One part of the dialogue above alluded to is on the salter.

[x] Dugd. Mon. 173.
[y] Bon. Ep. Mag. Bib. Pal. xvi. p. 50.
[z] The allowances of the Abingdon monastery may be taken as a specimen. See them in Dugd. Mon. p. 104.
[a] 3 Gale Script. 490.
[b] Ingulf, p. 50.
[c] Dugd. Mon. p. 104. The creche contained septem pollices ad profunditatem a summitate unius usque ad profundum lateris ulterius. Ibid.
[d] 3 Gale Script. 445.
[e] Ald. de Laud. Virg. p. 296.
[f] MS. Cott. Tib. A. 3.
[g] Ibid.

'Salter! what does your craft profit us?' "Much: none of you can enjoy pleasure in your dinner or supper, unless my art be propitious to him."—'How?' "Which of you can enjoy savoury meats without the smack of salt? Who could sell the contents of his cellar or his store-houses without my craft? Lo! all butter (buter gethweor) and cheese (cys gerun) would perish, unless you used me."[h]

The Anglo-Saxon ladies were not excluded from the society of the male sex at their meals. It was at dinner that the king's mother urged Dunstan to accept the vacant bishopric,[i] and it appears from many passages in Saxon writings, and from the drawings in their MSS., that both sexes were together at their seasons of refreshment.

We have an account of Ethelstan's dining with his relation Ethelfleda. The royal providers, it says, knowing that the king had promised her the visit, came the day before to see if every preparation was ready and suitable. Having inspected all, they told her, "You have plenty of every thing, provided your mead holds out." The king came with a great number of attendants at the appointed time, and after hearing mass, entered joyfully in the dinner apartment; but unfortunately in the first salutation, their copious draughts exhausted the mead vessel. Dunstan's sagacity had foreseen the event, and provided against it; and though "the cup-bearers, as is the custom at royal feasts, were *all the day* serving it up in cut horns, and other vessels of various sizes," the liquor was not found to be deficient. This, of course, very much delighted his majesty and his companions; and, as Dunstan chose to give it a miraculous appearance, it procured him infinite credit.[j]

A historian of the twelfth century contrasts, with much regret, the fashion, introduced by the Normans at court, of only one entertainment a day, with the custom of one of our preceding kings, who feasted his courtiers daily with four ample banquets. He contends that parsimony produced the direful change, though it was ascribed to dignity.[k] Many good customs have originated from selfish causes; but no one will now dispute, that both mental and moral refinement must have been much advanced by this diminution of the incitements and the opportunities of gluttony and inebriety. We may remember of the king Hardicanute, so celebrated for his conviviality, that he died at a feast.

A few circumstances may be added of their fasting. It is mentioned in Edgar's regulations, as a part of the penance of a

[h] MS. Cott. Tib. A. 3. [i] MS. Cott. Cleop. B. 13, and Nero, C. 7.

[j] Cleop. B. 13, p. 67, and Acta Sanct. 29th May, p. 349, 350.

[k] Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. p. 365. Malmsbury remarks, that the profusion of the English feasts was increased after the Danish visits, p. 248.

rich man, that he should fast on bread, green herbs, and water.[l] It is expressed in another part, that a layman during his penitence should eat no flesh, nor drink any thing that might inebriate.[m] The law of Wihtræd severely punished the non-observance of fast days. If any man gave meat to his servants on these days, he was declared liable to the pillory, or literally the neck-catch, heals-fang. If the servant ate it of his own accord, he was fined six shillings, or was to suffer in his hide.[n]

CHAPTER IV.

Their Drinks and Cookery.

ALE and mead were their favourite drinks, and wine was an occasional luxury. Of the ale, three sorts were noticed. In a charter, two tons of clear ale, and ten mittan or measures of Welsh ale, are reserved.[a] In another, a cumb full of lithes, or mild ale.[b] Warm wine is also mentioned.[c]

The answer of the lad, in the Saxon colloquy, to the question, what he drank, was, "Ale if I have it, or water if I have not." On being asked why he does not drink wine, he says, "I am not so rich that I can buy me wine, and wine is not the drink of children or the weak-minded, but of the elders and the wise."[d]

In the ancient calendar of the eleventh century, there are various figures pictured, to accompany the different months. In April, three persons appear sitting and drinking: one person is pouring out liquor into a horn; another is holding a horn to his mouth.[e]

We have the list of the liquors used at a great Anglo-Saxon feast, in a passage of Henry of Huntingdon, which describes an atrocious catastrophe:

At a feast in the king's hall at Windsor, Harold, the son of Godwin, was serving the Confessor with wine, when Tosti, his brother, stimulated by envy at his possessing a larger portion of the royal favour than himself, seized Harold by the hair in the king's presence. In a rage, Tosti left the company, and went to Hereford, where his brother had ordered a great royal banquet

[l] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 97. [m] Ibid. 94.
[n] Ibid. 11. [a] Sax. Chron. 75.
[b] Two tuns full of hlutres aloth, a cumb full of lithes aloth, and a cumb full of welisces aloth, are the gafol reserved in a grant of Offa. Dugd. Mon. p. 126.
[c] Bede, 257. [d] MS. Tib. A. 3. [e] MS. Tib. B. 5.

to be prepared. There he seized his brother's attendants, and cutting off their heads and limbs, he placed them in the vessels of wine, mead, ale, pigment, morat, and cider. He then sent to the king a message, that he was going to his farm, where he should find plenty of salt meat, but had taken care to carry some with him.[f] The pigment was a sweet and odoriferous liquor, made of honey, wine, and spiceries of various kinds. The morat was made of honey, diluted with the juice of mulberries.[g]

As the canons were severe on drunkenness, though the manners of society made all their regulations ineffectual, it was thought necessary to define what was considered to be improper and penal intoxication. "This is drunkenness, when the state of the mind is changed, the tongue stammers, the eyes are disturbed, the head is giddy, the belly is swelled, and pain follows." To atone for this, fasts, proportioned in duration to the quality of the offender, were enjoined.[h]

It will not be uninteresting to add the description of a feast, as given in Judith by an Anglo-Saxon poet:

Then was Holofernes
Enchanted with the wine of men:
In the hall of the guests
He laughed and shouted,
He roared and dinned,
That the children of men might hear afar,
How the sturdy one
Stormed and clamoured,
Animated and elated with wine.
He admonished amply
Those sitting on the bench
That they should bear it well.
So was the wicked one all day,
The lord and his men,
Drunk with wine;
The stern dispenser of wealth;
Till that they swimming lay
Over drunk,
All his nobility
As they were death slain,
Their property poured about.
So commanded the lord of men
To fill to those sitting at the feast,
Till the dark night
Approached the children of men.[i]

We have a glance of their customs, as to drinking, in this short passage: "When all were satisfied with their dinner, and the tables were removed, they continued drinking till the evening."[j]

[f] Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. p. 367.
[g] Du Cange in voc. and Henry's History of England, iv. p. 396.
[h] Spelm. Concilia, 286. [i] Frag. Judith. [j] Gale Scrip. iii. p. 441.

They seem to have had places like taverns, or alehouses, where liquors were sold; for a priest was forbidden by a law to eat or drink at ceapealethelum, literally, places where ale was sold.[k]

Ethelwold allowed his monastery a great bowl, from which the obbæ of the monks were filled twice a day for their dinner and supper. On their festivals he allowed them at dinner a sextarium of mead between six, and the same quantity at supper between twelve of the brothers. On certain of the great high feasts of the year, he gave them a measure of wine.[l]

They boiled, baked, and broiled their victuals. We read of their meat dressed in a boiling vessel,[m] of their fish having been broiled,[n] and of an oven heated for baking loaves.[o] The term abacan is also applied to meat. In the rule of St. Benedict, two sanda, or dishes of sodden syflian, or soup bouilli, are mentioned.[p] Bede mentions a goose that hung on the wall taken down to be boiled.[q] The word seathan, to boil, deserves notice, because the noun, seath, from which it is derivable, implies a pit. As we read in the South Sea islands of the natives dressing their victuals in little pits lined with stones, the expression may have been originally derived from a similar practice. A cook appears as an appendix to every monastery, and it was a character important enough to be inserted in the laws. In the cloisters it was a male office; elsewhere it was chiefly assumed by the female sex. In the dialogue already cited, the cook says, "If you expel me from your society, you would eat your herbs green, and your flesh raw." He is answered. "We can ourselves seethe what is to be seethed, and broil what things are to be broiled."[r]

They seem to have attended to cookery, not merely as a matter of taste, but of indispensable decorum. It was one of their regulations, that if a person ate any thing half dressed, ignorantly, he should fast three days; if knowingly, four days. Perhaps, as the uncivilized Northmen were, in their pagan state, addicted to eat raw flesh, the clergy of the Anglo-Saxons were anxious to keep their improved countrymen from relapsing into such barbarous customs.[s]

In the drawings which accompany some Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, we have some delineation of their customs at table.[t] In

[k] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 180. So Egbert exhorts. Spel. Conc. 260.
[l] Dugd. Mon. 104.
[m] Bede, p. 255.
[n] Ibid. 238.
[o] MS. Vesp. D. 14, p. 146.
[p] MS. Tib. A. 3.
[q] Bede, 255.
[r] MS. Tib.

[s] Spelm. Concil. 287. The same principle perhaps led them to add these regulations: "For eating or drinking what a cat or dog has spoiled, he shall sing an hundred psalms, or fast a day. For giving another any liquor in which a mouse or a weasel shall be found dead, a layman shall do penance for four days; a monk shall sing three hundred psalms." Spelm. Concil. p. 287.

[t] The industrious and useful Strutt has copied these drawings in the first volume of his Horda Angcleynnan. Nothing can more satisfactorily illustrate the manners of our ancestors, than such publications of their ornamental drawings; for, as Strutt

one drawing, a party is at table, seated, with the females by the side of the men, in this order: a man, a lady; a man, a lady; two men, and another lady. The two first are looking towards each other, as if talking together; the three in the middle are engaged with each other, and so are the two last; each have a cup or horn in their hand. The table is oblong, and covered with a table-cloth that hangs low down from the table; a knife, a horn, a bowl, a dish, and some loaves appear. The men are uncovered; the women have their usual head-dress.[u]

In another drawing, the table is a sharp oval, also covered with an ample cloth; upon it, besides a knife and a spoon, there are a bowl, with a fish, some loaves of bread, and two other dishes. Some part of the costume is more like the manners of Homer's heroes than of modern times. At the angles of the tables two attendants are upon their knees, with a dish in one hand, and each holding up a spit with the other, from which the persons feasting are about to cut something. One of these persons, to whom the servants minister with so much respect, is holding a whole fish with one hand, and a knife in the other.[v]

In the drawing which accompanies Lot feasting the angels, the table is oblong, rounded at the ends, and covered with a cloth. Upon it is a bowl, with an animal's head like a pig's; another bowl is full of some round things like apples. These, with loaves or cakes of bread, seem to constitute the repast. There are two horns upon the table, and one of the angels has a knife.[w] As no forks appear in any of the plates, and are not mentioned elsewhere, we may presume that our ancestors used their hands instead.

There is one drawing of men killing and dressing meat. One man is holding a sheep by his horns, while a lad strikes at its neck with an axe; behind him is a young man severing an animal's head from its body with an axe. Another has put a long stick, with a hook attached to it, into a caldron, as if to pull up meat. The caldron is upon a trivet of four legs, as high as the servant's knee, within which the fire is made, and blazing up to the caldron.[x]

truly observes in his preface, "though these pictures do not bear the least resemblance of the things they were originally intended to represent, yet they nevertheless are the undoubted characteristics of the customs of that period in which each illuminator or designer lived."

[u] This is in Strutt's work, plate xvi. fig. 2, and is taken from the Cotton MS. Claud. B. 4. The MS. consists of excerpta from the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, which are adorned with historical figures, some of which are those above alluded to.

[v] See Strutt, plate xvi. fig. 1.

[w] Strutt, plate xvi. fig. 3, and Claud. B. 4. Forks are supposed to have been introduced into England, from Italy, by Tom Coriate, in James the First's time; yet, I think, I have seen them mentioned as in use before his time.

[x] Strutt, plate xvii. fig. 2, and from Claud. B. 4. The tapestry of Bayeux is as useful in showing the cookery and feasting of the Normans.

CHAPTER V.

Their Dress.

The Anglo-Saxons had become so much acquainted with the conveniences of civilized life, as to have both variety and vanity of dress. Some change took place in their apparel after their conversion to Christianity, which rendered their former customs disreputable; for, at a council held in 785, it is said, "You put on your garments in the manner of the pagans, whom your fathers expelled from the world; an astonishing thing, that you imitate those whose life you always hated!"[a]

It is difficult, at this distance of time, to apprehend with precision the meaning of the terms of their dress which time has permitted to reach us, and to state them with that order and illustration which will enable the reader to conceive justly of their costume. The imperfections of our attempt must be excused by its difficulty. We will begin with what we have been able to collect of an Anglo-Saxon lady's dress.

The wife, described by Aldhelm, has necklaces and bracelets, and also rings with gems on her fingers. Her hair was dressed artificially; he mentions the twisted hairs delicately curled with the iron of those adorning her.

In this part of her dress she was a contrast to the religious virgin, whose hair was entirely neglected.[b] Their hair was highly valuable and reputable among the Saxon ladies. Judith is perpetually mentioned with epithets allusive to her hair. Her twisted locks are more than once noticed:

> The maid of the Creator,
> With twisted locks,
> Took then a sharp sword.
>
> ---
>
> She with the twisted locks
> Then struck her hateful enemy,
> Meditating ill,
> With the ruddy sword.
>
> ---
>
> The most illustrious virgin
> Conducted and led them,
> Resplendent with her twisted locks,
> To the bright city of Bethulia.[c]

[a] Concil. Calchut. Spelm. Conc. p. 300. [b] Aldhelm de Laud. Virg. p. 307.
[c] Frag. Judith, ed. Thwaite.

The laws mention a free woman, loc bore, wearing her locks as a distinguishing circumstance.[d] Judith is also described with her ornaments :

> The prudent one, adorned with gold,
> Ordered her maidens——
> Then commanded he
> The blessed virgin
> With speed to fetch
> To his bed rest,
> With bracelets laden,
> With rings adorned.[e]

Aldhelm also describes the wife as loving to paint her cheeks with the red colour of stibium.[f] The art of painting the face is not the creature of refinement; the most barbarous nations seem to be the most liberal in their use of this fancied ornament.

The will of Wynflæd makes us acquainted with several articles of the dress and ornaments of an Anglo-Saxon lady. She gives to Ethelflœda, one of her daughters, her engraved beah, or bracelet, and her covering mantle (mentel). To Eadgyfa, another of her daughters, she leaves her best dun tunic, and her better mantle, and her covering garment. She also mentions her pale tunics, her torn cyrtel, and other linen, web, or garment. She likewise notices her white cyrtel, and the cuffs and riband (cuffian and bindan).[g]

Among the ornaments mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon documents, we read of a golden fly, beautifully adorned with gems;[h] of golden vermiculated necklaces;[i] of a bulla that had belonged to the grandmother of the lady spoken of;[j] of golden headbands,[k] and of a neck-cross.[l]

The ladies had also gowns; for a bishop of Winchester sends, as a present, "a short gown (gunna) sewed in our manner."[m] Thus we find the mantle, the kirtle, and the gown, mentioned by these names among the Saxons, and even the ornament of cuffs.

In the drawings on the manuscripts of these times, the women appear with a long loose robe, reaching down to the ground, and large loose sleeves. Upon their head is a hood or veil, which, falling down before, was wrapped round the neck and breast.[n] All the ladies in the drawing have their necks, from the chin,

[d] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 6.
[e] Frag. Jud. [f] Aldhelm. p. 307.
[g] Our Saxon scholar, Hickes, has given a transcript of this will, in his preface to his Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 22.
[h] Dugd. Mon. 240. [i] Ibid. 263. [j] Ibid. 268.
[k] Thorp. Reg. Roffen. 26, and Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 7.
[l] In the Archbishop's Will, Cotton Lib. MS. Tib. A. 3.
[m] 16 Mag. Bib. 82. A gown made of otter's skin is mentioned, p. 88.
[n] Strutt's Horda Angelcynn. i. p. 47.

closely wrapped in this manner; and in none of them is a fine waist attempted to be displayed, nor have their heads any other covering than their hood.

In the dress of the men, the province of female taste was intruded upon by the ornaments they used. They had sometimes gold and precious stones round their neck,[o] and the men of consequence or wealth usually had expensive bracelets on their arms, and rings on their fingers. It is singular, that the bracelets of the male sex were more costly than those allotted to the fair. In an Anglo-Saxon will the testator bequeaths to his lord a beah, or bracelet, of eighty gold mancusa, and to his lady one of thirty. He had two neck-bracelets, one of forty, and another of eighty gold mancusa, and two golden bands.[p] We read of two golden bracelets, and five gold ornaments, called sylas, sent by an Anglo-Saxon to her friend.[q] Their rings are frequently mentioned: an archbishop bequeaths one in his will;[r] and a king sent a gold ring, with twelve sagi, as a present to a bishop.[s] The ring appears to have been worn on the finger next to the little finger, and on the right hand, for a Saxon law calls that the gold finger; and we find a right hand was once cut off on account of this ornament.

In some of the stately apparel of the male sex, we see that fondness for gorgeous finery which their sturdier character might have been expected to have disdained. We read of silk garments woven with golden eagles:[t] so a king's coronation garment was of silk, woven with gold flowers;[u] and his cloak is mentioned, distinguished by its costly workmanship, and its gold and gems.[v] Such was the avidity for these distinctions, that Elfric, in his canons, found it necessary to exhort the clergy not to be rane, that is, proud, with their rings, and not to have their garments made too ranclike.[w]

They had silk, linen, and woollen garments. A bishop gave, in the eighth century, as a present to one abroad, a woollen tunic, and another of linen, adding, "as it was the custom of the Anglo-Saxons to wear it."[x] The use of linen was not uncommon; for

[o] Bede, p. 332. Malmsbury mentions the Angles as having heavy gold bracelets on their arms, and with pictured impressions, "picturatis stigmatibus," a kind of tattooing, on their skin, p. 102.

[p] See the will of Byrhtric in Thorpe's Reg. Roffen. p. 25; also in Hickes's Thes.

[q] Mag. Bib. Pat. xvi. p. 92. Wynfleda, in her will, leaves a man a wooden cup adorned with gold, that he might augment his beah with the gold. Hickes's Pref.

[r] Cott. MS. Claud. C. 125.

[s] Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 89.

[t] Ingulf, p. 61.

[u] Ibid. p. 61.

[v] 3 Gale Script. 494.

[w] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 153. Rane and ranclike originally meant proud and gorgeous. The words have now become appropriated to express dignity of situation.

[x] 16 Mag. Bib. p. 82.

it is remarked, as a peculiarity of a nun, that she rarely wore linen, but chiefly woollen garments.[y]

Silk, from its cost, cannot have been common; but it was often used by the great and wealthy. Ethelbert, king of Kent, gave a silken part of dress, called an armilcasia.[z] Bede mentions two silken pallia of incomparable workmanship.[a] His own remains were enclosed in silk.[b] It often adorned the altars of the church; and we read of a present to a West-Saxon bishop, of a casula, expressed to be not entirely of silk, but mixed with goat's wool.[c]

The delineations of the Saxon manuscripts almost universally represent the hair of the men as divided from the crown to the forehead, and combed down the sides of the head in waving ringlets. Their beards were continuations of their whiskers on each side, meeting the hair from the chin, but there dividing, and ending in two forked points. Young men usually, and sometimes servants, are represented without beards. The heads of the soldiers are covered; but workmen, and even nobles, are frequently represented, as in the open air, without any hats or caps.[d]

To have a beard was forbidden to the clergy.[e] But the historian of Malmsbury informs us, that in the time of Harold the Second, the English laity shaved their beards, but allowed the hair of their upper lip a full growth.[f] The tapestry of Bayeux displays this costume: Harold, and most of the figures, have their mustachios, but no beards; King Edward, however, has his full beard. In the drawings of the Evangelists, in the fine Cotton MS.,[g] Mark and John have neither beards nor mustachios, but Matthew and Luke have both.

They had shoes, or scoh, with thongs. Bede's account of Cuthbert is curious: he says, when the saint had washed the feet of those who came to him, they compelled him to take off his own shoes, that his feet might also be made clean; for so little did he attend to his bodily appearance, that he often kept his shoes, which were of leather, on his feet for several months together, frequently from Easter to Easter, without taking them off.[h] From this anecdote we may infer, that they had not stockings. Sometimes, however, the legs of the men appear in the drawings as covered half way up with a kind of bandage wound round, or else with a tight stocking reaching above the knee.[i]

[y] Bede, lib. iv. c. 19. The interior tunic of St. Neot is described to have been ex panno villoso, in the Irish manner. Dugd. Mon. 368.

[z] Dugd. Mon. 24.

[a] Bede, p. 297. A pallia holoserica is mentioned as a present, in Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 97.

[b] Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 88.

[c] Ibid. p. 50.

[d] See the plates in Strutt's Hord. Angel.

[e] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 85.

[f] Malmsb. lib. iii.

[g] Nero, D. 4.

[h] Bede Vit. Cuthb. p. 243. In the life of St. Neot, he is said to have lost his scoh: he saw a fox having the thwanges of his shoe in his mouth. Vesp. D. xiv. p. 144.

[i] Strutt, Hord. Ang. p. 47. In Saint Benedict's rule, MS. Tib. A. 3, socks (soccas)

The Anglo-Saxons, represented in the Bayeux tapestry, are dressed in this manner; both the great and their inferiors have caps or bonnets on their heads, which are kept on even in the presence of the king, sitting with his sceptre on the throne. The steersman of one of the ships has a hat on, with a projecting flap turning upwards. Most of the figures have close coats, with sleeves to the wrists.[j] They are girded round them with a belt, and have loose skirts like kelts, but not reaching quite to the knee. Harold on Horseback, with his falcon, has breeches which do not cover his knee, and a cloak flowing behind him. His knights have breeches covering the knees, and cloaks, which, like Harold's are buttoned on the right shoulder.[k] One of those standing before the king has a cloak, or sagum, which falls down to its full length, and reaches just below the bend of the knee.[l] Harold, when he is about to go into the ship, wears a sort of jacket with small flaps. In the ship he appears with his cloak and the surrounding skirts, which are exhibited with a border; but when he takes the oath to William, he has a cloak or robe reaching nearly to his heels, and buttoned on the breast. They have always belts on. Most of them have shoes, which seem close round the ancle; others, even the great men, sometimes have none.[m]

In the history of the Lombards, the Anglo-Saxon garments are stated to have been loose and flowing, and chiefly made of linen, adorned with broad borders, woven or embroidered with various colours.[n] In the MSS. of the Saxon Gospels, Nero, D. 4, the four Evangelists are drawn in colours, and the garments in which they are represented may be considered as specimens of tho Anglo-Saxon dress.

Matthew has a purple under-gown, or vest, rather close, coming down to the wrists, with a yellow border at the neck, wrists, and

and stockings (hosan) are mentioned; also two other coverings for the legs and feet, called meon and fiand reaf fota, and the earm slife for the upper part of the body.

[j] Strutt has given a complete drawing of a Saxon close coat, in Tab. 15. It appears to have been put over the head like a shirt.

[k] For a description of this clasp or button, see Strutt, p. 46.

[l] It was probably of cloaks like these, that Charlemagne exclaimed, "Of what use are these little cloaks? We cannot be covered by them in bed. When I am on horseback they cannot defend me from the wind and rain; and when we retire for other occasions, I am starved with cold in my legs." St. Gall. ap. Bouquet Recueil, tom. vii.

[m] Strutt remarks, from the drawings, that the kings and nobles, when in their state dress, were habited in a loose coat, which reached down to the ancles, and had over that a long robe, fastened, over both shoulders, on the middle of the breast, with a clasp or buckle. He adds, that the edges and bottoms of their coats, as well as of their robes, were often trimmed with a broad gold edging, or else flowered with different colours. The soldiers and common people wore close coats, reaching only to the knee, and a short cloak over their left shoulder, which buckled on the right. The kings and nobles were habited in common in a dress similar to this, but richer and more elegant. Strutt, Hord. Ang. i. p. 46.

[n] See before.

the bottom. His upper robe is green, with red stripes, much looser than the other. His feet have no shoes, but a lacing, as for sandals. There is a brown curtain, with rings, and a yellow bottom. His stool has a brown cushion, but no back. He writes on his knee.

Mark wears a purple robe, striped with blue, buttoned at the neck, where it opens, and shows an under garment of light blue, striped with red. His cushion is blue: he has a footstool and a small round table.

Luke's under-dress is a sort of lilac, with light green stripes; over this is a purple robe with red stripes. The arm is of the colour of the vest, and comes through the robe. His wrist and neck have a border.

John's under-garment is a pea-green with red stripes; his upper robe is purple with blue stripes; this is very loose, and, opening at the breast, shows the dress beneath. These pictures show, what many passages also imply, that our ancestors were fond of many colours.[o] The council in 785 ordered the clergy not to wear the tinctured colours of India, nor precious garments.[p] The clergy, whose garments were thus compulsorily simplified, endeavoured to extend their fashion to those of the laity. Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary, in his letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, inveighs against the luxuries of dress, and declares, that those garments which are adorned with very broad studs, and images of worms, announce the coming of Anti-Christ.[q] In the same spirit, at the council of Cloveshoe, the nuns were exhorted to pass their time rather in reading books and singing hymns, than in weaving and working garments of empty pride in diversified colours.[r] That they lined their garments with furs made from sables, beavers, and foxes, or, when they wished to be least expensive, with the skins of lambs or cats, we learn from the life of Wulstan.[s]

[o] Bede mentions, that in Saint Cuthbert's monastery they used clothing of the natural wool, and not of varied or precious colours, p. 242. Two cloaks are mentioned among the letters of Boniface, one of which is said to be of very artful workmanship, the other of a tinctured colour.

[p] Spel. Concil. p. 294. [q] Ibid. p. 241. [r] Ibid. 256.

[s] Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 259. Our Henry, whose remarks on the dress of our ancestors are well worth reading, has given a translation of the passage in his History, vol. iv. p. 289.

CHAPTER VI.

Their Houses, Furniture, and Luxuries.

IN their ecclesiastical buildings the Anglo-Saxons were expensive and magnificent; their dwelling-houses seem to have been small and inconvenient.[a] Domestic architecture is one of the things that most conspicuously displays and attends the progress of national wealth and taste. The more we recede into the antiquities of every state, we invariably find the habitations of the people ruder and less commodious.

Their furniture we can only know as it happens to be mentioned, and sometimes imperfectly described, in some of their writings. They may have had many things which we have, but we must conceive of all we find enumerated, that it was heavy, rude, and unworkmanlike. It is in a polished age, and among industrious and wealthy nations, that the mechanical arts attain excellence; and that every convenience of domestic life combines always finished neatness, and frequently elegance and taste, with economy of materials, and utility.

The Anglo-Saxons had many conveniences and luxuries, which men so recently emerging from the barbarian state could not have derived from their own invention. They were indebted for these to their conversion to Christianity. When the Gothic nations exchanged their idolatry for the Christian faith, hierarchies arose in every converted state, which maintained a close and perpetual intercourse with Rome and with each other. From the letters of Pope Gregory, of our Boniface, and many others, we perceive that an intercourse of personal civilities, visits, messages, and presents, was perpetually taking place. Whatever was rare, curious, or valuable, which one person possessed, he communicated, and not unfrequently gave to his acquaintance. This is very remarkable in the letters of Boniface and his friends,[b] of whom some were in England, some in France, some in Germany, and elsewhere. The most cordial phrases of urbanity and affection are usually followed by a present of apparel, the aromatic productions of the East, little articles of furniture and domestic com-

[a] Strutt has copied a Saxon house from the MS. Cleop. C. 8, in his fig. 3, of plate I. The building of the tower of Babel, in his sixth plate, from MS. Claud. B. 4, may be considered as another specimen of their domestic architecture.

[b] These are in the sixteenth volume of the Magna Bibliotheca Patrum.

fort, books, and whatever else promised to be acceptable to the person addressed. This reciprocity of liberality, and the perpetual visits which all ranks of the state were in the habit of making to Rome, the seat and centre of all the arts, science, wealth, and industry of the day, occasioned a general diffusion and use of the known conveniences and approved inventions which had then appeared.

Among the furniture of their rooms, we find hangings, to be suspended on the walls, most of them silken, some with the figures of golden birds in needle-work, some woven, and some plain.[c] At another time, a veil or piece of hanging is mentioned, on which was sewed the destruction of Troy.[d] These were royal presents. We also read of the curtain of a lady, on which was woven the actions of her husband, in memory of his probity.[e] These articles of manufacture for domestic use are obviously alluded to by Aldhelm in his simile, in which he mentions the texture of hangings or curtains, their being stained with purple and different varieties of colours, and their images, embroidery, and weaving. Their love of gaudy colouring was as apparent in these as in their dress; for he says, "If finished of one colour, uniform, they would not seem beautiful to the eye."[f] Curtains and hangings are very often mentioned; sometimes in Latin phrases, pallia or cortinas;[g] sometimes in the Saxon term wahrift. Thus Wynfleda bequeaths a long heall wahrift and a short one, and Wulfur bequeaths a heall wahrifta; the same testator also leaves a heall reafes.[h] Whether this is another expression for a hanging to the hall, or whether it alludes to any thing like a carpet, the expression itself will not decide. The probability is, that it expresses a part of the hangings. We can perceive the reasons why hangings were used in such early times: their carpenters were not exact and perfect joiners; their buildings were full of crevices, and hangings were therefore rather a necessity than a luxury, as they kept out the wind from the inhabitants. Nothing can more strongly prove their necessity, than that Alfred, to preserve his lights from the wind, even in the royal palaces, was obliged to have recourse to lanthorns.[i] Their hangings, we find, were not cheap enough to be used perpetually; and therefore when the king gave them to the monastery, he adds the injunction to the one gift, that it should be suspended on his anniversary, and to another, that it should be used on festivals.[j]

Benches[k] and seats, and their coverings, are also mentioned.

[c] Ingulf, p. 53.
[d] Ibid. p. 9.
[e] 3 Gale Script. 495.
[f] Aldhelm de Laud. Virg. 283.
[g] Dugd. 130. 3 Gale, 418, and 495. Ingulf, 53.
[h] Hickes Præf. and Diss. Ep. 54.
[i] See vol. i. of this work.
[j] Ingulf, 53.
[k] Dugd. Mon. 130.

In one gift, seven setl hrægel, or seat coverings, occur.[l] Wynfleda bequeaths threc setl hrægl.[m] Their footstools appear to have been much ornamented. Ingulf mentions two great pedalia with lions interwoven, and two smaller ones sprinkled with flowers.[n] Some of their scats or benchcs represented in the drawings, have animals' hcads and legs at their extremities.[o] Their seats seem to have been benches and stools.

Their tables are somctimes very costly: we read of two tables madc of silver and gold.[p] Æthelwold, in Edgar's reign, is said to have made a silver table worth three hundred pounds.[q] We also read of a woodcn tablc for an altar, which was adorned with ample and solid plates of silver, and with gems various in colour and spccies.[r]

Candlcsticks of various sorts arc mentioned; two large candlesticks of bone (gebonede candelsticcan,) and six smaller of the same kind, arc enumerated,[s] as arc also two silver candelabra, gilt,[t] and two candelabra well and honourably made.[u] Bede once mentions that two candles were lighted.[v]

Hand-bells also appear. At one time twelve are stated to have been used in a monastery.[w] A disciple of Bede sends to Lullus, in France, "the bell which I have at my hand."[x] A silver mirror is also once mentioned.[y]

Of bcd-furniture, we find in an Anglo-Saxon's will bed-clothes (beddreafes,) with a curtain (hryfte,) and sheet (hoppscytan,) and all that thereto belongs; to his son he gives the bedreafe and all the clothes that appcrtain to it.[z] An Anglo-Saxon lady gives to one of her children two chests and their contents, her best bedcurtain, linen, and all the clothes belonging to it. To another child shc lcaves two chests, and "all the bcd-clothes that to one bed belong." She also mentions her red tent[a] (giteld.) On another occasion we read of a pillow of straw.[b] A goatskin bedcovering was sent to an Anglo-Saxon abbot.[c] In Judith we read of the gilded fly-net hung about the leader's bed.[d] Bearskins are sometimes noticed as if a part of the bed-furniture. There is a drawing of a Saxon bed and a curtain in Claud. B. 4, which may be seen in Strutt, Horda Angelcynn, pl. xiii. fig. 2. The head and the bottom of the bed seem to be both boarded, and the pillows look as if made of platted straw. Not to go into a bed, but to lie on the floor, was occasionally enjoined as a penance.[e]

For their food and conviviality they used many expensive arti-

[l] Dugd. 216. [m] Hickes ubi sup. [n] Ingulf, 53.
[o] See Strutt, tab. 10. [p] Dugd. Mon. 40. [q] Ibid. 104.
[r] 3 Gale Script. 420. [s] Dugd. Mon. 221. [t] Dugd. Mon. 40.
[u] Dugd. 130. Candelabris ex argento ductilibus. Ib. 104.
[v] Bede, 259. [w] Dugd. Mon. 221. [x] 16 Mag. Bib. 88.
[y] Dugd. 24. [z] Hickes Diss. Ep. 54. [a] Hickes Præf.
[b] 3 Gale Script. 418. [c] 16 Mag. Bib. 52. [d] Frag. Jud.
[e] Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 97.

cles. It was indeed in these that their abundant use of the precious metals principally appeared. We perpetually read of silver cups, and sometimes of silver gilt. Byrhtric, in his will, bequeaths three silver cups.[f] Wulfur bequeaths four cups, two of which he describes as of four pounds' value.[g] Wynfleda gives, besides four silver cups, a cup with a fringed edge, a wooden cup variegated with gold, a wooden knobbed cup, and two smieere scencing cuppan, or very handsome drinking cups.[h] In other places we read of a golden cup, with a wooden dish;[i] a gold cup of immense weight;[j] a dish adorned with gold, and another with Grecian workmanship.[k] A lady gave a golden cup, weighing four marks and a half.[l] The king of Kent sent to Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary in Germany, a silver bason, gilt within, weighing three pounds and a half.[m] On another occasion, a great silver dish of excellent workmanship, and of great value, is noticed.[n] Two silver cups, weighing twelve marks, were used by the monks in a refectory, to serve their drink.[o] Two silver basons were given by a lady to a monastery.[p] A king, in 833, gave his gilt cup, engraved without with vine-dressers fighting dragons, which he called his cross-bowl, because it had a cross marked within, and it had four angels projecting like a similar figure;[q] two silver cups, with covers, in one place;[r] five silver cups in another;[s] and such like notices, sufficiently prove to us that the rich and great among the Anglo-Saxons had no want of plate. At other times we meet with cups of bone,[t] brazen dishes,[u] and a coffer made of bones.[v] We may infer that the less affluent used vessels of wood and horn. A council ordered that no cup or dish made of horn should be used in the sacred offices.[w]

Horns were much used at table. Two buffalo horns are in Wynfleda's will.[x] Four horns are noticed in the list of a monastery's effects.[y] Three horns worked with gold and silver occur;[z] and the Mercian king gave to Croyland monastery the horn of his table, "that the elder monks may drink thereout on festivals, and in their benedictions remember sometimes the soul of the donor, Witlaf."[a] The curiously carved horn which is still preserved in York cathedral was made in the Anglo-Saxon times, and deserves the notice of the inquisitive, for its magnitude and workmanship.

Glass vessels, which are among the most valuable of our present comforts, were little used in the time of Bede and Bonifaee.

[f] Thorp. Reg. Roff. 30.
[g] Hickes Diss. Ep. 54.
[h] Hickes Præf. p. 22.
[i] Dugd. Mon. 21.
[j] Dugd. Mon. 104.
[k] Ibid. 40.
[l] Ibid. 240.
[m] 16 Mag. Bib. p. 64.
[n] Dugd. 123.
[o] 3 Gale Script. 406.
[p] Ibid. 418.
[q] Ingulf, p. 9.
[r] Dugd. 40.
[s] Ibid. 221.
[t] Ibid.
[u] Bede, lib. ii. c. 16.
[v] 16 Mag. Bib. 93.
[w] Spelm. Conc. 295.
[x] Hickes Præf.
[y] Dugd. 221.
[z] Ibid. 40.
[a] Ingulf, 9.

A diseiple of Bede asked Lullus, in France, if there were any man in his parish who could make glass vessels well; if sueh a man lived there, he desired that he might be persuaded to eome to England, beeause, adds he, "we are ignorant and helpless in this art."[b] Bede mentions lamps of glass, and vessels for many uses.[c] Glass beeame more used in the eonveniences of domestie life towards the period of the Norman eonquest.

Gold and silver were also applied to adorn their sword-hilts, their saddles and bridles, and their banners.[d] Their gold rings eontained gems; and even their garments, saddles, and bridles, were sometimes jewelled.[e]

The presents whieh the father of Alfred took with him to Rome deserve enumeration, from their value, and beeause they show the supply of the precious metals whieh the Anglo-Saxons possessed; we derive the knowledge of them from Anastasius, a eontemporary: a erown of the purest gold, weighing four pounds; two basons of the purest gold, weighing * * * * * * pounds; a sword, bound with purest gold; two small images of the purest gold; four dishes of silver gilt; two palls of silk, with golden clasps; with other silk dresses, and gold elasps, and hangings. To the bishops, priests, deacons, and other elergy, and to the great at Rome, he distributed gold, and among the people, small silver.[f] A few years afterwards, we learn from the same author, that the English then at Rome presented to the oratory in the pontifieal palaee, at Fraseati, a silver table, weighing several pounds.[g] In the age before this, we read of gold and silver vessels sent presents to Rome.[h]

Gold and silver roods, or erosses and erueifixes, are frequently mentioned;[i] also a silver graphium, or pen.[j] The crown of the Anglo-Saxon kings is deseribed by the eontemporary biographer of Dunstan, as made of gold and silver, and set with various gems.[k] They used iron very eommonly, and often tin.

The Anglo-Saxons seem to have been aequainted with the precious stones. In the MSS. Tib. A. 3, twelve sorts of them are thus deseribed:

"The first gem kind is black and green, which are both mingled together; and this is called giaspis. The other is saphyrus; this is like the sun, and in it appear like golden stars. The third is calcedonius; this is like a burning candle. Smaragdus is very green. Sardonix is likest blood. Onichinus is brown and yellow. Sardius is like clear blood. Berillus is like water.

[b] 16 Mag. Bib. 88. [c] Bede, p. 295.
[d] Dugd. Mon. 266. ib. 24. Bede, iii. 11.
[e] Aldhelm de Laud. Virg. 307. Eddius, 60, 62. 3 Gale Script. 494. Dugd. Mon. 24.
[f] Anastasius Bibliot. de Vit. Pontif. p. 403. ed. Rom. 1718.
[g] Ibid. 418. [h] Bede, iv. c. 1.
[i] Wulf. Will. ap. Hickes Diss. Ep. 54. Ingulf, 9. Dugd. 233.
[j] Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 51. [k] MS. Cleop. B. 13.

Crisoprassus is like a green leek, and green stars seem to shine from it. Topazius is like gold; and carbunculus is like burning fire."

The odoriferous productions of India, and the East, were known to our ancestors, and highly valued. They frequently formed part of their presents. Boniface sent to an abbess a little frankincense, pepper, and cinnamon,[l] to another person, some storax and cinnamon.[m] So he received from an archdeacon cinnamon, pepper, and costus.[n] A deacon at Rome once sent him four ounces of cinnamon, two ounces of costus, two pounds of pepper, and one pound of cozombri.[o]

The Anglo-Saxons used the luxury of hot baths. Their use seems to have been common; for a nun is mentioned, who, as an act of voluntary mortification, washed in them only on festivals.[p] Not to go to warm baths, nor to a soft bed, was a part of a severe penance.[q] The general practice of this kind of bath may be also inferred, from its being urged by the canons, as a charitable duty, to give the poor, meat, mund, fire, fodder, bed, bathing, and clothes.[r] But while warm bathing was in this use and estimation we find cold bathing so little valued as to be mentioned as a penitentiary punishment.[s]

The washing of the feet in warm water, especially after travelling, is often mentioned.[t] It was a part of indispensable hospitality to offer this refreshment to a visiter; and this politeness will lead us to suppose, that shoes and stockings, though worn in social life were little used in travelling. The custom of walking without these coverings in the country, and of putting them on when the traveller approached towns, has existed among the commonalty in North Britain even in the present reign. Among the gifts of Boniface to an Anglo-Saxon prelate, was a shaggy or woolly present, to dry the feet after being washed.[u] To wash the feet of the poor was one of the acts of penance to be performed by the rich.[v]

[l] Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 50. [m] Ibid. 51. [n] Ibid. 119.
[o] Ibid. 120. Costus, a kind of shrub growing in Arabia and Persia, and having a root of a pleasant spicy smell.
[p] Bede, iv. c. 19. [q] Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. 94.
[r] Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 94. [s] Ibid. 95.
[t] Bede, 234, 251, 257. [u] 16 Mag. Bib. 52, & ib.
[v] Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. 97.

CHAPTER VII.

Their Conviviality and Amusements.

IN the ruder states of society, melancholy is the prevailing feature of the mind; the stern or dismal countenances of savages are everywhere remarkable. Usually the prey of want or passion, they are seldom cheerful till they can riot in excess. Their mirth is then violent and transient; and they soon relapse into their habitual gloom.

As the agricultural state advances, and the comforts of civilization accumulate, provident industry secures regular supplies; the removal of want diminishes care, and introduces leisure; the softer affections then appear with increasing fervour; the human temper is rendered milder; mirth and joy become habitual; mankind are delighted to indulge their social feelings, and a large portion of time is devoted to amusement.

The Anglo-Saxons were in this happy state of social improvement; they loved the pleasures of the table, but they had the wisdom to unite with them more intellectual diversions. At their cheerful meetings it was the practice for all to sing in turn; and Bede mentions an instance in which, for this purpose, the harp was sent round.[a] The musicians of the day, the wild flowers of their poetry, and the ludicrous jokes and tricks of their buffas, were such essential additions to their conviviality, that the council of Cloveshoe, which thought that more solemn manners were better suited to the ecclesiastic, forbade the monks to suffer their mansions to be the receptacle of the "sportive arts; that is, of poets, harpers, musicians, and buffoons."[b] A previous council, aiming to produce the same effect, had decreed, that no ecclesiastic should have harpers, or any music, nor should permit any jokes or plays in their presence.[c] In Edgar's speech on the expulsion of the clergy, the histrions, or gleemen, are noticed as frequenting the monasteries: "There are the dice, there are dancing and singing, even to the very middle of the night."[d] Among the canons made in the same king's reign, a priest was forbidden to be an eala-scop, or an ale-poet, or to any wise gliwege, or play the gleeman with himself, or with others.[e] Strutt has given some

[a] Bede, lib. iv. p. 170. [b] Spel. Concil. 256. [c] Spel. Concil. 159.
[d] Ethel. Ab. Riev. p. 360. [e] Ibid. 455.

drawings of the Saxon gleeman from some ancient MSS. I will add his description of the figures.[f]

"We there see a man throwing three balls and three knives alternately into the air, and catching them one by one as they fall, but returning them again in rotation. To give the greater appearance of difficulty to this part, it is accompanied with the music of an instrument resembling the modern violin. It is necessary to add, that these two figures, as well as those dancing, previously mentioned, form a part only of two larger paintings, which, in their original state, are placed as frontispieces to the Psalms of David; in both, the artists have represented that monarch seated upon his throne, in the act of playing upon the harp or lyre, and surrounded by the masters of sacred music. In addition to the four figures upon the middle of the plate, and exclusive of the king, there are four more, all of them instrumental performers; one playing upon the horn, another upon the trumpet, and the other two upon a kind of tabor or drum, which, however, is beaten with a single drumstick. The manuscript in which this illumination is preserved, was written as early as the eighth century. The second painting, which is more modern than the former by two full centuries, contains four figures besides the royal psalmist: the two not engraved are musicians; the one is blowing a long trumpet, supported by a staff he holds in his left hand, and the other is winding a crooked horn. In a short prologue immediately preceding the Psalms, we read as follows: David, filius Jesse, in regno suo, quatuor elegit qui Psalmos fecerunt, id est Asaph, Æman, Æthan, et Iduthan; which may be thus translated literally: David, the son of Jesse, in his reign, elected four persons who composed psalms; that is to say, Asaph, Æman, Æthan, and Iduthan. In the painting, these four names are separately appropriated, one to each of the four personages there represented. The player upon the violin is called Iduthan, and Æthan is tossing up the knives and balls."[g]

Another passage may be cited from the same industrious and worthy author.

"One part of the gleeman's profession, as early as the tenth century, was teaching animals to dance, to tumble, and to put themselves into a variety of attitudes at the command of their masters. Upon the twenty-second plate we see the curious though rude delineation, being little more than an outline, which exhibits a specimen of this pastime. The principal joculator appears in the front, holding a knotted switch in one hand, and a line attached to the bear in the other; the animal is lying down in obedience to his command; and behind them are two more figures, the one playing upon two flutes or flageolets, and elevating his left leg while he stands upon his right, supported by a staff that passes under his arm-pit; the other dancing. This performance takes place upon an eminence resembling a stage, made with earth; and in the original a vast concourse are standing round it in a semicircle as spectators of the sport, but they are so exceedingly ill drawn, and withal so indistinct, that I did not think it worth the pains to copy them. The dancing, if I may so call it, of the flute-player, is repeated twice in the same manuscript. I have thence selected two other figures, and placed them upon the seventeenth plate, where we see a youth playing upon a harp with only four strings, and apparently singing at the same time; while an elderly man is

[f] Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, 132, 133. This book was the last publication of this worthy and industrious man.

[g] Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 134.

performing the part of a buffoon, or posture-master, holding up one of his legs, and hopping upon the other to the music."[h]

In a Latin MS. of Prudentius, with Saxon notes, there is a drawing which seems to represent a sort of military dance exhibited for public amusement.

"Two men equipped in martial habits, and each of them armed with a sword and shield, are engaged in a combat; the performance is enlivened by the sound of a horn; the musician acts in a double capacity, and is, together with a female assistant, dancing round them to the cadence of the music, and probably the actions of the combatants were also regulated by the same measure."[i]

We may remark, that the word commonly used in Anglo-Saxon to express dancing, is the verb ꞇumbrian. The Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels mentions that the daughter of Herodias ꞇumbuðe before Herod; and the Anglo-Saxon word for dancer is ꞇumbeꞅe. It is probable that their mode of dancing included much tumbling.

We may infer that bear-baiting was an amusement of some importance to our ancestors, as it is stated in Doomsday-book, among the annual payments from Norwich, that it should provide one bear, and six dogs for the bear.

It was in the character of a gleeman, or, as it was expressed in the Latin term, joculator, that Alfred visited the Danish encampment. That these persons were not only valued, but well rewarded in their day, we learn from a curious fact: Edmund the son of Ethelred gave a villa to his gleeman, or joculator, whose name was Hitard. This gleeman, in the decline of life, went on a visit of devotion to Rome, and previous to his journey gave the land to the church at Canterbury.[j] In Doomsday-book, Berdic, a joculator of the king, is stated to have possessed three villas in Gloucestershire.

The Anglo-Saxons used a game at hazard, which they called ꞇæꞅl. The ꞇæꞅl-ꞅꞇan, or ꞇæꞅl-ꞅꞇone, was the die. The canons of Edgar forbid priests to be ꞇæꞅleꞅe, or players at the ꞇæꞅl.[k] There is a passage which may be noticed on this subject concerning Canute: A bishop having made a lucrative bargain with a drunken Dane, rode in the night to the king to borrow money

[h] Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 134. He adds in a note, that "both these drawings occur in a MS. Psalter, written in Latin, and apparently about the middle of the tenth century. It contains many drawings, all of them exceedingly rude, and most of them merely outlines. It is preserved in the Harleian library, and marked 603." His twenty-second plate is in the 182d page of his work; his seventeenth plate in p. 132, to which we refer the reader.

[i] Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 166. His plate of it is p. 162. The MS. is in the Cotton Lib. Cleop. C. 8.

[j] Dugdale Mon. p. 21.

[k] Spelm. Concil. p. 455.

to fulfil his contract: it says, "he found the king alleviating the tedium of a long night by the play of tesserarum, or scaccorum;"[l] he was successful in his application. Whether this play was the tæfl, or any other game more resembling chess, is not clear.

One of their principal diversions was hunting. This is frequently mentioned. A king is exhibited by Bede as standing at the fire with his attendants, and warming himself after hunting.[m] Alfred is praised by his friend Asser for his incomparable skill and assiduity in the arts of the chase.[n] He is stated to have gone as far as Cornwall to enjoy it.[o] The hunt of Edmund, the grandson of Alfred, at Ceoddri, is thus described by a contemporary:

"When they reached the woods, they took various directions among the woody avenues; and lo, from the varied noise of the horns and the barking of the dogs, many stags began to fly about. From these, the king, with his pack of hounds, selected one for his own hunting, and pursued it long through devious ways with great agility on his horse, and with the dogs following. In the vicinity of Ceoddri were several abrupt and lofty precipices hanging over profound declivities. To one of these the stag came in his flight, and dashed himself down the immense depth with headlong ruin, all the dogs following and perishing with him. The king, pursuing the animal and the hounds with equal energy, was rushing onwards to the precipice: he saw his danger, and struggled violently to stop his courser; the horse disobeyed awhile his rein: he gave up the hope of life, he recommended himself to God and his saint, and was carried to the very brink of destruction before the speed of the animal could be checked. The horse's feet were trembling on the last turf of the precipice, when he stopped."[p]

In the Saxon dialogues above mentioned, we have this conversation on hunting: "I am a hunter to one of the kings."—"How do you exercise your art?" "I spread my nets, and set them in a fit place, and instruct my hounds to pursue the wild deer till they come to the nets unexpectedly, and so are entangled; and I slay them in the nets."—"Cannot you hunt without nets?" "Yes; with swift hounds I follow the wild deer."—"What wild deer do you chiefly take?" "Harts, boars, and raindeer (rana,) and goats, and sometimes hares."—"Did you hunt to-day?" "No, because it was Sunday; but yesterday I did. I took two harts and one boar."—"How?" "The harts in nets, the boar I slew."—"How dared you slay him?" "The hounds drove him to me, and I, standing opposite, pierced him."—"You were bold." "A hunter should not be fearful, because various wild deer live in the woods."—"What do you do with your hunting?" "I give the king what I take, because I am his huntsman."—"What does he give thee?" "He clothes me well, and feeds me, and sometimes gives me a horse or a bracelet, that I may follow my art more lustily."

[l] Hist. Rames. 3 Gale, p. 442.
[m] Bede, iii. 14.
[n] Asser, p. 16.
[o] Asser, p. 40.
[p] Life of Dunstan. Cott. MSS. Cleop. B. 13.

We have a little information about the royal hunting in Doomsday-book. When the king went to Shrewsbury to hunt, the most respectable burghers who had horses served as his guard, with arms; and the sheriffs sent thirty-six men on foot, to be stationed at the hunt while the king was there. In Hereford, every house sent a man, to be stationed in the wood whenever the king hunted.

Among the drawings in the Saxon calendar in the Cotton library, Tib. B. 5, the month of September represents a boar-hunt: a wood appears, containing boars; a man is on foot with a spear; another appears with a horn slung and applied to his mouth; he has also a spear, and dogs are following.

Hunting was forbidden by Canute on a Sunday.[q] Every man was allowed to hunt in the woods, and in the fields that were his own, but not to interfere with the king's hunting.[r]

Hawks and falcons were also favourite subjects of amusement, and valuable presents in those days, when, the country being much overrun with wood, every species of the feathered race must have abounded. A king of Kent begged of a friend abroad two falcons of such skill and courage as to attack cranes willingly, and, seizing them, to throw them to the ground. He says, he makes this request, because there were few hawks of that kind in Kent who produced good offspring, and who could be made agile and courageous enough in this art of warfare.[s] Our Boniface sent, among some other presents, a hawk and two falcons to a friend;[t] and we may infer the common use of the diversion from his forbidding his monks to hunt in the woods with dogs, and from having hawks and falcons.[u] An Anglo-Saxon, by his will gives two hawks (hafocaf), and all his stag-hounds (heaðon hunðaf), to his natural lord.[v] The sportsmen in the train of the great were so onerous on lands, as to make the exemption of their visit a valuable privilege. Hence a king liberates some lands from those who carry with them hawks or falcons, horses or dogs.[w] The Saxon calendar, in its drawings, represents hawking in the month of October.

Hunting and hawking were for many ages favourite diversions in this island. In the tapestry of Bayeux, Harold appears with his hawk upon his hand. Ethelstan made North Wales furnish him with as many dogs as he chose, "whose scent-pursuing noses might explore the haunts and coverts of the deer;" and he also exacted birds, "who knew how to hunt others along the atmosphere."[x] A nobleman is mentioned, who frequented his estates near woods and marshes, because it was convenient for hunting and hawking.[y] This was the fashion of the times; and even the

[q] Wilkins Leg. Sax. 130.
[r] Ibid. 146.
[s] Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 65.
[t] Ibid. p. 53.
[u] Ibid. p. 94.
[v] Thorpe's Reg. Roff. p. 24.
[w] Cott. MS. Claud. C. 9. p. 104.
[x] Malmsb. lib. ii. p. 50.
[y] Hist. Ram. 3 Gale Scrip. p. 404.

meek and impassive Edward the Confessor is exhibited as pursuing his deer when he was thwarted by a rustic whom he desired to punish, but that his simple mind knew not that he had the power.[z] The chief delights of this king were, the coursing of swift hounds, whose clamour during the sport he was eager to cheer, and the flights of birds whose nature it is to pursue their kindred prey. Every day, after his morning devotions, he indulged in these exercises.[a]

The Saxon dialogues thus speak of the fowler: 'How do you deceive fowls?' "Many ways; sometimes with nets, sometimes with gins, sometimes with lime, sometimes whistling, sometimes with hawks, sometimes with traps."—'Have you a hawk?' "I have."—'Can you tame them?' "I can; what use would they be to me, if I could not tame them?"—'Give me a hawk.' "I will give it willingly, if you will give me a swift hound; which hawk will you have, the greater or the less?"—'The greater; how do you feed them?' "They feed themselves and me in winter, and in spring I let them fly to the woods. I take for myself young ones in harvest, and tame them."—'And why do you let them fly from you when tamed?' "Because I will not feed them in summer, as they eat too much."—'But many feed and keep them tame through the summer, that they may again have them ready.' "So they do, but I will not have that trouble about them, as I can take many others."[b]

CHAPTER VIII.

Their Marriages.

It is well known that the female sex were much more highly valued, and more respectfully treated, by the barbarous Gothic nations, than by the more polished states of the East. Among the Anglo-Saxons, they occupied the same important and independent rank in society which they now enjoy. They were allowed to possess, to inherit, and to transmit landed property; they shared in all the social festivities; they were present at the witena-gemot and the shire-gemot; they were permitted to sue and be sued in the courts of justice; their persons, their safety, their liberty, and their property, were protected by express laws; and they possessed all that sweet influence which, while the human

[z] Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 13. p. 79. [a] Ibid. p. 91. [b] Cotton MS. Tib. A. 3.

heart is responsive to the touch of love, they will ever retain in those countries which have the wisdom and the urbanity to treat them as equal, intelligent, and independent beings.

The earliest institutions respecting the Anglo-Saxon marriages occur in the laws of Ethelbert. According to these, a man might purchase a woman, if the agreement was made without fraud; but if deceit was detected, she was to be taken back to her house, and his money was to be restored to him. It was also enjoined, that if a wife brought forth children alive, and survived her husband, she was to have half his property. She was allowed the same privilege, if she chose, to live with her children; but if she was childless, his paternal relations were to have his possessions, and the morgen gift.[a]

The customary forms attendant upon their marriage contracts are more clearly displayed to us in the laws of Edmund; the consent of the lady and her friends was to be first obtained; the bridegroom[b] was then to give his promise, and his pledge, to the person who spoke for her, that he desired her, that he might keep her, according to the law of God, as a man ought to keep his wife. Nor was this promise trusted to his own honour or interest: the female sex were so much under the protection of the law, that the bridegroom was compelled to produce friends who gave their security for his due observance of his covenant.

The parties being thus betrothed, the next step was to settle to whom the foster lean, the money requisite for the nourishing the children, should be applied. The bridegroom was then required to pledge himself to this, and his friends became responsible for him.

This matter being arranged, he was then to signify what he meant to give her for choosing to be his wife, and what he should give her in case she survived him. I consider the first gift to be a designation of his intended morgen gift. This was the present which the Anglo-Saxon wives received from their husbands on the day after their nuptials, as it is expressed in the law. It seems to have been intended as a compliment to the ladies for honouring a suitor with their preference, and for submitting to the duties of wedlock. The law adds, that, if it be so agreed, it is right that she should halve the property, or have the whole if they had children together, unless she chose again another husband. This was an improvement on the ancient law, which, in

[a] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 7.

[b] The Saxon word is bṗẏð-ȝuma. Luma means a man, which we have perverted into groom; bṗẏð implies marriage. The Welsh for marriage is priodas; priodvab is a bridegroom; priodi, to marry; all these in composition change into an initial b. No one can suspect that such a term as this can by either nation have been derived from the other. But the Welsh has preserved the rationale of the word, which implies appropriation, or proprietorship.

the event of no issue, had directed the morgen gift to be returned.

The bridegroom was then required to confirm with his pledge all that he had promised, and his friends were to become responsible for its due performance.

These preliminaries being settled, they proceeded to the marriage. Her relations then took and wedded her to wife, and to a right life, with him who desired her; and the person appointed to keep the pledges that had been given, took the security for them. For the more complete assurance of the lady's personal safety and comfort, in those days wherein a multiplicity of jurisdictions gave often impunity to crime, the friends who took the pledges were authorized to become guarantee to her, that if her husband carried her into another thane's land, he would do her no injury; and that, if she did wrong, they would be ready to answer the compensation, if she had nothing from which she could pay it.

The law proceeds to direct, that the mass-priest should be present at the marriage, and should consecrate their union with the divine blessing to every happiness and prosperity.[c] There is an article in one of the collections of ecclesiastical canons, "How man shall bless the bridegroom and the bride."[d]

The Anglo-Saxon remains will furnish us with some illustrations of the pecuniary contracts which attended their marriages. We will give one document at length, as it may be called an Anglo-Saxon lady's marriage-settlement.

"There appears in this writing the compact which Wulfric and the archbishop made when he obtained the archbishop's sister for his wife. It is, that he promised her the land at Ealretune and Rebbedforda for her life, and promised her the land at Cnihte-wica; that he would obtain it for her for the lives of three men from the monastery at Wincelcumbe; and he gave her the land at Eanulfin-tune to give and to grant to those that were dearest to her during life, and after her life to those that were dearest to her; and he promised her fifty mances of gold, and thirty men and thirty horses. Now of this were to witness Wulfstan the archbishop, and Leofwin the ealdorman, and Æthelstan bishop, and Ælford abbot, and Briteh monk, and many good men in addition to them, both ecclesiastics and laymen, that this compact was thus made. Now of this compact there are two writings; one with the archbishop at Wigere ceaster, and another with Æthelstan, the bishop at Herford."[e]

Without deviating into an exposition of the customs of other nations as to the morgen gift,[f] we will state a few circum-

[c] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 75, 76. [d] MS. CCC. Cantab. S. xii. c. 71.

[e] This may be seen in Wanley's Catalogue, p. 302, and Hickes's Diss. Ep. 76. Wulfstan died 1023.

[f] Henry's observations on the marriage of our ancestors are very discursive, and relate rather to other nations than to the Anglo-Saxons. See his vol. iii. p. 393, &c. The reader of Henry will frequently have occasion to recollect this.

stances concerning it from our own documents. It is frequently mentioned in ladies' wills: thus Wynfleda, bequeathing some land at Faecanenmb, calls it her morgen gifu.[g] So Elfleda, in her will, says, "Rettendun that was my morgen gyfu;"[h] and Elfhelm, in his will, has this passage: "And I declare what I gave to my wife for her morgen give; that is, Beadewan, and Burge stede, and Strætford, and the three hides at Hean-healem." The same testator notices an additional present that he had made his wife on her nuptials: "And I gave to her when we two first came together, the two hides at Wilburgeham, and at Hrægenan, and that thereto lieth."[i] The morgen gift was therefore a settlement on the lady very similar to a modern jointure. It was bargained for before marriage, but was not actually vested in the wife till afterwards. Our conception of the thing will be probably simplified and assisted by recollecting the language of our modern settlements. The land or property conveyed by them is given in trust for the person who grants it "until the said marriage shall take effect; and from and immediately after the solemnization thereof," it is then granted to the uses agreed upon. So the morgen gift was settled before the nuptials, but was not actually given away until the morning afterwards, or until the marriage was completed.

Nothing could be more calculated to produce a very striking dissimilarity, between the Gothic nations and the Oriental states, than this exaltation of the female sex to that honour, consequence, and independence, which European laws studied to uphold. As the education of youth will always rest principally with women, in the most ductile part of life, it is of the greatest importance that the fair sex should possess high estimation in society; and nothing could more certainly tend to perpetuate this feeling, than the privilege of possessing property in their own right, and at their own disposal.

That the Anglo-Saxon ladies both inherited and disposed of property as they pleased, appears from many instances: a wife is mentioned who devised land by her will, with the consent of her husband in his lifetime.[j] We read also of land which a wife had sold in her husband's life.[k] We frequently find wives the parties to a sale of land;[l] and still oftener we read of estates given to women, or devised by men of affluence to their wives.[m] Widows selling property is also a common[n] occurrence; so is the incident

[g] See her will. Hickes's Pref. xxii.

[h] See Lye, Sax. Dict. voc. morgen gifc.

[i] See his will at length, from Mr. Astle's collection, in the second appendix to the Saxon Dictionary.

[j] Hist. Rame., 3 Gale, 460.

[k] Ibid. 466.

[l] Ibid. 472, 474, 475, 408.

[m] Gale, 441, 407, 408; and see the wills of Ælfred Dux, and of Elfhelm, in Sax. Dict. App. 2, and several Saxon grants.

[n] 3 Gale, 468.

of women devising it.[o] That they inherited land is also clear, for a case is mentioned wherein, there being no male heir, the estate went to a female.[p] Women appear as tenants in capite in Doomsday.

There are many instances of land being granted to both husband and wife.[q] The queens frequently join in the charters with the kings;[r] and it is once mentioned, that a widow and the heirs were sued for her husband's debts.[s] Indeed, the instances of women having property transferred to them, and also of their transmitting it to others, surround us on all sides. To name only a few: a king's mother gave five hides to a noble matron, which she gave to a monastery.[t] When a bishop had bought some lands of a husband and a wife, he fixed a day when she should come and surrender them, because she had the greater right to the land by a former husband.[u] A mother bequeathed property to two of her daughters; and to her third daughter, Leosware, she gave an estate at Weddreringesete, on the reproachful condition, that she should keep herself chaste, or marry, that she and her progeny might not be branded with the infamy of the contagion of prostitution.[v]

In the oldest Anglo-Saxon law, widows were protected by an express regulation. Four ranks are mentioned: an eorlcund's widow, another sort, a third and fourth sort. Their tranquillity invaded was to be punished by fines adapted to their quality, as fifty shillings, twenty, twelve, and six shillings.[w]

They were also guarded from personal violence. If any took a widow without her consent, he was to be fined a double mulct.[x] It was also expressly forbidden to any one to marry a woman if she was unwilling.[y]

The morgen gift was not left optional to the husband to give or withhold after the marriage. One of the laws of Ina expressly provides, that if a man bargained for a woman, and the gyft was not duly forthcoming, he should actually pay the money, and also a penalty and a compensation to her sureties for breaking his troth.[z] The morgen gift was also the means by which they punished widows who married too early. Twelve months was the legal term prescribed for widowhood. By Ethelred's law, every widow who kept herself in the peace of God and of the

[o] Ibid. 471. See the charta of Eadgifa in Sax. Dict. App. and of Wynfleda ap. Hickes.

[p] Ingulf, p. 39.

[q] As in Claud B. 6, p. 38. So Offa gives land to his minister and his sister. Astle, No. 7, ib. 8.

[r] Astle's Charters, 48; and Heming, p. 9, &c.

[s] 3 Gale, 468. [t] Ibid. 481. [u] Ibid. 472.

[v] Ibid. 507. So Alfred in his will gives estates to his three daughters, and also money.

[w] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 7. [x] Ibid. [y] Ibid. 145. [z] Ibid. 20.

king, and who remained twelve months without a husband, might choose afterwards as she pleased.[a] But by a subsequent law, if she married within the year, she lost her morgen gift, and all the property which she derived from her first husband.[b]

These pecuniary bargains which were made on the Anglo-Saxon marriages do not breathe much of the spirit of affectionate romance. The men, however, cannot be called mercenary suitors, as they appear to have been the paymasters. These contracts give occasion to the Saxon legislators to express the fact of treating for a marriage by the terms of buying a wife. Hence our oldest law says, if a man buys a maiden, the bargain shall stand if there be no deceit; otherwise, she should be restored to her home, and his money shall be returned to him.[c] So, in the penalty before mentioned annexed to the non-payment of the morgen gift, the expression used is, if a man buys a wife.[d] In this kind of marriage-bargains it was a necessary protection extended to the lover, that the same law which forbade the compelling a woman to marry the man she disliked, also, as an impartial counterpart of justice, directed that a man should not be forced to give his money, unless he was desirous to bestow it of his own free will.[e] There is another passage which tends to express, that marriage was considered as the purchase of the lady. "If a freeman cohabit with the wife of a freeman, he must pay the were, and obtain another woman with his own money, and lead her to the other."[f] In this point, we have greatly improved on the customs, or at least the language of our ancestors. Pecuniary considerations and arrangements are still important formulas preceding marriages; but ladies frequently bring their husbands property, instead of receiving it; and if they do not, their affections and attentions are his dearest treasure. They are not now either bought or sold, unless where interest counterfeits affection.

After adding that marriages were forbidden within certain degrees of consanguinity,[g] we have only the unpleasing task remaining of mentioning the penalties which were attached to violation of female chastity.

If a slave committed a rape on a female slave, he was punished with a corporal mutilation. If any one compelled an immature maiden, he was to abide the same punishment. Whoever violated a ceorl's wife, was to pay him five shillings, and be fined sixty shillings.[h]

For adultery with the wife of a twelve hundred man, the offender was to pay one hundred and twenty shillings; and one hundred shillings for the wife of a six hundred man, and forty

[a] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 109, 122. [b] Ibid. 145. [c] Ibid. 7.
[d] Ibid. 19. [e] Ibid. 145. [f] Ibid. 4.
[g] Ibid. 52, 129. [h] Ibid. 40.

shillings for a ceorl's wife. This might be paid in live property, and no man might sell another for it. For the degrees of intimacy with a ceorl's wife, which are specified, various fines were exacted.[i]

The earliest Saxon laws were attentive to this vice: in those of Ethelred fifty shillings were the appointed penalty for intimacy with the king's maiden, half that sum with his grinding servant, and twelve shillings with another, or with an earl's cup-bearer. The chastity of a ceorl's attendant was guarded by six shillings, and of inferior servants by the diminished penalty of fifty and thirty scættas.[j]

By the same laws, for a rape on a servile woman, the offender was to pay her owner fifty shillings, and then to buy her at the will of her owner. If she was pregnant, he was to pay thirty-five shillings, and fifteen shillings to the king, and twenty shillings if betrothed to another.[k]

Their high estimation and rigorous exaction of female virtue, even among the servile, is strongly implied in this passage of one of Bede's works:

> In the courts of princes there are certain men and women moving continually in more splendid vestments, and retaining a greater familiarity with their lord and lady. There it is studiously provided, that none of the women there who are in an enslaved state should remain with any stain of unchastity; but if by chance she should turn to the eyes of men with an immodest aspect, she is immediately chided with severity. There some are deputed to the interior, some to the exterior offices, all of whom carefully observe the duties committed to them, that they may claim nothing but what is so entrusted. V. viii. p. 1067.

CHAPTER IX.

Classes and Conditions of Society.

Every man in the Anglo-Saxon society beneath the cyning and his family was in one of these classes. He was either in high estimation from his birth; or he was in a state of dignity from office, or from property; or he was a freeman; or a freedman; or he was in one of the servile classes. Thus inequality was as much the character of the Anglo-Saxon society as of our own superior civilization.

The inequality of society is the source of perpetual discontent, both against government and Providence; and yet from this

[i] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 37. [j] Ibid. p. 3. [k] Ibid. p. 7.

inequality have arisen all the comforts that cause us to be displeased with it. In natural birth, in natural powers, in natural merit, in the womb and in the grave, we are all equal; but it is in nature an equality of destitution and want; of capability and desire; of the necessity of exertion; of destiny and hope. Mankind began their mortal race alike both in privation and in power. Nature extended her riches impartially before all. She favoured neither of her first-born sons. The materials of all the conveniences of life, which civilization has since acquired, were present to every eye, and attainable by every hand.

But the very freedom of mind and action with which nature has blessed mankind, and the impulse of the privations amid which we originated, soon terminated this equality of want, and began the acquisition of comforts and abundance. No man has from nature any advantages above his fellows: no one comes into life with four arms, or twenty eyes: none leap into birth armed and full-formed Minervas; but all being free to use their capabilities as they please, the exertion of this liberty produced inevitable inequality in anterior times, as in every subsequent age. It is not merely that the industrious will amass more conveniences than the idle, the provident more than the careless, the economist than the profuse; but the different tastes and feelings of men throw them into different social positions both of rank and property. The hunter and the fowler will not raise stores of corn like the husbandman, nor can he acquire the riches and commodities of the merchant. The warrior, abandoning the paths which the preceding characters prefer, cannot therefore, of himself, obtain the comforts which they value and pursue, but gains an estimation and consequence in the social talk, which gratifies him more than the ship-loads of foreign commerce, or the replenished granaries of the agriculturist. The artisan, attached to his humble but cherished tranquillity, neither feels nor envies the dangerous honours of the soldier, nor the risks and sufferings of the trading navigator. Thus mankind, obeying the tendency of their various dispositions, fill social life with inequality, and, by pursuing such diversified roads, are for ever multiplying the conveniences and enjoyments of life, though the dissimilar acquisition of these, from the exertion of individual liberty of will and action, is perpetually augmenting the inequality complained of. The truth is, that, by these various pursuits, the comforts of every class, even of the lowest, are inconceivably increased. Our common farmers now fare better than the thegns and knights of the Anglo-Saxon days; and the cottages of our day-labourers have many more conveniences, and their life fewer privations, than most of the Anglo-Saxon classes of society enjoyed below the baron, the thegn, and the knight, and some even which the latter of these had not: to instance only one circumstance—the

comforts of a chimney and its cleanliness. Most of our early ancestors lived at home amid smoke and dirt, with one of which, at least, life would, to the poorest among us, seem intolerable; yet Alcuin, the Anglo-Saxon abbot who was reproached for having ten thousand slaves or vassal peasantry at his command, lived in a habitation sordid with smoke, and affecting his eyes, which he refused to quit for the gilded arched roofs of Italy,[a] the remains of Roman luxury, to which the emperor invited him.

It is the glory of civilized life, for the more successful possessor of its advantages to diffuse them, from his own stores, as far as he is able, wherever he observes them to be painfully deficient.

There was certainly among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors a personal distinction arising from birth. Individuals are described in these times as noble by descent.[b] The expression ethelboren, or noble born, occurs several times, even in the laws.[c] A very forcible passage on this subject appears in the life of St. Guthlac: "There was a noble (ethela) man in the high nation of the Mercians; he was of the oldest race, and the noblest (æthelstan) that was named Iclingas."[d] The sense of this cannot be mistaken: a family is expressly distinguished from the rest by an appropriated name "Iclingas." We may recollect here that Iornandes says of the Goths, that they had a noble race called the Balthæ, from whence Alaric sprung.[e] In the canons of Edgar another decisive passage attests, that superiority of birth was felt to convey superior consequence; for it was found necessary to require, "that no forth-boren priest despise one that is less born, because, if men think rightly, all men are of one origin."[f] No peculiar titles, as with us, seem to have distinguished the nobly born; they were rather marked out to their fellows by that name of the family which had become illustrious, as the Fabii and Cornelii of the Romans. Their title was formed by the addition of *ing* to the name of the ancestor whose fame produced their glory. Thus from Uffa his posterity was called Uffingas.[g] So Beowulf, the hero of an Anglo-Saxon poem, was one of the Scyldingas.

> Beowulf was illustrious;
> The fruit wide sprang
> Of the posterity of the Scylde.

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[a] He writes to the emperor, who had urged him to visit Rome: "You blame me for preferring the houses of Tours, sordid with smoke, to the gilded arches of the Romans; I would say, with your leave, that iron (swords) hurts the eyes more than smoke. Contented with the smoky houses, I remain here in peace." Ep. xiii. p. 1507.

[b] 3 Gale Script. 395, 417, 418.

[c] MS. Vesp. D. 14, p. 36, 120, and Wilk. Leg. Sax. 37.

[d] MS. Vesp. D. 21, p. 19.

[e] See vol. i. of this work.

[f] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 83.

[g] Polych. Higd. 3 Gale, p. 224.

Then was in the burghs
Beowulf, the Scyldinga,
The dear king of his people.

With them the Scyld
Departed to the ship,
While many were prone to go
In the path of their lord.
They him then bore
To the journey of the ocean
As his companions,
He himself commanded;
Whence with words they governed
The Scyldinga of battle.[h]

The birth that was thought illustrious conferred personal honour, but no political rank or power. No title was attached to it which descended by heirship and gave a perpetuity of political privileges. That was a later improvement. In theoretical reasoning, and in the eye of religion, the distinction of birth seems to be an unjust prejudice; we have all, as our Great Alfred and Boetius sang, one common ancestor, and the same Creator, Protector, and Judge; but the morality and merit of society is the product of very complicated and diversified motives, and is never so superabundant as to suffer uninjured the loss of any one of its incentives and supporters. The fame of an applauded ancestor has stimulated many to perform noble actions, or to preserve an honourable character, and will continue so to operate while human nature exists. It creates a sentiment of honour, a dread of disgrace, a useful pride of name, which, though not universally efficient, will frequently check the vicious propensities of passion or selfishness, when reason or religion has exhorted in vain. The distinction of birth may be therefore added to the exaltation of the female sex, as another of those peculiarities which have tended to extract from the barbarism of the Gothic nations a far nobler character than any that the rich climates of the East could rear.

That there was a nobility from landed property, distinct from that of birth, attainable by every one, and possessing (what noble birth had not of itself) political rank and immunities, is clear, from several passages. It is mentioned in the laws, as an incentive to proper actions, that through God's gift a servile thræl may become a thane, and a ceorl an eorl, just as a singer may become a priest, and a boccre (a writer) a bishop.[i] In the time of Ethelstan it is expressly declared, that if a ceorl have the full proprietorship of five hides of his own land, a church, and kitchen, a bell-house, a burghate-seat, and an appropriate office in the king's

[h] MS. Cott. Lib. Vit. A. 15, p. 129, 130.

[i] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 112.

hall, he shall thenceforth be a thegn, or thane, by right.[j] The same laws provide that a thegn may arrive at the dignity of an eorl, and that a massere, or merchant, who went three times over sea with his own craft, might become a thegn.[k] But the most curious passage on this subject is that which attests, that without the possession of a certain quantity of landed property, the dignity of sitting in the witena-gemot could not be enjoyed, not even though the person was noble already. An abbot of Ely had a brother who was courting the daughter of a great man; but the lady refused him, because, although noble, he had not the lordship of forty hides, and therefore could not be numbered among the proceres or witena. To enable him to gratify his love and her ambition, the abbot conveyed to him certain lands belonging to his monastery. The nuptials took place, and the fraud was for some time undiscovered.[l]

The principle of distinguishing men by their property is also established in the laws. Thus we read of twyhyndum, of syxhyndum, and of twelfhyndum men.[m] A twyhynde man was level in his were with a ceorl,[n] and a twelfhynde with a thegn;[o] and yet Canute calls both these classes his thegns.[p] But though property might confer distinction, yet it was the possession of landed property which raised a man to those titles which might be called ennobling. Hence it is mentioned, that though a ceorl should attain to a helmet, mail, and a gold-hilted sword, yet if he had no land he must still remain a ceorl.[q]

The species of nobility which was gained by official dignities appears to have appertained to the ealdorman, the eorl, the heretoch, and the thegn, when he was a king's thegn. A certain portion of rank was also conceded to the gerefa and the scir-reve. There was a still inferior degree of consequence derived from being ealdor of a hundred, and such like minor offices, which the laws sometimes recognise.[r]

The dignity from office conferred some beneficial distinction on the family of the person possessing it; for the laws speak of an eorlcunde widow, and defend her by exacting compensations, for wrongs committed against her, much superior to those of other women.[s]

Official dignities were conferred by the king, and were liable to be taken away by him on illegal conduct. This is the language with which, according to Asser, Alfred addressed his great

[j] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 170.
[k] Ibid.
[l] Hist. Eliens. 3 Gale, Scrip. 513.
[m] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 25, 33.
[n] Ibid. 64, and 3 Gale, 423.
[o] Leg. Sax. 16.
[p] "I Cnut, king, greet Lyfing, archbishop; and Æthelwine, *shire-man*, and all my thegns, twelf-hynde and twi-hinde friendlily." Wanley, Cott. MSS. p. 181.
[q] Leg. Sax. 71.
[r] As in the ealdor of the hundred. Leg. Sax. 81.
[s] Leg. Sax. 7.

men: "I wonder at your audacity, that by the gift of God, and by my gift, you have assumed the ministry and the degree of the wise men, and yet have neglected the study and labour of wisdom. Therefore I command, either that you lay aside the ministry of earthly power which you enjoy, or that you study wisdom more attentively."[t] In the laws we find an ealdorman threatened with the loss of his shire, unless the king pardon him, for conniving at the escape of a thief.[u] So a thegn is threatened with the perpetual loss of his thegnship for an unjust judgment, unless he prove by oath that he knew not how to give a better decision. But the king in this case also had the option of restoring him.[v] In the same manner the gerefas are menaced with the deprivation of their post of honour, on committing the offences described in the law.[w] The exact nature and duties of these dignified officers will be considered more minutely under the head of government.[x]

The rest of the Anglo-Saxon society consisted of three descriptions of men: the free, the freed, and the servile.

In talking of the Anglo-Saxon freemen, we must not let our minds expatiate on an ideal character which eloquence and hope have invested with charms almost magical. No utopian state, no paradise of such a pure republic as reason can conceive, but as human nature can neither establish nor support, is about to shine around us when we describe the Anglo-Saxon freeman. A freeman among our ancestors was not that dignified independent being, "lord of the lion heart and eagle eye," which our poets fancy under this appellation; he was rather an Anglo-Saxon not in the servile state; not property attached to the land as the slaves were; he was freed from the oppression of arbitrary bondage; he was often a servant, and had a master, but he had the liberty to quit the service of one lord and choose another.

That the Anglo-Saxon freemen were frequently servants, and had their masters, may be proved by a variety of passages in our ancient remains: "If any give flesh to his servants on fast-days, whether they be free or servile, he must compensate for the pillory."[y] So, in the laws of Ina, "If a freeman work on a Sunday

[t] Asser, Vit. Ælf. 71.
[u] Leges Inæ, p. 20.
[v] Leges Edgari, p. 78, et Cnuti, p. 135.
[w] Leg. Sax. 69.
[x] A curious privilege allowed to the great may be here noticed. This was, that his friends might do penance for him. The laws of Edgar state that "a mighty man, if rich in friends, may thus with their aid lighten his penance." He was first to make his confession, and begin his penance with much groaning. "Let him then lay aside his arms and his idle apparel, and put on hair-cloth, and take a staff in his hand, and go barefoot, and not enter a bed, but lie in his court-yard." If this penance was imposed for seven years, he might take to his aid twelve men, and fast three days on bread, green herbs, and water. He might then get seven times one hundred and twenty men, whomsoever he could, who should all fast three days, and thus make up as many days of penance as there are days in seven years, p. 97. Thus a penance of seven years might be got through in a week.
[y] Leg. Wihtrædi, 11.

without his lord's orders, he shall lose his liberty, or pay sixty shillings."[z] That freemen were in laborious and subordinate conditions, is also strongly implied by a law of Alfred, which says, "These days are forgiven to all freemen, excepting servants and working slaves." The days were, twelve days at Christmas, Passion week, and Easter week, and a few others.[a] An Anglo-Saxon, in a charter, says, with all my men, both servile and freemen.[b]

Their state of freedom had great benefits and some inconveniences; a slave being the property of another, his master was responsible for his delinquencies; but a freeman, not having a lord to pay for him, was obliged to be under perpetual bail or sureties, who engaged to produce him whenever he should be accused.[c] Being of more personal consideration in society, his mulcts were proportionably greater. If he stole from the king, he was obliged to pay a ninefold compensation;[d] if a freeman stole from a freeman, he was to compensate threefold, and all his goods and the penalty were to go to the king.[e] The principle of greater compensation from the free than the servile pervades our ancient laws.

But the benefits of freedom are at all times incalculable, and have been happily progressive. If they had been no more than the power of changing their master at their own pleasure, as our present domestic servants do, even this was a most valuable privilege; and this they exercised. We have an instance of a certain huntsman mentioned, who left the lordship of his master and his land, and chose himself another lord.[f]

They had many other advantages; their persons were frequently respected in their punishments: thus a theow who broke an appointed fast might be whipped, but a freeman was to pay a mulct.[g] It was no small benefit that the king was their legal lord and patron: "If any kill a freeman, the king shall receive fifty shillings for lordship."[h] Upon the same principle, if a freeman were taken with a theft in his hand, the king had a choice of the punishment to be inflicted on him; he might kill him, he might sell him over sea, or receive his were.[i] That they were valued and protected by our ancient legislation, is evident from the provision made for their personal liberty: whoever put a freeman into bonds, was to forfeit twenty shillings.[j]

This happy state of freedom might, however, be lost: the degradation from liberty to slavery was one of the punishments attached to the free. We have mentioned already, that one

[z] Leg. Inæ, 15. [a] Leg. Ælf. 44. [b] Thorpe, Reg. Roff. 357.
[c] Leg. Ethelr. 102. [d] Leg. Ethelb. 2. [e] Ibid.
[f] MS. Charters of the late Mr. Astle, 28.
[g] Leg. Sax. p. 53. [h] Ibid. p. 2.
[i] Ibid. p. 12. [j] Ibid. p. 3.

offence which incurred it was violating the Sabbath. A freeman reduced to slavery by the penalties of law was called a wite theow,[k] a penal slave. Under this denomination he occurs in the laws, and is frequently mentioned in wills. Thus Wynfleda, directing the emancipation of some slaves, extends the same benevolence to her wite theow, if there be any.[l] So an archbishop directs all such to be freed who in his time had been mulcted of their liberty.[m] A freeman so reduced to slavery became again subject to corporal punishment; for it was ordered, that one who had stolen while free, might receive stripes from his prosecutor. It was also ordered, that if, while a wite theow, he stole, he was to be hanged.[n]

It is well known that a large proportion of the Anglo-Saxon population was in a state of slavery. This unfortunate class of men, who were called theow, thræl, men, and esne, are frequently mentioned in our ancient laws and charters, and are exhibited in the servile condition of being another's property, without any political existence or social consideration.

They were bought and sold with land, and were conveyed in the grants of it promiscuously with the cattle and other property upon it. Thus, in an enumeration of property on an estate, it is said there were a hundred sheep, fifty-five swine, two men, and five yoked oxen.[o] At another time we find some land given up without injury to any thing belonging to it, whether men, cattle, or food.[p] So one bought land for thirty pounds, and gave seven pounds more for all the things on it, as men, stock, and corn.[q]

In the Anglo-Saxon wills these wretched beings are given away precisely as we now dispose of our plate, our furniture, or our money. An archbishop bequeaths some land to an abbey, with ten oxen and two men.[r] Ælfhelm bequeaths his chief mansion at Gyrstingthorpe, with all the property that stood thereon, both provisions and men.[s] Wynfleda, in her will, gives to her daughter the land at Ebbelesburn, and those men, the property, and all that thereon be; afterwards she gives "to Eadmær as much property and as many men as to him had been bequeathed before at Hafene."[t] In another part of her will she says, "Of those theowan men at Cinnuc, she bequeaths to Eadwold, Ceolstan the son of Elstan, and the son of Effa, and Burwhyn Mærtin; and she bequeaths to Eadgyfu, Ælfsige the cook, and Tefl the

[k] Ibid. p. 22. Hence the will of archbishop Elfric says, "If any one according to the custom of England shall have incurred the penalty of any slavery," he ordered him to be freed. Cott. MSS. Claud. c. ix. p. 126.

[l] Hickes, Pref. Gram.

[m] MS. Claud. c. ix. p. 125.

[n] Leg. Sax. 22, and p. 18.

[o] 3 Gale, Script. 481.

[p] Heming. Chartul. p. 166.

[q] 3 Gale, 478; and see the letter of Lullius, Bib. Mag. Pat. vol. xvi. p. 92.

[r] MS. Cott. c. ix. p. 125; and see 1 Dug. M. 306.

[s] Test. Elfhelmi. App. Sax. Dict.

[t] Test. Wynfl. Hickes, Pref.

daughter of Wareburga, and Herestan and his wife, and Ecelm and his wife and their child, and Cynestan, and Wynsige, and the son of Bryhtric, and Edwyn, and the son of Bunel, and the daughter of Ælfwer." Wulfgar in his will says, "I give to Ælfere abbot the lands at Ferscesford, with the provisions, and with the men, and with all the produce as it is cultivated." This will contains several bequests of this sort.[u]

Their servile state was attended with all the horrors of slavery, descending on the posterity of the subjected individuals. A duke in Mercia added to a donation "six men, who formerly belonged to the royal villa in Berhtanwellan, with all their offspring and their family, that they may always belong to the land of the aforesaid church in perpetual inheritance." To this gift is added the names of the slaves. "These are the names of those men that are in this writing, with their offspring and their family that come from them in perpetual heritage: Alhmund, Tidulf, Tidheh, Lull, Lull, Eadwulf."[v] That whole families were in a state of slavery appears most satisfactorily from the instruments of manumission which remain to us. In them we find a man, his wife, and their offspring, frequently redeemed together; and in Wynfleda's will, the wives and daughters of some slaves she names are directed to be emancipated. Ethelstan, after stating that he freed Eadelm, because he had become king, adds, "and I give to the children the same benefit as I give to the father."

Some of the prices of slaves appear in the written contracts of their purchase which have survived.

"Here is declared in this book, that Ediwic, the widow of Sæwgels, bought Gladu at Colewin for half a pound, for the price and the toll: and Ælword, the port gerefa, took the toll; and thereto was witness Leowin, brother of Leoword, and Ælwi blaca, and Ælwin the king, and Landbiriht, and Alca, and Sæwerd; and may he have God's curse for ever that this ever undoes. Amen."

So Egelsig bought Wynric of an abbot for an yre of gold; another was bought for three mancusæ.[w] The tolls mentioned in some of the contracts for slaves may be illustrated out of Doomsday-book. In the burgh of Lewis it says, that at every purchase and sale, money was paid to the gerefa: for an ox, a farthing was collected; for a man, four pennies.

That the Anglo-Saxons were sold at Rome we learn from the

[u] Test. Wulf. Hickes, Diss. Ep. 54.

[v] Hemina. Chart. Wig. p. 61, 62; and for the next paragraphs see Hickes, Diss. Ep. p. 12, and his preface; and Wanley's Catalogue, p. 181.

[w] Hickes, Diss. p. 12; and App. Sax. Dict. In the act of purchase, by which Hunnifloh bought Wulfgytha, it is added, "and the brown beadle took the toll." Cott. MSS. Tib. B. 5. As specimens of prices we may add, that Sydcfleda was sold for five shillings and some pence; Sæthrytha for three mancusæ; Alfgytha and Gunnilda, each for half of a pound. MSS. C. C. C. Cant. Wanley, Cat. p. 116.

well known anecdote mentioned by Bede, of Pope Gregory seeing them in the markets there. We also read of one being sold in London to a Frisian;[x] and of a person in France relieving many from slavery, especially Saxons, probably continental Saxons, who then abounded in that country.[y] It was expressly enjoined in one of the later laws, that no Christians, or innocent man should be sold from the land.[z] They appear to have been very numerous. It is mentioned that there were two hundred and fifty slaves, men and women, in the lands given by the king to Wilfrid.[a] But to have a just idea of their number, we must inspect their enumeration in Doomsday-book. No portion of land scarcely is there mentioned without some.

When we consider the condition of the servile, as it appears in the Saxon laws, we shall find it to have been very degraded indeed. They were allowed to be put into bonds, and to be whipped.[b] They might be branded;[c] and on one occasion they are spoken of as if actually yoked; "Let every man know his teams of men, of horses, and oxen."[d]

They were allowed to accumulate some property of their own. We infer this from the laws having subjected them to pecuniary punishments, and from their frequently purchasing their own freedom. If an esne did theow-work against his lord's command, on Sunday evening after sunset, and before the moon set, he was to pay eighty shillings to his lord.[e] If a theow gave offerings to idols, or eat flesh willingly on a fast day, he was mulcted six shillings, or had to suffer in his hide.[f] If an esne killed another esne, who was in no act of offence, he forfeited all he was worth; but if he killed a freeman, his geld was to be one hundred shillings; he was to be given up by his owner, who was to add the price of another man."[g]

[x] Bede, 166. [y] Bouquet's Recueil des Historiens, tom. iii. p. 553.

[z] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 107. "Some young men were exported from Northumberland to be sold, according to a custom which seems to be natural to the people of that country, of selling their nearest relations for their own advantage."—Malmsb. lib. i. c. 3. "There is a sea-port town, called Bristol, opposite to Ireland, into which its inhabitants make frequent voyages on account of trade. Wulfstan cured the people of this town of a most odious and inveterate custom, which they derived from their ancestors, of buying men and women in all parts of England, and exporting them to Ireland for the sake of gain. The young women they commonly got with child, and carried them to market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price. You might have seen, with sorrow, long ranks of young persons of both sexes, and of the greatest beauty, tied together with ropes, and daily exposed to sale: nor were these men ashamed, O horrid wickedness! to give up their nearest relations, nay, their own children, to slavery. Wulfstan, knowing the obstinacy of these people, sometimes stayed two months among them, preaching every Lord's day; by which, in process of time, he had made so great an impression upon their minds, that they abandoned that wicked trade, and set an example to all the rest of England to do the same." Henry's Hist. vol. iv. p. 238.

[a] Bede, iv. c. 13. [b] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 15, 22, 52, 53, 59.

[c] Ibid. p. 103, 139. [d] Ibid. p. 47. [e] Ibid. p. 11.

[f] Ibid. p. 11. [g] Ibid. p. 8.

A father if very poor, was allowed to give his son up to slavery for seven years, if the child consented to it.[h]

If the mass of the Anglo-Saxon population had continued in this servile state, the progress of the nation in the improvements of society would have been very small. But a better destiny awaited them: the custom of manumission began; and the diffusion of Christianity, by mildly attempering the feelings of the individual, and by compelling him to cultivate acts of benevolence as a religious duty, increased the prevalence of the practice.

We have many instances of the emancipation of slaves. A landholder, in Edgar's time, who had thirty men on his grounds, directed that out of these thirteen should be liberated as lot should decide; so that, placed in the highway, they might go wherever they pleased.[i] It seems to have been an exercise of philanthropy. not uncommon in wills, to give freedom to some of this pitiable class of human kind. Wynfleda displays the compassionate feelings of her sex very strikingly, by directing the emancipation of several of her slaves:

"Let Wulfware be freed, and follow whomsoever he likes best; and let Wulflæde be freed, on the condition that she follow Æthelfleda and Eadgifa (her daughters); and let Gerburg be freed, and Miscin, and the daughter of Burhulf at Cinnuc; and Ælfsige, and his wife, and his eldest daughter, and Ceolstane's wife; and at Ceorlatune let Pifus be freed, and Edwin, and ———'s wife; and at Saccuncumbe let Ædelm be freed, and man, and Johannan, and Spror and his wife, and Enefette, and Gersand, and Snel; and at Colleshylle let Æthelgythe be freed, and Bicca's wife, and Æffa, and Beda, and Gurhan's wife, and let Bryhsig's wife, the sister of Wulfar, be freed; and ———, the workman, and Wulfgythe the daughter of Ælfswythe."[j]

We have many instruments of manumission extant, from which we learn some of the causes which produced it.

Sometimes individuals, from their benevolence, gave them their freedom. Thus Halwun Noce, of Exeter, freed Hagel, his family woman;[k] and so Lifgith and his two children were declared free.[l] Sometimes the charitable kindness of others redeemed them:

"Here appeareth in this Christ's book, that Siwine the son of Leofwie, at Lincumb, hath bought Sydelflæda out with five shillings and * * * * * * pennies, to perpetual freedom, of John the bishop and all the family at Bath; and hereto witness is Godric Ladda, and Sæwold, and his two sons, Scirewold and Brihtwold."[m]

So Æilgyfu the Good redeemed Hig and Dunna, and their offspring, for thirteen mancson.[n] We will give another specimen of these benevolent actions:

"Here it is stated in this writing, that Aluric, the canon of Exeter, redeemed Reinold and his children, and all their offspring, of Herberdi, for two

[h] 1 Wilk. Conc. 130.
[i] 3 Gale, Script. 407.
[j] Hickes, Præf. xxii.
[k] Hickes, Diss. Ep. 12.
[l] Sax. Dict. App.
[m] Ibid.
[n] Hickes, Diss. Ep. 12.

shillings; and Aluric called them free and sac-less, in town and from town, for God's love; and the witness to this is," &c.[o]

Sometimes piety procured a manumission. Thus two Irishmen were freed for the sake of an abbot's soul.[p] But the most interesting kind of emancipation appears in those writings which announce to us that the slaves had purchased their own liberty, or that of their family. Thus Edric bought the perpetual freedom of Sægyfa, his daughter, and all her offspring. So, for one pound, Elfwig the Red purchased his own liberty; and Sæwi Hagg bought out his two sons.[q] Godwin the Pale is also notified to have liberated himself, his wife, and children, for fifteen shillings. Brightmær bought the perpetual freedom of himself, his wife Ælgyfu, their children and grandchildren, for two pounds. Leofenoth redeemed himself and his offspring for five oran and twelve sheep; and Ægelsig bought his son's liberty for sixty pennies.[r]

The Anglo-Saxon laws recognised the liberation of slaves, and placed them under legal protection. In one of them it is declared, that if any of them freed his slave at the altar, the theow should become folk-free, or free among the people; but his former owner was to possess his property, his weregeld, and his mund.[s] It was enjoined by the synod, held in 816, that at the death of a bishop, his English slaves, who had been reduced to slavery in his lifetime, should be freed.[t]

The liberal feelings of our ancestors towards their enslaved domestics appear in the generous gifts which they made to them. The grants of land from masters to their servants are very common.

Our wise and benevolent Alfred directed one of his laws to lessen the number of the enslaved. He could not emancipate those who were then in servitude, nor their future families, without a violent convulsion of the rights of property which then subsisted; and the general resistance would have made the romantic attempt not only ineffectual, but pernicious, both to those he wished to benefit and to society at large. But what he could do safely he performed. He procured it to be enacted, by the witena-gemot, that if any one should in future buy a Christian slave, the time of his servitude should be limited to six years; and that on the seventh he should be free, without any payment, and depart with the wife and the clothes he had at first. But if the lord had given him the wife, both she and her children were to remain. If he chose to continue a slave, he might determine to do so.[u] This law struck a decisive blow at slavery in England; it checked their future multiplication; it discouraged their sale

[o] Wanley, Catal. 152.
[p] Sax. Dict. App.
[q] See all these emancipations in the Appendix to the Saxon Dictionary.
[r] Hickes, Diss. Ep. xiii. 9, 10.
[s] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 11.
[t] Spel. Conc. 330.
[u] Wilk. Leg. 29.

and purchase; it established a system of legal emancipation; and gave the masters a deep interest in the kind treatment of the slaves then belonging to them, in order to preserve the race. From this provision every year added something to the numbers of the free.

The servile class was more numerous in England than the free. This is the usual case in all countries where slavery prevails: the laborious class always outnumbers the proprietary body.

CHAPTER X.

Their Gilds, or Clubs.

The gilds, or social confederations, in which many of the Anglo-Saxons chose to arrange themselves, deserve our peculiar attention; we will describe them as they appear to us from some MSS. of their instruments of association which are yet in being. They are remarkable for the social and combining spirit which they display.

One of these is a gild-scipe, composed of eighteen members, at Exeter, whose names are mentioned in it, and to which the bishop and canons are stated to have acceded. It recites, that they have undertaken the association in mutual fraternity: the objects of their union appear to have been, that every hearth, or family, should, at Easter in every year, pay one penny; and on the death of every member of the gild one penny, whether man or woman, for the soul's scot. The canons were to have this soul's scot, and to perform the necessary rites.[a] This gild-scipe somewhat resembles one of our benefit societies, in which the members make small stated payments, and are buried at the expense of the fund so raised.

Another gild-scipe at Exeter purports to have been made for God's love, and their soul's need, and to have agreed that their meetings should be thrice a year; viz. at Michaelmas, at Mary's Mass, over Midwinter, and at the holy days after Easter. Every member was to bring a certain portion of malt, and every cniht was to add a less quantity and some honey. The mass-priest was to sing a mass for their living friends, and another for their dead friends, and every brother two psalms. At the death of every member, six psalms were to be chanted; and every man at the ꝛuþ-ꝛoꝑe was to pay five pennies, and at a house-burning one penny. If any man neglected the appointed days, he was to be

[a] Our illustrious Hickes has printed this gild-scipe agreement, with others, in his Dissert. Ep. p. 18.

fined the first time in three masses, the second in five, and the third time no man was to share with him, unless sickness or the compulsion of the lord occasioned his absence. If any one neglected his payments at the appointed time, he was to pay double; and if any member misgreeted another, he was to forfeit thirty pence. It concludes thus:—"We pray for the love of God that every man hold this meeting rightly, so as we have rightly agreed it should be. May God assist us in this."[b]

There is an instrument made on the establishment of a gild of thegns at Cambridge. By this every member was to take an oath of true identity to each other, and the gild was always to assist him who had the most just claim. If any of the gild died, all the gild-scipe was to carry him wherever he desired; and if any neglected to attend on this occasion, he was fined a syster of honey; and the gild-scipe was to furnish half of the provisions at the interment, and every one was to pay two-pence for alms, and what was suitable was to be taken to St. Etheldrytha. If any of the gild should need the assistance of his companions, and it was mentioned to the gerefa nearest the gild, then if the gerefa neglected him, unless the gild itself was near, he was to pay one pound. If the lord neglected it, he was to forfeit the same sum, unless his superior claims compelled him to the inattention, or sickness prevented. If any killed one of a gild, eight pounds were to be the compensation; and if the homicide did not pay it, all the gildship were to avenge their member, and to support the consequences: if one did it, all were to bear alike. If any of the gild killed any other person, and was in distress, and had to pay for the wrong, and the slain were a twelfhinde person, every one of the gild must help with half a mark. If the slain be a ceorl, let each pay two ora, or one ora if a Welshman. If the gildman kills any one wilfully or foolishly, he must bear himself what he should do; and if he should kill any of the gild by his own folly, he and his relations must abide the consequence, and pay eight pounds for the gild, or else lose its society and friendship. If any of the gild eat or drink with the homicide, unless before the king, or the lord bishop, or the ealdorman, he must pay a pound, unless, with two persons sitting, he can prove that he did not know it. If any of the gild misgreet another, let him pay a syster of honey, unless with two friends he can clear himself. If a cniht draw a weapon, let him pay his lord a pound, and let the lord have it where he may; and all the gild-scipe shall help him to get it. If the cniht wound another, let the lord avenge it. If the cniht sits within the path, let him pay a syster of honey; and if he has a foot-seat, let him do the same. If any of the gild die, or fall sick, out of the district, let the gild fetch him, and bring

[b] Hickes, Dissert. Epist. p. 21, 22.

him as he wished, either dead or alive, under the penalty before mentioned. If he die at home, and the gild seek not the body, nor his morgen spæce, let a syster of honey be forfeited.[c]

These gilds are sometimes alluded to in the laws. If a man without paternal relations should fight and kill another, then his maternal kinsmen were ordered to pay one-third of the were, his gild a third, and for the other part his gild was to escape.[d] In London there appear to have been free gilds: "This is the council that the bishops and gerefas that belong to London borough have pronounced, and with pledges confirmed in our free gilds."[e] In a charter concerning Canterbury, the three companies of the citizens within the walls, and those without, are mentioned.[f] Domesday-book likewise notices a gild of the clergy in the same city.[g] They seem, on the whole, to have been friendly associations made for mutual aid and contribution, to meet the pecuniary exigencies which were perpetually arising from burials, legal exactions, penal mulcts, and other payments or compensations. That much good fellowship was connected with them can be doubted by no one. The fines of their own imposition imply that the materials of conviviality were not forgotten. These associations may be called the Anglo-Saxon clubs.

That in mercantile towns and sea-ports there were also gilds, or fraternities of men constituted for the purpose of carrying on more successful enterprises in commerce, even in the Anglo-Saxon times, appears to be a fact. Domesday-book mentions the gihalla, or guildhall, of the burghers of Dover.[h]

CHAPTER XI.

Their Trades, Mechanical Arts, and Foreign Commerce.

Two things become essential to the peace and comfort of all social unions of mankind;—one, that each should have the means of acquiring the property he needs for his subsistence and welfare; and the other, that he should be accustomed to some employments or amusements, in which his activity and time may be consumed without detriment to others or weariness to himself.

[c] Hickes, Dissert. Epist. p. 20.
[d] Wilkins, Leg. Sax. p. 41; and see the laws, p. 18.
[e] Wilkins, Leg. Sax. p. 65.
[f] MS. Chart. penes the late Mr. Astle "ꝛha ꝛhꞃeo ꝫeꝼeꞃꞅiꞃaꞅ inne buꞃhꝑaꞃa anꝺ uꝛan buꞃhꝑaꞃa." No. 28.
[g] "32 inauguras quas tenent clerici de villa in gildam suam." Domesday, f. 3.
[h] "In quibus erat gihalla burgensium." Domesday, f. 1.

In our age of the world, so many trades, arts, professions, and objects, and channels of occupation exist, that, in the ordinary course of life, every member of our population may obtain, without a crime, if he seek with moderate assiduity, the supplies that are necessary both to his wants and his pleasures. It was not so in the Anglo-Saxon times. The trades and arts were few, and foreign commerce was inconsiderable. Invention had not found out conveniences of life sufficient to employ many mechanics or manufacturers, or to give much diversity of employment. The land and its produce were in the hands of a few, and it was difficult for the rest to get any property by honourable or peaceful means. Our Alfred intimates this, for he says, "Now thou canst not obtain money unless thou steal it, or plunder it, or discover some hidden treasure; and thus when you acquire it to yourself you lessen it to others."[a] Violence and rapine were the usual means of acquiring property among that part of the better classes who happened to be unprovided with it. Hence the exhortations of the clergy, and the laws are so full of denunciations against these popular depredators. It is declared to be the duty of an earl to hate thieves and public robbers: to destroy plunderers and spoilers, unless they would amend and abstain from such unrighteous actions.[b] Tradesmen and merchants are often spoken of as poor and humble men. The great sources of property were from land and war, and from the liberality of the great. It was by slow degrees that trades multiplied, and the productions of the arts and manufactures increased so as to furnish subsistence and wealth to those who wished to be peaceable and domestic.

In the present state, and under the fortunate constitution of the British islands, our tradesmen and manufacturers are an order of men who contribute essentially to uphold our national rank and character, and form a class of actual personal distinction superior to what the same order has in any age or country possessed, except in the middle ages of Italy. They are not only the fountains of that commerce which rewards us with the wealth of the world, but they are perpetually supplying the other classes and professions of society with new means of improvement and comfort; and with those new accessions of persons and property, which keep the great machine of our political greatness in constant strength and activity.

Some proportion of these advantages, gradually increasing, has been reaped by England, from the trading part of its community, in every stage of its commercial progression. But the farther we go back into antiquity, the pursuit was less reputable,

[a] Alf. Boet. p. 69. [b] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 149.

and the benefits more rare. This class of society in the remote ages was neither numerous, opulent, nor civilized. Our earlier ancestors had neither learnt the utility of dividing labour, nor acquired the faculty of varying its productions. They had neither invention, taste, enterprise, respectability, influence, or wealth. The tradesmen of the Anglo-Saxons were, for the most part, men in a servile state. The clergy, the rich, and the great, had domestic servants, who were qualified to supply them with those articles of trade and manufacture which were in common use. Hence, in monasteries, we find smiths, carpenters, millers, illuminators, architects, agriculturists, fishermen. Thus a monk is described as well skilled in smith-craft.[c] Thus Wynfleda, in her will, mentions the servants she employed in weaving and sewing; and there are many grants of land remaining, in which men of landed property rewarded their servants who excelled in different trades. In one grant, the brother of Godwin gives to a monastery a manor, with appendages; that is, his overseer and all his chattels, his smith, carpenter, fisherman, miller; all these servants, and all their goods and chattels.[d]

The habits of life were too uniform; its luxuries too few; its property too small; its wants too numerous; and the spirit of the great mass too servile and dull, to have that collection of ingenious, active, respected, and inventive men, who make and circulate our internal and external commerce, with eager, but not illiberal competition; or to have those accomplished artificers and manufacturers, whose taste in execution equals that of the most elegant fancy in its inventions. Neither the workmen nor their customers, however elevated in society, had those faculties of taste and imagination which now accompany the fabrication of every luxury, and almost of every comfort with which mechanical labour surrounds us. Utility, glaring gaudiness, and material value were the chief criterions of the general estimation. The delicacy and ingenuity of the workmanship were not yet allowed to be able to surpass the substantial worth. No commendation called them into existence; none sought to acquire them; none seemed to anticipate the possibility of their attainment. Hence all were satisfied with the coarse and clumsy, if it had that show which strikes an undiscriminating eye, that sterling value which announced the wealth of its possessor, and that serviceableness for which alone he required it. The Anglo-Saxon artificers and manufacturers were therefore for some time no more than what real necessity put in action. The productions were few, inartificial, and unvaried. They lived and died poor, unhonoured, and unimproved. But by degrees, the manumission of slaves increased the numbers of the independent part of the

[c] Bede, v. c. 14, and p. 634.

[d] 1 Dug. Mon. 306.

lower orders. Some of the emancipated became agricultural labourers, and took land of the clergy and the great, paying them an annual gafol, or rent; but many went to the burgs and towns, and as the king was the lord of the free, they resided in these under his protection, and became free burghers or burgesses. In these burgs and towns they appear to have occupied houses, paying him rent, or other occasional compensations, and sometimes performing services for him. Thus, in Canterbury, Edward had fifty-one burghers paying him gafol, or rent, and over two hundred and twelve others he had the legal jurisdiction.[e] In Bath, the king had sixty-four burghers, who yielded four pounds.[f] In Exeter, the king had two hundred and eighty-five houses, paying eighteen pounds a year.[g] In some other places we find such compensations as these mentioned: "Twelve sheep and lambs, and one bloom of iron, from every freeman."[h] These individuals and all such were so many men released from the tyranny of the great. For toll, gafol, and all customs, Oxford paid the king twenty pounds a year, and six sextaria of honey.[i] At Dover, when the king's messenger arrived, the burghers had to pay three-pence for transporting his horse in winter, and two-pence in summer. They also provided a steersman and helper.[j]

In the burgs, some of the inhabitants were still under other lords. Thus in Romenel twenty-five burghers belonged to the archbishop. In Bath, after the king's burghers are mentioned, it is said that ninety burghers of other men yielded sixty shillings. In the same place, the church of Saint Peter had thirty-four burghers, who paid twenty shillings.[k] At Romenel, besides those who were under the archbishop, one Robert is stated to have had fifty burghers, of whom the king had every service; but they were freed, on account of their service at sea, from every custom except robbery, breach of the peace, and forestel.[l]

In these places, the services and charges were sometimes most rigorously exacted. It is stated of Hereford, that if any one wished to retire from the city, he might, with leave of the gerefa, sell his house, if he found a purchaser who was willing to perform in his stead the accustomed services; and in this event the gerefa had the third penny of the sale. But if any one, from his poverty, could not do the regular service, he was compelled to abandon his house to the gerefa without any consideration. The gerefa had then to take care that the house did not remain empty, that the king might not lose his dues.[m]

In some burgs, the members had been so wealthy as to have acquired themselves a property in the burg. Thus, at Canter-

[e] Domesday-book, fo. 2. [f] Ibid. p. 87. [g] Ibid. p. 100.
[h] Ibid. fo. 87, 92, 94. [i] Ibid. Com. Oxf. [j] Ibid. fo. 1.
[k] Ibid. fo. 10. [l] Ibid. fo. 87.
[m] These customs are excerpted by Gale out of Domesday-book. Hist. iii. p. 768.

bury, the burghers had forty-five mansuras without the city, of which they took the gafol and the custom, while the king retained the legal jurisdiction. They also held of the king thirty-three acres of land in their gild.[n]

But this state of subjection to gafols, customs, and services, under which the people of the burgs and towns continued, had this great advantage over the condition of the servile, that the exacted burdens were definite and certain, and though sometimes expensive, were never oppressive. Such a state was indeed an independence, compared with the degradation of a theow; and we probably see in these burghers the condition of the free part of the community, who were not actually freeholders of land, or who, though freed, had not wholly left the domestic service of their masters.

By slow degrees the increasing numbers of society, or their augmented activity, produced a surplus property beyond the daily consumption, which acquired a permanent state in the country in some form or other, and then constituted its wealth. Every house began to have some article of lasting furniture or convenience which it had not before; as well as every tradesman goods laid in store, and every farmer corn, or cattle, or implements of tillage more numerous than he once possessed. When this stage of surplus produce occurs, property begins to multiply; the bonds of stern necessity relax; civilization emerges; leisure increases, and a great number share it. Other employments than those of subsistence are sought for. Amusement begins to be a study, and to desire a class of society to provide it. The grosser gratifications then verge towards the refinements of future luxury. The mind awakens from the lethargy of sense, and a new spirit, and new objects of industry, invention, and pursuit, gradually arise in the advancing population. All these successions of improvement become slowly visible to the antiquarian observer as he approaches the latter periods of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty. But they were not the accompaniments of its first state; or, if they at all existed, they were confined to the court, the castle, and the monastery; and were not indeed to be found among the inferior thegns or the poorer cloisters. Some of these had so little property that they could not afford to allow meat, and others not wheaten bread, as an article of their food. In such miserable abodes the comforts of surplus property could not be obtained; and where these are not general, the nation is poor. This epithet was long applicable to the Anglo-Saxon octarchy.

Both war and agriculture want the smith. Hence one of the most important trades of the Anglo-Saxons was the smith, who is very frequently mentioned. Aldhelm takes the trouble to de-

[n] Domesday-book, fo. 2.

scribe the "convenience of the anvil, the rigid hardness of the beating hammer, and the tenacity of the glowing tongs;" and to remark, that the "gem-bearing belts, and diadems of kings, and various instruments of glory, were made from the tools of iron."[o] The smiths who worked in iron were called isernsmithas. They had also the goldsmith, the seolfersmith (silversmith,) and the arsmith or coppersmith. In the dialogues before quoted, the smith says, "Whence the share to the ploughman, or the goad, but from my art? whence to the fisherman an angle, or to the shoe-wyrhta an awl, or to the sempstress a needle, but from my art?" The other replies, "Those in thy smithery only give us iron fire-sparks, the noise of beating hammers, and blowing bellows."[p] Smiths are frequently mentioned in Domesday. In the city of Hereford there were six smiths, who paid each one penny for his forge, and who made one hundred and twenty pieces of iron from the king's ore. To each of them, three-pence was paid as a custom, and they were freed from all other services.[q] In a district of Somerset, it is twice stated, that a mill yielded two plumbas of iron.[r] Gloucester paid to the king thirty-six dicras of iron, and one hundred ductile rods, to make nails for the king's ships.[s]

The treow-wyrhta, literally tree or wood-workman; or, in modern phrase, the carpenter, was an occupation as important as the smith's. In the dialogues above mentioned, he says he makes houses, and various vessels and ships.

The shoemaker and salter appear also in the dialogues: the sceowyrhta, or shoemaker, seems to have been a comprehensive trade, and to have united some that are now very distinct businesses. He says, "My craft is very useful and necessary to you. I buy hides and skins, and prepare them by my art, and make of them shoes of various kinds; and none of you can winter without my craft." He subjoins a list of the articles which he fabricates: viz.

Ankle leathers,	Bridle thongs,	Leather neck-pieces,
Shoes,	Trappings,	Halters,
Leather hose,	Flasks,	Wallets,
Bottles,	Boiling vessels,	Pouches.

The salter, baker, cook, and fisherman have been described before.

Besides the persons who made those trades their business, some of the clergy, as we advance to the age preceding the Norman conquest, appear to us as labouring to excel in the mechanical

[o] Aldhelm de Laud. Virg. 298.
[p] MS. Tib. A. 3.
[q] Domesday-book, in loc.
[r] Ibid. fo. 94.
[s] Domesday-book, in loc.

arts. Thus Dunstan, besides being competent to draw and paint the patterns for a lady's robe, was also a smith, and worked on all the metals. Among other labours of his industry, he made two great bells for the church at Abingdon. His friend Ethelwold, the bishop, made two other bells for the same place, of a smaller size; and a wheel full of small bells, much gilt, to be turned round for its music, on feast-days. He also displayed much art in the fabrication of a large silver table of curious workmanship.[t] Stigand, the bishop of Winchester, made two images and a crucifix, and gilt and placed them in the cathedral of his diocese.[u] One of our kings made a monk, who was a skilful goldsmith, an abbot.[v] It was even exacted by law that the clergy should pursue these occupations; for Edgar says, "We command that every priest, to increase knowledge, diligently learn some handicraft."[w] It was at this period that it began to be felt that skill could add value to the material on which it operated; and as the increasing wealth of society enabled some to pay for its additional cost, a taste for ornament as well as massy value now emerged.

The art of glass-making was unknown in England in the seventh century, when Benedict, the abbot of Weremouth, procured men from France, who not only glazed the windows of his church and monastery, but taught the Anglo-Saxons the art of making glass for windows, lamps, drinking-vessels, and for other uses.[x] Our progress in the art was slow; for we find the disciple of Bede thus addressing a bishop of France on this subject in the next century: "If there be any man in your district who can make glass vessels well, when time permits, condescend to send him to me; or if there is any one out of your diocese, in the power of others, I beg your fraternity will persuade him to come to us, for we are ignorant and helpless in this art: and if it should happen that any of the glass-makers should, by your diligence and with the divine pleasure, be suffered to come to us, be assured that if I am alive I will receive him with kind courtesy."[y]

The fortunate connection which Christianity established between the clergy of Europe, favoured the advancement of all the mechanical arts. We read perpetually of presents of the productions of human labour and skill passing from the more civilized countries to those more rude. We read of a church having a patine made with Greek workmanship;[z] and also of a bishop in England who was a Greek by birth.[a]

They had the arts of weaving, embroidering, and dyeing. Aldhelm intimates these: "We do not negligently despise the

[t] Dugd. Mon. 104.
[u] Anglia Sacra, i. p. 293.
[v] MS. Claud. C. 9.
[w] Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. 83.
[x] Bede, Hist. Abb. Wer. 225.
[y] 16 Mag. Bib. Pat. 88.
[z] Dugd. Mon. p. 40.
[a] 3 Gale, x. Script. 464.

woollen stamina of threads worked by the woof and the shuttles, even though the purple robe and silken pomp of emperors shine." Again, "The shuttles, not filled with purple only but with various colours, are moved here and there among the thick spreading of the threads, and by the embroidering art they adorn all the woven work with various groups of images."[b] Edward the Elder had his daughters taught to exercise their needle and their distaff.[c] Indeed, the Anglo-Saxon ladies were so much accustomed to spinning, that just as we in legal phrase, and by a reference to former habits now obsolete, term unmarried ladies spinsters, so Alfred in his will, with true application, called the female part of his family the spindle side. The Norman historian remarks of our ancient countrywomen, that they excelled with the needle, and in gold embroidery.[d] Aldhelm's robe is described to have been made of a most delicate thread of a purple ground, and that within black circles the figures of peacocks were worked among them of ample size.[e]

Bede alludes to their jewellers and goldsmiths: "A rich and skilful goldworker, wishing to do some admirable work, collects, wherever he can, remarkable and precious stones to be placed among the gold and silver, as well to show his skill, as for the beauty of his work. Those precious stones are chiefly of a ruddy or aerial colour."[f] From the custom of the kings making presents of rich garments, vases, bracelets, and rings to their witena-gemot courtiers, and of great lords doing the same to their knights, the trades for making these must have had much employment. The gemots often met three times a year. The lords frequently held their imitative courts.

One of their trades seems to have been the tavern, or the public house: for a priest is forbidden to drink "at the wine tuns."[g] An alehouse and aleshop are also mentioned in the laws.[h]

The external commerce of these ancient times was confined, because their imperfect civilization, and the poverty of the great body of their population, prevented an extensive demand for foreign commodities. But the habit of visiting different parts for the purpose of traffic had already begun. Ohther's voyage proves, that men went to the North, both for the purposes of traffic and of discovery: he says, they pursued whales for their teeth, and made ropes of their hides.[i] We read of merchants from Ireland landing at Cambridge with cloths, and exposing

[b] Aldhelm de Laud. Virg. 298, 305. He also mentions the fucorum muneribus. Ibid.

[c] Malmsb. lib. ii. c. v. p. 47.

[d] Gesta Norman. ap. Du Chesne, 211.

[e] 3 Gale, x. Script. 351.

[f] Bede's Op. viii. p. 1068.

[g] Wilk. Leg. 157.

[h] A penalty was inflicted if a man was killed in an eala-huse, ibid. p. 117. A priest was forbidden to be in a eala-scop, ibid. p. 100.

[i] See Alfred's account of this voyage in the first volume of this work.

their merchandise to sale.[j] London, even in the seventh century, is mentioned as a port which ships frequented;[k] and we find merchants' ships sailing to Rome.[l] The trading vessels sometimes joined together, and went out armed for their mutual protection;[m] but we may suppose, that while piracy lasted navigation was unfrequent.

In the Saxon dialogues, the merchant (mancgere) is introduced: "I say that I am useful to the king, and to ealdormen, and to the rich, and to all people. I ascend my ship with my merchandise, and sail over the sea-like places, and sell my things, and buy dear things which are not produced in this land, and I bring them to you here with great danger over the sea; and sometimes I suffer shipwreck, with the loss of all my things, scarcely escaping myself." 'What do you bring to us?' "Skins, silks, costly gems, and gold; various garments, pigment, wine, oil, ivory, and orichalcus, copper, and in, silver, glass, and such like." 'Will you sell your things here as you bought them there?' "I will not, because what would my labour benefit me? I will sell them here dearer than I bought them there, that I may get some profit, to feed me, my wife, and children."[n]

That public markets were established in various parts of England in this period, we learn from many documents. It is clear from Domesday-book that these markets paid a toll. In Bedfordshire, a toll de mercato is mentioned, which yielded seven pounds. The market at Taunton paid fifty shillings.[o] A market was established at Peterborough, with the privilege that no other was to be allowed within certain limits in its vicinity.[p]

We shall state concisely a few customs as to our commercial navigation. At Chester, if ships should come there, or depart from it, without the king's leave, the king and Comes were to have forty shillings for every man in the ship. If they came in violation of the king's peace, or against his prohibition, the ships, mariners, and their property, were forfeited to the king and Comes. With the royal permission they might sell quietly what they had brought, but they were to pay to the king and his Comes fourpence for every last. If the king's governor should order those having the skins of martens not to sell them before he had seen them, none were to disobey him, under a penalty of forty shillings. This port yielded forty-five pounds, and three timbres of marten-skins. In the same place false measure incurred a fine of four shillings; and for bad ale the offender paid as much, or else was placed on a dunghill.[q]

At Southwark, no one took any toll on the strand, or the water,

[j] 2 Gale, 482.
[k] Dugd. Mon. 76.
[l] Bede, 294.
[m] Hist. Wilkin.
[n] MS. Tib. A. 3.
[o] Domesday, in loc.
[p] Ingulf, 46.
[q] Domesday, in loc.

but the king. At Arundel, a particular person is named who took the custom paid by foreigners.[r] At Canterbury, a prepositus is stated to have taken the custom from foreign merchants, in certain lands there, which another ought to have received. At Lewes, it is mentioned, that whoever either bought or sold, gave the governor a piece of money.[s]

Particular laws were made by the Anglo-Saxon government to regulate the manner of buying and selling. These laws had two objects in view: to prevent or detect theft; and to secure the due payment of the tax or toll which became due on such occasions.[t]

When the produce of the labour and fertility of a country begins to exceed its consumption, and no calamity obstructs its natural progress, the amount of its surplus accumulations increases in every generation, till the whole community becomes furnished with permanent goods, and some individuals with peculiar abundance. The Anglo-Saxons had reached this state in the reign of Ethelred. A considerable quantity of bullion, coined and uncoined, had then become diffused in the nation, and they were enabled to pay those heavy taxations, which were so often imposed, with such impolitic weakness, to buy off the Danish invasions. These unwise payments vexed but did not exhaust the nation. It became wealthy again under the peaceful reign of the Confessor. Both the taste for luxuries, and the spirit of increased production, were then pervading the country, and the national affluence was visibly increasing when the Norman armament landed on its coasts.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Northmen were very enterprising in their navigation. They discovered Iceland and Greenland, and a more distant country, which they called Vinland, and which has been considered, not unjustly, to have been some part of the North American continent.[u]

A remark may be added on their travelling and hospitality. It would seem that they travelled armed. We read of one journeying with his horse and spear; when he alighted, he gave his spear to his attendants.[v]

Their hospitality was kind: on the arrival of a stranger he was welcomed; they brought him water to wash his hands; they washed his feet, and for this purpose warm water was used; they

[r] Domesday, in loc. [s] Ibid.

[t] Several facts concerning the commerce of our ancestors have been occasionally mentioned in the preceding volume; as the intercourse between Offa and Charlemagne; Alfred's embassy to India; Æthelstan's connections with Europe; and Canute's letter, explaining the business which he had transacted with the Pope.

[u] One of the voyages may be seen in Snorre, tom. i. p. 303, 308. Torfæus has discussed this subject in a book on Winland. Mallet has given an interesting chapter on the maritime discoveries of the Northmen, in his Northern Antiquities, vol. i. c. 11, p. 268, of the translation edited by Dr. Percy.

[v] Bede, p. 233.

wiped them with a cloth, and the host in one case cherished them in his bosom. We also read of warm wine administered to the new guest.[w]

Hospitality was, however, dangerous in some degree from its responsibility: if any one entertained a guest (cuman, literally a come-one) three nights in his own house, whether a trader, or any other person that had come over the boundary, and fed him with victuals, and the guest did any thing wrong, the host was to bring him to justice, or to answer for it.[x] By another law, a guest, after two nights' residence, was reckoned part of the family, and the owner of it was to be answerable for his actions.[y]

If a shorn man travelled steorless, or vagrantly, hospitality might be given to him once, but he was to have leave of absence before he could be longer maintained.[z]

Travelling was attended with some penal regulations: if a stranger in any part went out of the road, or through woods, it was a law that he should either shout aloud, or blow with a horn, on pain of being deemed a thief, and suffering as such.[a]

It was the habit of depredation that made every traveller an object of legal suspicion at this period. From the peril of the roads, want of communication, the poverty of the middling and lower classes, and the distance, violence, and rapacity of the barons and knights, travelling for the purposes of traffic was very rare, and became more so when the Northman invaders were in the island, and while their unsettled emigrants were continually moving over it. Hence few men left their towns or burghs but for pillage or revenge; and this occasioned that jealous mistrust of the law which operated so long to discourage even mercantile journeys.

CHAPTER XII.

Their Chivalry.

There is no evidence that the refined and enthusiastic spirit of gallantry which accompanied chivalry in its perfect stage, prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons; but that chivalry, in a less polished form, and considered as a military investiture, conferred with religious ceremonies, by putting on the belt and sword, and

[w] Bede, p. 234, 251, 257.
[x] Wilkins, Leg. Sax. p. 9.
[y] Ibid. p. 18.
[z] Ibid. p. 4.
[a] Ibid. p. 12.

giving the knight a peculiar dignity among his countrymen;—that this kind of chivalry existed in England before the Norman conquest, the authorities adduced in this chapter will sufficiently ascertain.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Hereward, a noble Anglo-Saxon youth, distinguished himself by his daring valour and eccentricity. As his character is highly romantic, and affords a remarkable instance of the Anglo-Saxon chivalry, I will state the main incidents of his life, from the plain and temperate narration of his contemporary, who was the Conqueror's secretary.

"His father was Leofric, lord of Brunne, in Lincolnshire, a nobleman who had become very illustrious for his warlike exploits. He was a relation of the great earl of Hereford, who had married the king's sister.

"Hereward was the son of this Leofric and his wife Ediva. He was tall and handsome, but too warlike, and of an immoderate fierceness of mind. In his juvenile plays and wrestlings he was so ungovernable, that his hand was often raised against every one, and every one's hand against him. When the youths of his age went to wrestling and such other sports, unless he triumphed over all, and his playfellows conceded to him the laurel of victory, he very often extorted by his sword what he could not gain by his muscular strength.

"The youths of his neighbourhood complaining of this conduct, his father's anger was excited against him. Leofric stated to king Edward the many intolerable tricks that had been practised even upon himself, and his excessive violence towards others. Upon this representation, the Confessor ordered him into banishment.

"Hereward, thus exiled, went fearlessly to Northumbria, thence to Cornwall, thence to Ireland, and afterwards to Flanders; and everywhere most bravely carrying himself, he soon obtained a glorious and magnificent reputation.

"In every danger intrepidly pressing forward, and happily escaping; in every military conflict always throwing himself on the bravest, and boldly conquering; it was doubtful whether he was more fortunate or brave. His victories over all his enemies were complete, and he escaped harmless from the greatest battles.

"Becoming so illustrious by his military successes, his valiant deeds became known in England, and were sung through the country. The dislike of his parent, relatives, and friends, was changed into the most ardent affection.

"In Flanders he married a noble lady, Turfrida, and had by her a daughter, who lately married (I am transcribing Ingulf) an illustrious knight, a great friend to our monastery, and lord of Depyng and the paternal inheritance of Brunne and its appurtenances.

"The mother of Turfrida coming to England with her husband, with his permission forsook all earthly pomp, and became a nun in our monastery of Croyland.

"Hereward returning to his native soil with his wife, after great battles, and a thousand dangers frequently dared and bravely terminated, as well against the king of England as the earls, barons, prefects, and presidents, which are yet sung in our streets (says Ingulf) and having avenged his mother with his powerful right hand, at length, with the king's pardon, obtained his paternal inheritance, and ended his days in peace, and was very lately buried near his wife in our monastery."[a]

[a] Ingulf, p. 67, 68.

It is obvious, from the connection of this singular character with Croyland monastery, that no one could furnish us with more authentic particulars of him than Ingulf, who lived at the time, and was a monk in the same place. I will add a few more circumstances, which the same writer has recorded concerning him.

It was in Flanders that Hereward heard that the Normans had conquered England; that his father was dead; that the Conqueror had given his inheritance to a Norman; and that his mother's widowhood was afflicted by many injuries and distresses. Transported with grief at the account, he hastened with his wife to England, and, collecting a body of her relations, he thundered on the oppressors of his mother, and drove them from her territory.

At this period of the narration, the important passage[b] occurs, which gives such complete evidence to the Anglo-Saxon chivalry.

"Considering then, that he was at the head of very brave men, and commanded some *milites*, and had not yet been legally bound with the belt, according to the military custom, he took with him a very few tyros of his cohort, to be legitimately consociated with himself to warfare, and went to his uncle, the abbot of Peterborough, named Brand, a very religious man (as I have heard from my predecessor, my lord Ulketul, abbot, and many others), much given to charity, and adorned with all the virtues; and having first of all made a confession of his sins, and received absolution, he very urgently prayed that he might be made a legitimate *miles*. For it was the custom of the English, that every one that was to be consecrated to the legitimate *militia*, should, on the evening preceding the day of his consecration, with contrition and compunction, make a confession of all his sins to a bishop, an abbot, a monk, or some priest; and, devoted wholly to prayers, devotions, and mortifications, should pass the night in the church; in the next morning should hear mass, should offer his sword on the altar, and after the Gospel had been read, the priest having blessed the sword, should place it on the neck of the miles, with his benediction. Having communicated at the same mass with the sacred mysteries, he would afterwards remain a legitimate miles."

He adds, that the Normans regarded this custom of consecrating a miles as abomination, and did not hold such a one a legitimate miles, but reckoned him a slothful equitem and degenerate quiritem.

From the preceding account we collect these things:

1st, That a man might take up arms, head warriors, fight with them, and gain much military celebrity, and yet not thereby become a legitimate miles.

2d, That he could not reputably head milites, without being a legitimate miles.

3d, That to be a legitimate miles was an honorary distinction, worthy the ambition of a man who had previously been of such great military celebrity as Hereward.

[b] Ingulf, p. 70.

4th, That to be a miles, an express ceremony of consecration was requisite.

5th, That the ceremony consisted of a confession and absolution of sins, on the day preceding the consecration; of watching in the church, all the previous night, with prayers and humiliations; of hearing mass next morning; of offering his sword on the altar; of its being blessed by the priest; of its being then placed on his neck; and of his afterwards communicating. He was then declared a legitimate miles.

6th, The mode above described, was the Anglo-Saxon mode; but there was another mode in existence after the Conquest: for it is expressly mentioned, that the Normans did not use, but detested the custom of religious consecration.

7th, That a legitimate miles was invested with a belt and a sword.

Another passage, which alludes to the Anglo-Saxon chivalry, is in Malmsbury, in which he expressly declares, that Alfred made Athelstan a miles. He says, that Alfred, seeing Athelstan to be an elegant youth, prematurely made him a miles, investing him with a purple garment, a belt set with gems, and a Saxon sword, with a golden sheath.[c]

The investiture of the belt, alluded to in the account of Hereward, and in Malmsbury's account of Athelstan's knighthood, is also mentioned by Ingulf, on another occasion. Speaking of the famous Saxon chancellor Turketul, who died in 975, he says, that he had, among other relics, the thumb of St. Bartholomew, with which he used to cross himself in danger, tempest, and lightning. A dux Beneventanus gave this to the emperor, when he girded him with the first military belt.[d] The emperor gave it to the chancellor. An author who died in 1004, says, "Whoever uses the belt of his knighthood (militiæ), is considered as a knight (miles) of his dignity."[e]

That there was a military dignity among the Saxons, which they who wrote in Latin expressed by the term miles, is, I think, very clear, from other numerous passages. There are many grants of kings and others extant to their militibus. Thus Edred, "cuidam meo ministro ac militi," "meo fideli ministro ac militi," "cuidam meo militi."[f] The word miles cannot here mean simply a soldier. So to many charters we find the signatures of several persons characterized by this title.[g] Bede frequently uses the term in passages and with connections which show that he meant to express dignity by it. We are at least certain that his royal

[c] Malmsbury, p. 49. [d] Ingulf, p. 51.

[e] Abb. Flor. in Can. c. 51. Quisquis militiæ suæ cingulo utitur, dignitatis suæ miles adscribitur.

[f] MS. Claud. B. 6. So an archbishop gives land, Heming. Chart. 191, 210, 234.

[g] To a charta of Edward the Confessor, five sign with the addition of miles. MS. Claud. B. 6. Eleven sign with miles to a charta of Ethelwulph. Text Roff.

Anglo-Saxon translator believed this, because he has always interpreted the expression, when it has this signification, by a Saxon word of peculiar dignity.[h] Ingulf mentions several great men, in the Anglo-Saxon times, with the addition of miles as an augmentation of their consequence; and once introduces a king styling a miles his magister.[i] Domesday-book mentions several milites as holding lands.

But although the Saxons had a military dignity which their Latin writers called miles, I do not think that the word cniht was applied by them to express it; at least, not till the later periods of their dynasty.

It has been shown, in the chapter on their infancy and education, that a youth was called a cniht. By the same term they also denoted an attendant.[j] In Cedmon it occurs a few times; but it seems to have been used to mean youths. Speaking of Nabochodonossor, he says,

> He commanded his gerefas,
> out of the miserable relics of the Israelites,
> to seek some of the youth
> that were most skilled
> in the instruction of books.
> He would, that the cnihtas
> should learn the craft
> to interpret dreams.[k]
>
> Then they there found
> for their sagacious lord
> noble cnihtas.[l]

Speaking of the adoration of the image of Dara, he says,

> The cnihtas of a good race
> acted with discretion,
> that they the idol
> would not as their god
> hold and have.[m]

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[h] *Bede:*	*Alfred:*
alium de militibus,	oꝺheꞃne cẏnɪnʒeꞅ ꝺheʒn,
cum his—militibus,	mɪð hɪꞅ ꝺheʒnum,
milite sibi fidelissimo,	hɪꞅ ꝺheʒne—ʒeꝺꞃeoꝑeꞅꝺe,
prefato milite,	ꝼoꞃeꞅpꞃecenan hɪꞅ ꝺheʒne,
comitibus ac militibus,	hɪꞅ ʒeꝼoꞃum, cẏnɪnʒeꞅ ꝺheʒnum,
de militia ejus juvenis,	ꞅum ʒeonʒ ꝺhoꞅ cẏnɪnʒeꞅ ꝺheʒn.

P. 511, 525, 539, 551, 590.

[i] Ingulf, p. 6, 14, 20, 25, 63. This use of the word miles is one of Hickes's reasons for his attack on Ingulf; an attack which is clearly ill-founded. I feel every gratitude to Hickes for his labours on the Northern languages; but I cannot conceal that I think him mistaken on several very important points of the Saxon antiquities.

[j] Gen. xxi. 65. Luke, vii. 7, and xii. 45.

[k] Cedmon, p. 77. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. p. 79.

Then was wrath
the king in his mind.
He commanded an oven to heat
to the destruction of the lives of the cnihtas.[n]

The word has no military distinction in these passages.

Ælfric, in his glossary, interprets cnit-had by pueritia, pubes; and to oth cniht-hade he puts pube tenus.

There are, however, instances of grants to cnihtas, which imply, that after Alfred's reign, and those of his immediate descendants, the word was gradually advancing, from the expression of a youth or an attendant, to signify a more dignified sort of dependent. A Saxon will has, "Let men give my cnihtas and my stewardas witas forty punda." Ælfhelm, in his will, says, "I give to my wife and my daughter half the land at Cunnington, to be divided, except the four hides that I give to Æthelric and Alfwold, and the half hide that I give to Osmær, my cniht." Æthelstan Ætheling, in his will, expresses, "I give my father, king Æthelræd, the land at Cealhtun, except the eight hides that I have given to Ælmor, my cniht."—"And I give to Æthelwin, my cniht, the sword that he before gave me."[o] There are three grants of land from Oswald, archbishop, to cnihts; and it is important to observe, he does not call them his cnihts, or any other person's cnihts, but he calls them sumum cnihte, some cniht, or a cniht, as if cniht had been a definite and well-known character. His words are, "One hide at Hymeltun to sumum cniht, whose name is Wulfgeat;"—"two hides, all but sixty acres, to sumum cniht, whose name is Æthelwold;" —"——— hides to sumum cniht, whose name is Osulf, for God's love, and for our peace."[p]

In the admonitions to different orders of men, printed with the Anglo-Saxon laws, there is a passage which gives cniht and cnihthood in a meaning rather different from those which have been stated: "That will be a rightlike life, that a cniht continues in his cnihthade till he marries rightly a maiden wife, and have her then afterwards, and no other while she lives."[q] Cnihthade here implies chastity and bachelorship.

Perhaps cniht originally signified a boy, afterwards a servant who was not a slave. It may have been then applied to denote a military attendant; and in this sense it gradually superseded the word thegn, which I think was the Saxon term for the dignity

[n] Cedmon, p. 80.

[o] See these wills in the Appendix to the Saxon Dictionary. I perceive from Osfred's Franco-theotise Paraphrase of the Gospels, that the word knight, or knechto, was used by the Franks, in the ninth century, to express the meaning of miles; for he says,

Ein thero knechto thir zirah. "Unus militum hoc videt." Lib. iv. 53, 54. See also another citation in Schilter's Glossary, p. 518.

[p] Heming. Chart.

[q] Wilkins, Leg. Sax. p. 150.

implied by the term miles. A knight, even in the full chivalric meaning, was a military servant of somebody, either of the king, the queen, a favourite lady, or some person of dignity. In a state very similar to this are the cnihtas in the Saxon wills. They appear to us, in like manner, in a rank far above a servant in the Saxon gild-scipes. Of these fraternities, cnihts constituted a part, and are distinctly mentioned, though with a reference to some lord to whom they were subordinate; a situation which seems best explained, by supposing them free and respectable military dependents. "If a cniht draw a sword, the lord shall pay one pound, and let the lord get it when he may; and all the gild-scipe shall help him, that he may get his money. And if a cniht wounds another, his lord shall avenge it. And if a cniht sits within the ascent, let him pay one syster of honey; and if he has any foot-stool, let him pay the same."[r] In another gild-scipe, after each of the gild has been directed to bring two systers of malt, it is added, "And let every cniht bring one, and a sceat of honey."[s]

It occurs again, as a known and recognised character, in an act of a slave's emancipation, "Thereto is witness, William of Orchut, and Ruold the cniht, and Osbern fadera, and Umfreig of Tettaborn, and Alword the portreeve, and Johan the cniht."[t]

It occurs again, as the designation of a known and reputable character in society, in a Saxon charta about land; for after many witnesses have been mentioned by name, these words follow: "And many a good cniht besides these."[u]

The term as well as the character of cniht was, therefore, in the Anglo-Saxon period, rising fast to its full station of dignity.

There is a character represented in the illuminations and drawings of a Saxon MS. which I think answers to the situation of a cniht, in its more advanced meaning. When a king is sitting on his throne, he is drawn as holding his sceptre. Close by him, and as a part of his public dignity, a person is standing, holding his sword and shield. This figure occurs several times in the drawings of Genesis, in Claud. B. 4. A similar character occurs near a king in the battle. The king is fighting; an armed attendant, apparently a young man, is fighting near him. I consider these to represent what was originally called a king's thegn, or miles, and afterwards a cniht; and such a character Lilla appears to have been, who received the assassin's blow that was intended for Edwin.[v]

Tournaments appear to have been used in the age of the Anglo-Saxons, for they are expressly mentioned in the laws of the Emperor of Germany, Henry the First. It was in 934 that he published in-

[r] See the Gild-scipe in Hickes's Diss. Ep. p. 21.
[s] Ibid. p. 22.
[t] Ibid. p. 18.
[u] Hickes, Gram. Pref. p. xxi.
[v] See the 1st vol. of this work.

stitutions concerning them.[w] By these he directs, that the equestrian games, to be fought by the usual weapons, should be solemnly exhibited in the empire by those of noble descent. All blasphemers and traitors; they who had deprived widows or virgins of their honour or property; the perjured, the coward, the homicide, and the sacrilegious; they who had robbed the orphan, who had attacked the unsuspecting, who had harassed society, and injured the commercial; the adulterer and the merchant; were prohibited from partaking of the diversions. If they presumed to present themselves, their horses were taken away, and they were to be thrown on the septum.[x]

The city or place appropriated for the exercises was made free to all except heretics, thieves, and traitors, during the time of the games, and for fourteen days preceding and afterwards. The area of the games was to be hedged round: every combatant was to be first confessed and absolved; every count was to bring with him but six companions; a baron four, a knight three, others only two, unless they maintained them at their own expense.[y]

Something like a trophy appears in a description of Saxon boundaries of land: "Thence to the limit of a banner, coat of mail, and helmet, both of the kings and of Eadbald in an ash-tree."[z]

No shield-maker was allowed to put a sheep's skin on a shield.[a] Was this provision made to favour the manufacture of parchment for their books?

[w] Goldastus, in his Constitutiones Imperiales, vol. ii. p. 41, has the Henrici I. Aucupis leges hastiludiales sive de torneamentis, which he says, were latæ Gottingæ in Saxonia, 938. The author of the Aquila Saxonica, p. 27, says, it should be 934. These leges are also mentioned in Fabricius, Hist. Sax. i. p. 122. The Aquila Saxonica quotes also at length other statuta et privilegia of these games, made at Magdeburg. This imperial document contradicts the opinion, that tournaments originated in 1066, which Dufresne gives, 3 Gloss. Med. 1147. Wittichind, who addressed his history to the granddaughter of Henry, expressly says of this emperor, "In exercitiis quoque ludi tanta eminentia superabat omnes ut terrorem cæteris ostentaret," p. 15. Previous to this, Nithard mentions, that some French gentlemen fought in play on horseback.

[x] Goldastus, ubi supra.

[y] Aquila Saxonica, p. 28, 29, where the other provisions, established for the regulation of the tournaments, may be seen.

[z] Hem. Chart. p. 7.

[a] Wilk. Leg. p. 59. I observe another passage in the canons of Edgar relating to cnihtes: "We teach that every priest should have at the synods his cleric, and a fit man *to cnihte*, and no one unwise that loves folly." Wilk. Leg. p. 82. This is not a passage applicable to a boy, but to a manly attendant on the superior priests at the great councils.

CHAPTER XIII.

Their Superstitions.

The belief, that some human beings could attain the power of inflicting evils on their fellow-creatures, and of controlling the operations of nature, existed among the Anglo-Saxons, but did not originate with them. It has appeared in all the regions of the globe; and from its extensive prevalence we may perceive that the human mind, in its state of ignorance and barbarism, is a soil well adapted to its reception and cultivation. It is not true that fear first made a deity; but it cannot be doubted that fear, vanity, and hope, are the parents of superstition.

Life has so many evils which the uninstructed mind can neither prevent nor avert, and encourages so many hopes which every age and condition burn to realize, that we cannot be astonished to find a large portion of mankind the willing prey of impostors, practising on their credulity by threats of evil and promises of good, greater than the usual course of nature would dispense. In every country where the intelligent religions of Judaism or Christianity were unknown, these delusions obtained a kind of legal sovereignty, and peculiarly in Thrace and Chaldea. But that such frauds and absurdities should be countenanced, where the genuine revelations of the Divine wisdom prevail, may reasonably excite both our astonishment and regret, especially as they have been steadily discountenanced by both civil and ecclesiastical laws. Their foundation seems to lie deep in the heart's anxiety about futurity; in its impatience for good greater than it enjoys; and in its restless curiosity to penetrate the unknown, and to meddle with the forbidden.

But the superstitions of magic and witchcraft began among the civilized nations of the earth, and prevailed even in Greece and Rome, before the Saxons are known to have had an historical existence. The general diffusion of the fond mistake forbids us to derive the latter impostures from those which preceded; but as every thing that was popular among the Romans must have scattered some effects on the nations with whom they had intercourse, we will glance at the opinions which the masters of the world, who so long colonized our island, admitted on this delusive subject.

We are familiar in our youth with the incantations alluded to by Virgil and Horace, and described by Lucan: it is still more

amusing to read of Apuleius, who flourished under the Antonines, and who, though born in Africa, was educated at Athens, that he was accused of magic arts, and of having obtained a rich wife by his incantations. In his Metamorphoseon we have a curious picture of the witchcraft which was believed to exist in the ancient world. One of his characters is described as a saga, or witch,[a] who could lower the sky, and raise the manes of the dead. She is stated to have transformed one lover into a beaver, another into a frog, and another into a ram; to have condemned a rival wife to perpetual gestation: to have closed up impregnably all the houses of a city, whose inhabitants were going to stone her; and to have transported the family of the authors of the commotion to the top of a distant mountain.

Another lady of similar taste is mentioned to have been a maga, mistress of every sepulchral song, who, by twigs, little stones, and such like petty instruments, could submerge all the light of the world in the lowest Tartarus, and into ancient chaos; who could turn her lovers that displeased her into stones or animals, or entirely destroy them.[b]

Apuleius afterwards gives us a description of one of her achievements. In the dead of the night, as two friends are sleeping in a room, the doors burst open with great fury; the bed of one is overturned upon him; two witches enter, one carrying a light, the other a sponge and a sword. This stabs her sleeping faithless lover, plunges the weapon up to its hilt in his throat, receives all the blood in a vessel, that not a drop might appear, and then takes out his heart. The other applied her sponge to the wounds, saying, "Sponge! sea-born! beware of rivers!" The consequence was, that though he awaked, and travelled as well as ever, yet when on his journey he approached a river, and proceeded to drink at it, his wounds opened, the sponge flew out, and the victim fell dead.[c]

Apuleius himself was a great student of magic. The chief seat of all these wonders is declared to have been Thessaly; and so

[a] Apul. Metamorph. lib. i. p. 6. [b] Ibid. i. p. 21.

[c] Mr. Cumberland in his Observer, No. 31, has noticed the magical powers ascribed in the Clementine recognitions, and Constit. Apos. to Simon Magus, viz. That he created a man out of the air; that he had the power of being invisible; that he could make marble as penetrable as clay; could animate statues; resist the effects of fire; present himself with two faces, like Janus; metamorphose himself into a sheep or a goat; fly at pleasure through the air; create gold in a moment; and at a wish take a scythe in hand and mow a field of corn almost at a stroke; and recall the unjustly murdered to life. A woman of public notoriety looking out of the window of a castle on a great crowd below, he was said to have made her appear, and then fall down from every window of the place at the same time. To these fancies Anastacius Nicenus added, that Simon was frequently preceded by spectres, which he declared to be the spirits of certain persons that were dead. It is extraordinary that the ancients framed no romantic tales on imaginations so favourable to interesting fiction.

popular was the notion of witchcraft among those nations whom in our youth we are taught almost exclusively to admire, that even philosophers thought that they accounted sufficiently for the miracles of the Christian legislator, by referring them to magic.

We will consider the Anglo-Saxon superstitions under the heads of their witchcraft, their charms, and their prognostics.

Their pretenders to witchcraft were called wicca, scin-læca, galdor-cræftig, wiglær, and morthwyrtha. Wiglær is a combination from wig, an idol or a temple, and lær, learning, and may have been one of the characters of the Anglo-Saxon idolatry. He was the wizard, as wicca was the witch. Scinl-æca was a species of phantom or apparition, and was also used as the name of the person who had the power of producing such things: it is, literally, a shining dead body. Galdor-cræftig implies one skilled in incantations; and morthwyrtha is, literally, a worshipper of the dead.

Another general appellation for such personages was dry, a magician. The clergy opposed these follies in their homilies.[d]

The laws notice these practices with penal severity. The best account that can be given of them will be found in the passages proscribing them.

"If any wicca, or wiglær, or false swearer, or morthwyrtha, or any foul, contaminated, manifest horcwenan, (whore, quean or strumpet,) be anywhere in the land, man shall drive them out."[e]

"We teach that every priest shall extinguish all heathendom, and forbid wilweorthunga (fountain-worship), and licwiglunga (incantations of the dead), and hwata (omens), and galdra (magic), and man-worship, and the abominations that men exercise in various sorts of witchcraft, and in frithsplottum, and with elms and other trees, and with stones, and with many other phantoms."[f]

From subsequent regulations, we find that these practices were made the instruments of the most fatal mischief; for penitentiary penalties are enjoined if any one should destroy another by wiccecræfte; or if any should drive sickness on a man; or if death should follow from the attempt.[g]

They seem to have used philtres; for it is also made punishable if any should use witchcraft to produce another's love, or should give him to eat or to drink with magic.[h] They were also forbid

[d] Thus in a homily against auguries, it is said, "That the dead should rise through dry-cræft, deofol gild, wicce-cræft, and wiglunga, is very abominable to our Saviour; and they that exercise these crafts are God's enemies, and truly belong to the deceitful devil, with him to dwell for ever in eternal punishment." MSS. Bodl. Wanl. Cat. p. 42.

[e] Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 53.

[f] Ibid. p. 83.

[g] Ibid. p. 93.

[h] Ibid. p. 93.

to wiglian by the moon.[i] Canute renewed the prohibitions. He enjoined them not to worship the sun or the moon, fire or floods, wells or stones, or any sort of tree; not to love wiccecræft, or frame death-spells, either by lot or by torch; nor to effect any thing by phantoms.[j] From the Pœnitentiale of Theodore we also learn, that the power of letting loose tempests was also pretended to.[k]

Another name for their magical arts was unlybban wyrce, literally, destructive of life. The penitence is prescribed for a woman who kills a man by unlybban. One instance of their philtres is detailed to us. A woman resolving on the death of her step-son, or to alienate from him his father's affection, sought a witch, who knew how to change minds by art and enchantments. Addressing such a one with promises and rewards, she inquired how the mind of the father might be turned from the child, and be fixed on herself. The magical medicament was immediately made, and mixed with the husband's meat and drink. The catastrophe of the whole was the murder of the child; and the discovery of the crime by the assistant, to revenge the stepmother's ill-treatment.[l]

The charms used by the Anglo-Saxons were innumerable. They trusted in their magical incantations for the cure of disease,[m] for the success of their tillage,[n] for the discovery of lost property,[o] for uncharming cattle, and for the prevention of casualties.[p] Specimens of their charms for these purposes still remain to us. Bede tells us, that "many, in times of disease (neglecting the sacraments) went to the erring medicaments of idolatry, as if to restrain God's chastisements by incantations, phylacteries, or any other secret of the demoniacal arts."[q]

Their prognostics, from the sun and moon, from thunder, and from dreams, were so numerous, as to display and to perpetuate a most lamentable debility of mind. Every day of every month was catalogued as a propitious or unpropitious season for certain transactions. We have Anglo-Saxon treatises which contain rules for discovering the future fortune and disposition of a child, from the day of his nativity. One day was useful for all things; another, though good to tame animals, was baleful to

[i] MS. Tib. A. 3. [j] Wilkins, p. 134.

[k] Spelm. Concil. 155. They dreaded spectres; and one of their medical recipes is, "If a man suffer from a scinlac, or spectre, let him eat lion's flesh, and he will never suffer from any scinlac again." Cott. MSS. vitell. C. 3.

[l] 3 Gale's Script. p. 439.

[m] For incantations to cure various diseases, see Wanley's Catalogue of Saxon MSS. p. 44, 115, 231, 232, 234, 305.

[n] For charms to make fields fertile, see Wanley, p. 98, 225.

[o] For charms to find lost cattle, or any thing stolen, see Wanley, p. 114, 186.

[p] For amulets against poison, disease, and battle, see also Wanley.

[q] Bede, lib. iv. c. 27.

sow seeds. One day was favourable to the commencement of business; another to let blood; and others wore a forbidding aspect to these and other things. On this day they were to buy, on a second to sell, on a third to hunt, on a fourth to do nothing. If a child was born on such a day, it would live; if on another its life would be sickly; if on another it would perish early. In a word, the most alarming fears, and the most extravagant hopes, were perpetually raised by these foolish superstitions, which tended to keep the mind in the dreary bondage of ignorance and absurdity, which prevented the growth of knowledge, by the incessant war of prejudice, and the slavish effects of the most imbecile apprehensions.[r]

The same anticipations of futurity were made by noticing on what day of the week or month it first thundered, or the new moon appeared, or the new-year's day occurred. Dreams likewise had regular interpretations and applications; and thus life, instead of being governed by the councils of wisdom, or the precepts of virtue, was directed by those solemn lessons of gross superstition, which the most ignorant peasant of our days would be ashamed to avow.[s] How lamentable is it that mankind should have such an inveterate propensity to resort to the meanest agencies, and most capricious accidents of nature, for aid or comfort in their anxieties and difficulties, rather than to confide in its Author, solicit his kindness, or resign themselves to his will; rather than calmly await his benevolent dispensations, and trust to his discernment for the fittest season of their occurrence and duration.[t]

[r] See especially MS. Tiberius, A. 3, and Bede's works on these subjects. A few specimens may amuse: "On the first night of the moon, go to the king and ask what you like. Whatever you see at the first appearance of the new moon will be a blessing to you. In the beginning of the moon it is useful to do any thing. If a man be born on a Sunday he will live without trouble all his life. If it thunder in the evening, some great person is born. If new-year's day be on a Monday, it will be a grim and confounding winter. When you see a bee fast in the briar, wish what you please and it will not fail you."

[s] Some of their fancies: "If a man dream that he hath a burning candle in his hand, it is a sign of good. If he dream that he sees an eagle over his head, it implies dignity to him, and the greater, the higher the bird flies. Whatever we dream on the first night of the old moon will become joyful to us."

[t] Even while this page is penning, one gipsy is offering her prognostications, surprised at being refused; and another is employed in a neighbouring garden, by three intellectual beings, to delude them by her random predictions, which she afterwards ridicules them for believing!

CHAPTER XIV.

Their Funerals.

The northern nations, at one period, burnt their dead. But the custom of interring the body had become established among the Anglo-Saxons, at the era when their history began to be recorded by their Christian clergy, and was never discontinued.

Their common coffins were wood; the more costly were stone. Thus a nun who had been buried in a wooden coffin was afterwards placed in one of stone.[a] Their kings were interred in stone coffins;[b] they were buried in linen,[c] and the clergy in their vestments.[d] In two instances mentioned by Bede, the coffin was provided before death.[e] We also read of the place of burial being chosen before death, and sometimes of its being ordered by will.[f]

With the common sympathy of human nature, friends are described as attending, in illness, round the bed of the deceased. On their departure, we read of friends tearing their clothes and hair.[g] One who died, is mentioned to have been buried the next day.[h] As Cuthbert, the eleventh bishop from Augustin, obtained leave to make cemeteries within cities,[i] we may infer that the more healthful custom, of depositing the dead at some distance from the habitations of the living, was the general practice; but afterwards it became the custom of England to bury the dead in the churches. The first restriction to this practice was the injunction that none should be so buried, unless it was known that in his life he had been acceptable to God. It was afterwards ordered, that no corpse should be deposited in a church, unless of an ecclesiastic, or a layman so righteous as to deserve such a distinction. All former tombs in churches were directed to be made level with the pavement, so that none might be seen: and if in any part, from the number of the tombs, this was difficult to be done, then the altar was to be removed to a purer spot, and the occupied place was to become merely a burying-ground.[j]

Some of their customs at death may be learnt from the following narrations. It is mentioned in Dunstan's life, that Æthelfleda, when on her deathbed, said to him, "Do thou, early in the morn-

[a] Bede, lib. iv. c. 19.
[b] Ibid. c. 4.
[c] Ibid. c. 19.
[d] Ibid. p. 261.
[e] Ibid. lib. v. c. 5, and lib. iv. c. 11.
[f] 3 Gale Script. 470.
[g] Eddius, p. 64.
[h] Bede, p. 302.
[i] Dugd. Mon. i. p. 25.
[j] Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 179, 84.

ing, cause the baths to be hastened, and the funeral vestments to be prepared, which I am about to wear; and after the washing of my body, I will celebrate the mass, and receive the sacrament; and in that manner I will die."[k]

The sickness, death, and burial of Archbishop Wilfrid, in the eighth century, is described with these particulars. On the attack of his illness, all the abbots and anchorites near were unwearied in their prayers for his recovery. He survived, with his senses; and power of speech returned, for a year and a half. A short time before his death, he invited two abbots and six faithful brethren to attend him, and desired them to open his treasure-chest with a key. The gold, silver, and precious stones therein were brought out, and divided into four parts, as he directed. One of these he ordered to be sent to the churches at Rome, as a present for his soul; another part was to be divided among the poor of his people; a third he gave to some monasteries, to obtain therewith the friendship of the kings and bishops; and the fourth he destined to those who had shared in his labours, and to whom he had not given lands.

After his death, one of the abbots spread his linen garments on the ground. The brethren laid his body on them, washed it with their hands, and put on his ecclesiastical dress. Afterwards they wrapped it in linen, and singing hymns, they conducted it in a carriage to the monastery. All the monks came out to meet it; none abstained from tears and weeping. They received it with hymns and chantings, and deposited it in the church which he had built.[l]

One of the nobles who attended the king at his Easter court, having died, it is mentioned that his body was carried to Glastonbury; and the king ordered some of the bishops, earls, and barons, to attend the bier thither with honour.[m]

When the body of an alderman was taken to the monastery at Ramsay to be buried, a numerous assemblage from the neighbourhood met to accompany his exequies.[n]

The saul-scat, or the payment of the clergy on death, became a very general practice. No respectable person died or was buried without a handsome present to some branch or other of the ecclesiastical establishment.

Nothing can more strongly express the importance and necessity of this custom, than that several of their gilds seem to have been formed chiefly with a view to provide a fund for this purpose.

[k] MSS. Cleop. B. 13. This life has been printed in the Acta Sanctorum for May, from a MS. brought from the Vedastine monastery at Rome. This MS. differs from the Cotton MS. in some particulars. It has the preface, which the Cotton MS. wants; but it has not two pages of the conclusion, which are in the Cotton MS. In the body of the Roman MS. there are forty-two hexameters which are not in the Cotton MS.

[l] Eddius, p. 89. [m] 3 Gale Script. p. 395. [n] Ibid. p. 428.

It appears in all the wills. Thus Wynflæd, for her saul-sceat, gave to every one of the religious, at the places she mentions, a mancus of gold; and to another place, half a pound's worth, for saul-sceat. She adds a direction to her children, that they will illuminate for her soul.

Byrhtric, for his soul and his ancestors, gave two sulings of land by his will, and a similar present, with thirty gold mancys, for his wife's soul and her ancestors.[o] Wulfaru bequeaths to Saint Peter's minster, for his "miserable soul," and for his ancestors, a "bracelet, a patera, two golden crosses, with garments and bed-clothes."[p]

A dux who flourished in the days of Edgar and Æthelred, not only gave an abbot some valuable lands, in return for his liberal hospitality, but also several others, with thirty marks of gold, and twenty pounds of silver, two golden crosses, two pieces of his cloak, set with gold and gems in valuable workmanship, and other things, that, if he fell in battle, his body might be buried with them.[q]

A dux in Alfred's days directed one hundred swine to be given to a church in Canterbury, for him and for his soul; and the same to Chertsey Abbey. The same dux directed two hundred peninga to be paid annually from some land to Chertsey Abbey, for the soul of Alfred.[r]

So Æthelstan the ætheling gave to St. Peter's church at Westminster, land which he had bought of his father for two hundred mancusan of gold, five pounds of silver by weight, and some land, which he had purchased for two hundred and fifty gold mancus by weight; and the land which his father released to him, for both their souls; he makes other bequests to other religious places.[s]

[o] Hickes, Diss. Ep. 51. [p] Ibid. p. 54. [q] 3 Gale Script. 494.
[r] Test. Ælf. App. Sax. Dict.
[s] App. Sax. Dict. If the body was buried out of the "riht scire," or parish, the soul's sceat was to be paid to the minster to which he belonged. Wilk. Leg. 121, 108. It was to be always given at the open grave. Ib. 108.

BOOK VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

CHAPTER I.

The King's Election and Coronation.

In treating of the Anglo-Saxon government it will be proper to begin with the cyning, or king, who, though he did not concentrate in himself the despotism of an eastern monarch, was yet elevated far above the rest of the nation in dignity, property, and power.

The witena-gemot may then be considered, and afterwards the official dignities respected by the nation. Our subject will be closed by a review of the contributions levied from the people.

The first cynings of the Anglo-Saxons seem to have been their war-kings, continued for life; and the crown was not hereditary, but elective. Many authors, both in the Anglo-Saxon times and afterwards, when speaking of their accessions, express them in terms which signify election. Thus, the contemporary author of Dunstan's life says of Edwin, "After him arose Eadwig, son of king Edmund, in age a youth, and with little of the prudence of reigning; *elected*, he filled up the number and names of the kings over both people." It proceeds afterwards to mention, that, abandoning Eadwig, they chose (eligere) Eadgar to be king.[a]

It was the witena-gemot who elected the cyning. The council, in 785, directs, that "lawful kings be chosen by the priests and elders of the people."[b] The author of the life of Dunstan says, "when at the time appointed he was by all the chiefs of the English, by general election, to be anointed and consecrated king."[c] Ethelred recites himself, in a charter, that all the optimates had

[a] MS. Cleop. B. 13. p. 76, 78. [b] Spelm. Concil. p. 296. [c] MS. Cleop. p. 76.

unanimously chosen his brother Edward to rule the helm of the kingdom.[d] Alfred is stated to have been chosen by the ducibus et presulibus of all the nation.[e] Edward and Athelstan are also described as "a primatis electus."[f]

Sometimes the election is mentioned as if other persons besides the witan were concerned in it. Thus the Saxon Chronicle says, that after Ethelred's death all the witan who were in London, and *the citizens*, chose Edmund to cinge.[g] It says afterwards, that when Canute died there was a gemot of all the witan at Oxford; and earl Leofric, and most of the thegns north of the Thames, and *the lithsmen*, at London, chose Harold. The earl Godwin, and all the yldestan men in West Saxony, opposed it as long as they could.[h]

But, from the comparison of all the passages on this subject, the result seems to be, that the king was elected at the witena-gemot held on the demise of the preceding sovereign; and these citizens and lithsmen were probably the more popular part of the national council, the representatives of the cities and burghs. The name of lithsmen would suit those of the maritime burghs, afterwards, as now, called the cinque ports.

That the accession of the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns was not governed by the rules of hereditary succession, is manifest from their history. The dynasties of Wessex were more steady and regular than any others in the octarchy. Yet the son of its third king, Cealwin, did not succeed, though he existed. The son of Ceolwulf was equally passed by. Ceadwalla left two sons, yet Ina acceded, to their prejudice; and, what is singular, Ina was elected king, though his father was alive. Some other irregularities of the same sort took place before Egbert, and continued after him.

Ethelbert, the second son of Ethelwulph, left sons, and yet Ethelred succeeded in their stead. They were still excluded, when Alfred and his son received the crown. So Athelstan, though illegitimate, was chosen in preference to his legitimate brothers. On Edgar's death, both his eldest and youngest sons were made candidates for the crown, though Edward was preferred; and although Edmund Ironside left a son, his brother, Edward the Confessor, after the Danish reigns, was preferred before him. To the exclusion of the same prince, Harold the Second obtained his election.

But though the Saxon witan continued the custom of election, and sometimes broke the regular line of descent, by crowning the collateral branches, yet in the greatest number of instances they

[d] MS. Claud. c. 9, p. 123.
[e] Simeon Dunel. 126, 127.
[f] Ethelwerd, 847. Malmsb. 48.
[g] Sax. Chron. p. 148.
[h] Sax. Chron. p. 154.

followed the rule of hereditary succession. Their choice of the cyning in Wessex, even when the heir was disregarded, was always made from the family of the first founder, Cerdic, and usually from the kinsmen of the preceding sovereign. The Norman conquest diminished the power of the witena-gemot in this respect, or at least restricted its practical exertion. The form and name of election continued, but it was rather adoption than choice. The crown passed gradually from an elective to an hereditary succession;—a change highly auspicious to the national prosperity, by precluding the most destructive of all human competitions.

The coronation of Ethelred the second, and his coronation oath, have been transmitted to us in Latin, in a MS. yet extant in the Cotton Library.[1] The ceremony was thus ordered: the translation is made literal: some part of it seems to be the composition or the arrangement of Dunstan:

"Two bishops, with the witan, shall lead him to the church, and the clergy, with the bishops, shall sing the anthem, 'Firmetur, manus tua,' and the 'Gloria Patri.'

"When the king arrives at the church, he shall prostrate himself before the altar, and the 'Te Deum' shall be chanted.

"When this is finished, the king shall be raised from the ground, and, *having been chosen* by the bishops and people, shall, with a clear voice, before God and all the people, promise that he will observe these three rules."

"*The Coronation Oath.*

'In the name of Christ, I promise three things to the Christian people, my subjects:

'First, That the church of God, and all the Christian people, shall always preserve true peace under our auspices.

'Second, That I will forbid rapacity and all iniquities to every condition.

'Third, That I will command equity and mercy in all judgments, that to me and to you the gracious and merciful God may extend his mercy.'"

"All shall say, Amen. These prayers shall follow, which the bishops are separately to repeat:

'We invoke thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God, that this thy servant (whom, by the wisdom of thy divine dispensations from the beginning of his formation to this present day, thou hast permitted to increase, rejoicing in the flower of youth) enriched with the gift of thy piety, and full of the grace of truth, thou mayest cause to be always advancing, day by day, to better things before God and men: that, rejoicing in the bounty of supernal grace, he may receive the throne of supreme power; and defended on all sides from his enemies by the wall of thy mercy, he may deserve to govern happily the people committed to him with the peace of propitiation and the strength of victory.'"

"*Second Prayer.*

'O God, who directest thy people in strength, and governest them with love, give this thy servant such a spirit of wisdom with the rule of disci-

[1] MS. Claud. A. 3.

pline, that, devoted to thee with his whole heart, he may remain in his government always fit, and that by thy favour the security of this church may be preserved in his time, and Christian devotion may remain in tranquillity; so that, persevering in good works, he may attain, under thy guidance, to thine everlasting kingdom.'

"After a third prayer, the consecration of the king by the bishop takes place, who holds the crown over him, saying,

'Almighty Creator, Everlasting Lord, Governor of heaven and earth, the Maker and Disposer of angels and men, King of kings and Lord of lords! who made thy faithful servant Abraham to triumph over his enemies, and gavest manifold victories to Moses and Joshua, the prelates of thy people; and didst raise David, thy lowly child, to the summit of the kingdom, and didst free him from the mouth of the lion and the paws of the bear, and from Goliah, and from the malignant sword of Saul and his enemies; who didst endow Solomon with the ineffable gift of wisdom and peace: look down propitiously on our humble prayers, and multiply the gifts of thy blessing on this thy servant, whom, with humble devotion, *we have chosen* to be king of the Angles and the Saxons. Surround him everywhere with the right hand of thy power, that, strengthened with the faithfulness of Abraham, the meekness of Moses, the courage of Joshua, the humility of David, and the wisdom of Solomon, he may be well-pleasing to thee in all things, and may always advance in the way of justice with inoffensive progress.

'May he so nourish, teach, defend, and instruct the church of all the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, with the people annexed to it; and so potently and royally rule it against all visible and invisible enemies, that the royal throne of the Angles and Saxons may not desert his sceptre, but that he may keep their minds in the harmony of the pristine faith and peace! May he, supported by the due subjection of the people, and glorified by worthy love, through a long life, descend to govern and establish it with the united mercy of thy glory! Defended with the helmet and invincible shield of thy protection, and surrounded with celestial arms, may he obtain the triumph of victory over all his enemies, and bring the terror of his power on all the unfaithful, and shed peace on those joyfully fighting for thee! Adorn him with the virtues with which thou hast decorated thy faithful servants; place him high in his dominion, and anoint him with the oil of the grace of thy Holy Spirit!'

"Here he shall be ANOINTED with oil; and this anthem shall be sung:

'And Zadoc the priest, and Nathan the prophet, anointed Solomon king in Sion; and, approaching him, they said, May the king live for ever!'

"After two appropriate prayers, the SWORD was given to him, with this invocation:

'God! who governest all things, both in heaven and in earth, by thy providence, be propitious to our most Christian king. that all the strength of his enemies may be broken by the virtue of the spiritual sword, and that Thou combating for him, they may be utterly destroyed!'

"The king shall here be CROWNED, and shall be thus addressed:

'May God crown thee with the crown of glory, and with the honour of justice, and the labour of fortitude; that by the virtue of our benediction, and by a right faith, and the various fruit of good works, thou mayest attain to the crown of the everlasting kingdom, through His bounty whose kingdom endures for ever!'

"After the crown shall be put upon his head, this prayer shall be said:

'God of eternity! Commander of the virtues! the conqueror of all enemies! bless this thy servant, now humbly bending his head before thee, and preserve him long in health, prosperity and happiness. Whenever he shall invoke thine aid, be speedily present to him, and protect and defend him. Bestow on him the riches of thy grace; fulfil his desires with every good thing, and crown him with thy mercy.'

"The SCEPTRE shall be here given to him, with this address.

'Take the illustrious sceptre of the royal power, the rod of thy dominion, the rod of justice, by which mayest thou govern thyself well, and the holy church and Christian people committed by the Lord to thee! Mayest thou with royal virtue defend us from the wicked; correct the bad, and pacify the upright; and that they may hold the right way, direct them with thine aid, so that from the temporal kingdom thou mayest attain to that which is eternal, by His aid whose endless dominion will remain through every age!'

"After the sceptre has been given, this prayer follows:

'Lord of all! Fountain of good! God of all! Governor of governors! bestow on thy servant the dignity to govern well, and strengthen him, that he become the honour granted him by thee! Make him illustrious above every other king in Britain! Enrich him with thine affluent benediction, and establish him firmly in the throne of his kingdom! Visit him in his offspring, and grant him length of life! In his day may justice be pre-eminent; so that, with all joy and felicity, he may be glorified in thine everlasting kingdom!

"The ROD shall be here given to him, with this address:

'Take the rod of justice and equity, by which thou mayest understand how to soothe the pious and terrify the bad; teach the way to the erring; stretch out thine hand to the faltering; abase the proud; exalt the humble, that Christ our Lord may open to thee the door, who says of himself, I am the door; if any enter through me, he shall be saved. And HE who is the key of David, and the sceptre of the house of Israel, who opens and no one can shut; who shuts and no one can open; may he be thy helper! HE who bringeth the bounden from the prison-house, and the one sitting in darkness and the shadow of death! that in all things thou mayest deserve to follow him of whom David sang, Thy seat, O God, endureth for ever; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Imitate him who says, Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.'

"The benedictions follow:

'May the Almighty Lord extend the right hand of his blessing, and pour upon thee the gift of his protection, and surround thee with a wall of happiness, and with the guardianship of his care; the merits of the holy Mary; of Saint Peter, the prince of the Apostles; and of Saint Gregory, the apostle of the English; and of all the Saints, interceding for thee!

'May the Lord forgive thee all the evil thou hast done, and bestow on thee the grace and mercy which thou humbly askest of him; may he free thee from all adversity, and from all the assaults of visible or invisible enemies!

'May he place his good angels to watch over thee, that they always and everywhere may precede, accompany, and follow thee; and by his power may he preserve thee from sin, from the sword, and every accident and danger!

'May he convert thine enemies to the benignity of peace and love, and make thee gracious and amiable in every good thing; and may he cover those that persecute and hate thee with salutary confusion; and may everlasting sanctification flourish upon thee!

'May he always make thee victorious and triumphant over thine enemies, visible or invisible; and pour upon thy heart both the fear and the continual love of his holy name, and make thee persevere in the right faith and in good works, granting thee peace in thy days; and with the palm of victory may he bring thee to an endless reign!

'And may he make them happy in this world, and the partakers of his everlasting felicity, who have willed to make thee king over his people!

'Bless, Lord, this elected prince, thou who rulest for ever the kingdoms of all kings.

'And so glorify him with thy blessing, that he may hold the sceptre of Solomon with the sublimity of a David,' &c.

'Grant him, by thy inspiration, so to govern thy people, as thou didst permit Solomon to obtain a peaceful kingdom.'"

"*Designation of the State of the Kingdom.*

'Stand and retain now the state which thou hast hitherto held by paternal succession, with hereditary right, delegated to thee by the authority of Almighty God, and our present delivery, that is, of all the bishops and other servants of God; and in so much as thou hast beheld the clergy nearer the sacred altars, so much more remember to pay them the honour due, in suitable places. So may the Mediator of God and men confirm thee the mediator of the clergy and the common people, on the throne of this kingdom, and make thee reign with him in his eternal kingdom.'

"This prayer follows:

'May the Almighty Lord give thee, from the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn, wine, and oil! May the people serve thee, and the tribes adore thee! Be the lord of thy brothers, and let the sons of thy mother bow before thee: He who blesses thee shall be filled with blessings, and God will be thy helper: May the Almighty bless thee with the blessings of the heaven above, and in the mountains and the valleys; with the blessing of the deep below; with the blessing of the suckling and the womb; with the blessings of grapes and apples; and may the blessing of the ancient fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, be heaped upon thee!

'Bless, Lord, the courage of this prince, and prosper the works of his hands; and by thy blessing may his land be filled with apples, with the fruits, and the dew of heaven, and of the deep below; with the fruit of the sun and moon; from the top of the ancient mountains, from the apples of the eternal hills, and from the fruits of the earth and its fulness!

'May the blessing of Him who appeared in the bush come upon his head; and may the full blessing of the Lord be upon his sons, and may he steep his feet in oil.

'With his horn, as the horn of the rhinoceros, may he scatter the nations to the extremities of the earth; and may He who has ascended to the skies be his auxiliary for ever!'

"Here the coronation ends."

CHAPTER II.

His Family and Officers.

The Anglo-Saxon queen was crowned, as well as the king, until the reign of Egbert, when this honour was taken from her. The crimes of the preceding queen, Eadburga, occasioned the Anglo-Saxons to depart awhile, in this respect, from the custom of all the German nations.[a] But it was soon restored; for Ethelwulph, on his second marriage, suffered his queen, Judith, to be crowned. An account of the ceremony of her coronation has been preserved by the old Frankish writers.[b]

The custom was not immediately reassumed in England, because the expressions of Asser imply, that in Alfred's time the disuse of the coronation continued. But, by the time of the second Ethelred, it was restored; for after the account of his coronation, the ceremonial of her coronation follows. She was anointed; and, after a prayer, a ring was given to her, and then she was crowned.[c]

The queen's name is joined with the cyning's in some charters, and it is not unusual to find them signed by her. From them we learn that she often sat in the witena-gemot, even after she became queen-dowager. She had her separate property; for, in a gift of land by Ethelswitha, the queen of Alfred, she gives fifteen manentes, calling them a part of the land of her own power.[d] She had also officers of her own household; for the persons, with whose consent and testimony she made the grant, are called *her* nobles.

The king's sons had lands appropriated to them, even though under age; for Ethelred says, that, on his brother being elected king, "the nobles delivered to me, for my use, the lands belonging to the king's sons." These, on the death of the princes, or on their accession to the sovereignty, became the property of the king; for, he adds, "my brother dying, I assumed the dominion, both of the royal lands, and of those belonging to the king's sons."[e]

Among the royal household we find the disc thegn, or the thegn of his dishes; the hregal thegn, or the thegn of his wardrobe;

[a] Asser, Vit. Alfr. p. 10, 11.

[b] It may be seen in Du Chesne's Collection of the Frankish Historians, tom. ii. p. 423.

[c] Cott. MS. Claud. A. 3. [d] MS. Claud. c. 9, p. 105. [e] Ibid. p. 123.

his hors thegn, or the thegn of the stud; his camerarius, or chamberlain; his propincenarius and pincerna, or cup-bearer; his secretaries; his chancellor; and, in an humble rank, his mægden, his grindende theowa, his fedesl, his ambiht-smith, his horswealh, his geneat, and his laadrinc. But we may remark, that his cup-bearer and feeder, or probably taster, were both females. The executive officers of his government will be mentioned hereafter.

CHAPTER III.

The Dignity and Prerogatives of the Anglo-Saxon Cyning.

Five descriptions of kings have appeared in the world; the Father at the head of his family; the most ancient sovereign, once exhibited in the Jewish Patriarch, but now perhaps obsolete, unless in the simplicity of some portions of Africa. The Elder, governing his descendants and tribe rather by influence and persuasion than power, as the North American sachems; the Arabian sheiks; and some Tartarian hordes. The Imperator, or military sovereign, commanding among his people as among his soldiers, like the emperors of Rome. The Despot Lord, ruling his nation like his vassal slaves, without check, sympathy, consideration, or responsibility, like the shereffs of Morocco, the dey of Algiers, and, in a great measure, the sultans of Turkey: and the Teutonic Kings, who are neither fathers, elders, imperators, nor despotic lords, but who are a creation of social wisdom far more excellent in conception, and more beneficial in practice than either of the others. The father king must cease to exist when the family becomes a tribe. The elder king, who then succeeds, suits not a numerous, enterprising, and extensively-spread nation. The imperator, or the despot lord, must then be resorted to, or tyrannical oligarchies, severe aristocracies, or factious democracies, must be substituted; or else an anomalous, and discordant, and not lasting combination of some of these forms; which was attempted at Athens, Carthage, Rome, and Sparta, with no permanent advantage, or possibility of long continuance.

The experience and sagacity of the ancient world went no farther than to use one or other of these institutions. It was reserved for those whom we unjustly call Barbarians, the descendants of the Scythian, Gothic, or Teutonic nomades, to invent, and to reduce to practice, a form of monarchy, under the name of kings, with powers so great, yet so limited; so superior and independent

in the theory of law, and yet so subordinate to it, and so governed by it; so majestic, yet so popular; so dignified, yet so watched; so intrusted, yet so criticised; so powerful, yet so counteracted; so honoured, yet so counselled; so wealthy, yet so dependent,—that all the good which sovereignty can impart is enjoyed largely by the nations whom they sway, with as few as possible of the evils which continued power must always tend to occasion, and which no human wisdom, while the executing instruments of its plans are imperfect mortals, can absolutely prevent. Such an institution was the Anglo-Saxon cyning; and such, with all the improvements which a frec-spirited nation has at various times added to it, is the British monarchy undcr which we are now reposing.

The Anglo-Saxon cyning reigned, as his kingly successors reign, by no divine right. His office was the invention, his appointment was the elcction, of his people; as the succession of our present sovereign is the ordination of law made by all the orders of the pcople in thcir great united parliamentary council. But religion has wisely taught us to consider the reigning sovereign as a consecrated functionary; not to give him the right divine of doing wrong, but to guard his person and character, for the sake of that welfare of the society for which they were created, with all the veneration which can be obtained from human sympathies; and with all that attachment which will most effectually promote the utility of his grcat office. Hence he was, as alrcady shown, anointed, prayed for, and said to reign by the grace of God. Hence violence to his person has been always considered as a species of sacrilege. Hcnce, without adopting the impious deification of the Roman emperors, or the analogous adulation with which those of China and the East are to their own moral prejudice surrounded, our kings have been always considered with a dcgree of religious[a] as well as civil respect, enough to raise them above every other class of society in character as well as dignity and prerogative; but not enough to emancipate them from all legal obligations, nor to elevate them above that law to which both sovereign and people are equally subject. That this state of subordination to the laws was the principle of the Anglo-Saxon royalty we may safely infer from the emphatic words of our ancient and venerable Bracton. The Norman kings were certainly not inferior in power or prerogative to the Anglo-Saxon; yet of the kingly power in his day, that of Henry the Third, and viewing it as connccted with the usages of what then was English antiquity, he says:

"Kings ought not to be under man, but under God, and the law, because the law makes the king. The King ascribes to the Law what the Law

[a] Hence Bracton calls the king the Vicarius Dei, p. 5. The minister and vicarius of God, p. 55.

ascribes to him; that is, dignity and power; for he is not King where his will governs, and not the Law.[b]

"The King has a superior, God; ALSO THE LAW, BY WHICH HE IS MADE KING; also this court, that is, of the earls and barons (the parliament); therefore, if the King should be without a bridle, that is, without Law, They ought to put a bridle upon Him.[c]

"The English laws are not whatever is rashly presumed from the will of the King; but what, with the intention of establishing laws, shall be rightly determined by the council of his magistrates (the parliament), the King presiding in authority, and in the deliberation and discussion having been had upon this subject."[d]

So our ancient law-book, Fleta, written under the successful and powerful Edward the First, thus expresses the same ideas, imitating or copying its predecessor:

"The King has superiors in ruling the people; as THE LAW, by which he is made King; and his court, that is, the earls and barons," meaning by these, the parliament.[e]

"The King ought not to have an equal in his kingdom; for an equal has no government over an equal: nor ought he to have any superior but God AND THE LAW. And because BY THE LAW he is made King, it is fit that domination and power should be ascribed to the Law, and should be defended by him on whom THE LAW has bestowed honour and power. He governs badly when a will shall govern in him dissonant to the law.[f]

"He is not called King from reigning, but the name is assumed from well-governing. He is a King while he governs well; but a Tyrant when he oppresses his people by his violated domination.[g]

"To this He is *elected* that he may cause justice to be exhibited equally to all who are subject to him, accepting the person of no one: that in him the Lord may sit, and by him decree judgment. It concerns him to defend and sustain what shall be justly judged; because if there was not one who would do justice, peace would easily be exterminated.[h]

"He has the power of coercion, that he may punish and restrain the delinquents; and have it in his power to make the laws, customs, and assizes provided, approved, and sworn in his kingdom, to be firmly observed BY HIMSELF and all his subjects.[i]

"He ought to excel all in his kingdom in power, because He ought not to have a peer, and much more a superior, in administering justice. Yet, though he excel all in power, his heart should be in the hand of God; and that his power may not remain unbridled, let him apply the bridle of temperance and the reins of moderation, that He be not drawn to do injury, who can do nothing in the land BUT WHAT HE CAN DO BY LAW.[j]

"For this HE IS CREATED AND CHOSEN KING, that he may do justice to all."[k]

It is in the same strain that our judge Fortescue writes, in the reign of Henry the Sixth:

"The King of England cannot change the laws of his kingdom at his will.[l]

"He cannot change the laws without the assent of his subjects; nor burthen his people with strange impositions.[m]

[b] Bracton, p. 5.
[c] Ibid. p. 34.
[d] Ibid. p. 107.
[e] Fleta, Proemium.
[f] Fleta, p. 2.
[g] Ibid. p. 16.
[h] Ibid.
[i] Ibid.
[j] Ibid.
[k] Ibid. p. 18.
[l] Fortescue, p. 25.
[m] Ibid. p. 26.

"The statutes of England cannot thus arise, since they are not from the will of the prince, but by the assent of the whole kingdom."[n]

"They are not made by the prudence of one man; or of an hundred counsellors; but of more than three hundred chosen men; as those who know the form of the parliament of England, and the order and manner of its convocation."[o]

"Nor can the King, by himself, or his ministers, impose talliages or subsidies, or any other burthens on his liege people; or change their laws, or establish new ones, without the concessions and assent of all his kingdom, expressed in parliament."[p]

It is in the same spirit, and obviously implying the same principles which these lawyers of Henry the Third, Edward the First, and Henry the Sixth, have expressed more at large, that the still more ancient Glanville, under Henry the Second, in his very short treatise, takes also occasion to say,

"It will not seem absurd that those English laws should be called LAWS, although not written, which have been promulgated on doubtful things, and in council determined by the advice of the proceres, and acceding authority of the prince."[q]

From this passage we perceive that these unwritten laws were not mere customs, as the common law of England has been sometimes erroneously called, but the actual enactments of the national council of England; and as these principles, from which the ancient interpreters of the law deduced their statements of the royal and parliamentary power in England, are not likely to have originated after the Norman conquest, we may consider them as describing to us some important features of the Anglo-Saxon cyning, and of the Anglo-Saxon witena-gemots.

We will now proceed to collect more distinctly some of the chief traits of the dignity and prerogatives of the cyning, which the Anglo-Saxon remains have preserved for our curiosity.

The authorities already adduced on the nature of the government of the Saxons on the continent, lead us to infer, that when Hengist, Ella, Cerdic, and Ida invaded Britain, they and the other chiefs who succeeded in establishing themselves in the island, came with the rank of war-kings, whose power was to continue while hostilities existed.

But to rule a territory extorted by violence from angry natives, who were perpetually struggling to regain it, could scarcely admit of any deposition of the kingly office. The same power and dignity which were requisite to obtain victory were equally wanted, while the hostility lasted, to preserve its conquests. It is, therefore, probable that the first Anglo-Saxon chieftains and their successors were, from necessity and utility, continued on the throne till the kingly dignity became an established, a legal, and a venerated institution.

[n] Fortescue, p. 40. [o] Ibid. [p] Ibid. p. 84. [q] Glanville Prologus.

The circumstance, that these war-kings and their associates invaded and conquered the dominions of petty British kings, was also favourable to the establishment of continued royalty. When the British king fell, or retreated before the Saxon war-king, all his advantages became the spoil of his conquerors. The Saxon chief naturally succeeded to the British, the Saxon nobles to the British nobles, and the other invading warriors to the possessions of the free part of the native community.

It is certain, that in the earliest periods of the Anglo-Saxon history, we find the cyning, or king, and all the four orders of noble, free, freed, and servile. Their conversion to Christianity introduced another class, of monks and clergy.

The power and prerogatives of the Anglo-Saxon cyning were progressively acquired. As the nation had no written constitution, their government was that of ancient custom, gradually altered from its original features by the new circumstances which occurred. In the course of time, the augmentation of the power of the cyning became indispensable to the happiness of the nation. What could arrange the contentions of right, property, and power, between equal nobles, or between them and the free, and afterwards between them and the church; what could protect the infant state from British hostility, ever jealous, ever bickering, and ever to be mistrusted, but such an institution as continued royalty—as a cyning, raised in dignity and power above all the other chieftains; who could see the laws of the society executed, and their various rights adjusted; to whom every rank could effectually appeal, and who was the protector of every order of the state from violence and wrong?

We have seen that the land swarmed with independent land proprietors of various denominations, whose privileges were not uniform; but whose jurisdictions were generally peculiar and independent. What but a king could, in their age, and with their customs, have rescued the nation from a New Zealand state of general warfare? The institution of the cyning was, therefore, an admirable device, adapted to promote the common interest. It maintained peace between the turbulent chieftains. It insured to every order the enjoyment of its immunities. It was the source whence legal justice was administered to all; and perhaps no single incident tended more to accelerate the Anglo-Saxon civilization, than the character and prerogatives of the cyning, moderated by the continuance of the witena-gemots, and the free spirit of the people.

It is extremely difficult to describe accurately his privileges and his power. It is remarked by Tacitus, as peculiar to the German nations, that the power of their kings was neither unlimited nor free;[r] and that the chieftains governed rather by influence than

[r] Nec regibus infinita; nec libera potestas. Mor. Germ. s. 7.

command. They could neither punish, fetter, nor lash: priests only had these powers, and these severities were submitted to from them as the inflictions of their gods.[s] The ancient Saxons having no king but in war time, his power could be but temporary; and when it became more permanent, must have been much restricted. As the supreme chief of many other chieftains, whose rights were as sacred as his dignity may have been popular, his authority must have been circumscribed by others. Much of his power at first depended on his personal character and talents. Thus Eadbald had less authority in Kent than his father;[t] while Edwin, in Northumbria, attained to such power, that he had the banner carried before him, not only in battle, but also in his excursions with his ministers through his kingdom, which seems to have been an assumption of dignity and state unknown before.[u] So Oswin was so beloved for his amiable conduct, that the noblest men of his provinces came from every part to attend and serve him.[v]

The growth of the kingly prerogatives was favoured not only by the energy and talents of the prosperous sovereigns, but also by the natural tendency of such a power to accumulate. The crown was a permanent establishment, which it was the interest of every one but the superior nobles to maintain and to aggrandize, till its power became formidable enough to be felt in its oppressions. Its domains were increasing by every successful war, and its revenue, privileges, and munificence, were perpetually adding to its wealth and influence.

When the zeal of the popes had completed the conversion of the island, and a hierarchy was established, the kingly power received great support and augmentation from the religious veneration with which the clergy surrounded it. That the church, in its weakness, should support the crown, which was its best protector, was a circumstance as natural as that it should afterwards oppose it, when its aggressions became feared.

The laws of Ethelbert, the first Christian king of Kent, who was converted about 600, are the most ancient specimens of the Anglo-Saxon legislation which remain to us. In these[w] the cyning appears already distinguished by a superior rank and privileges. While the mundbyrd of a ceorl was valued at six scillinga, the king's was appointed at fifty. The mulct on homicide in an eorle's residence was twelve scillinga; in a king's fifty. A double penalty was inflicted for injuries done where the cyning was drinking. An offence with his female was punished by a fine of fifty scillinga; while the eorle's occasioned only twelve, and a ceorl's but six. So, though a freeman's theft from a freeman in-

[s] Mor. Germ. s. 7.
[t] Bede, lib. ii. c. 6.
[u] Ibid. c. 16.
[v] Ibid. c. 14.
[w] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 1–7.

curred a treble satisfaction, his purloining the king's property was to be nine times compensated.

Another impressive and profitable token of superiority was, that some of the mulcts on offences were paid to him. Thus, if any harm was done to the leode, or people, when the king called them together, the compensation was to be double, and fifty scillinga were to be paid to the king. If any one killed a freeman, the king had a similar sum as his lord. If a freeman stole from others of the same condition, the penalty was to be the king's. If a pregnant woman was forced away, the king had fifteen scillinga.

In the laws of Ina, we see cyning mentioned in a style of authority very much resembling that of subsequent sovereigns. He says, "I, Ina, by the grace of God, king of the West Saxons." He uses the phrase "*my* bishops." He calls the nobles "*my* ealdormen," and "the oldest sages of *my* people." He adds, "I was consulting on the health of *our* soul and the establishment of *our* kingdom, that right laws, and right cyne domas (kingly judgments), through *our* people, might be settled and confirmed, and that no ealdorman, and none of *our subjects* should violate *our laws*." The laws then are introduced with "*We* command."[x]

One of the provisions in these laws shows the king in the same authoritative and dignified features. "If any one fight in the king's house, he shall forfeit *all* his property, and it shall remain for the king's decision whether he shall have his life or not."[y] The difference between this offence and quarrels elsewhere was very great; for a battle in the church, and in an ealdorman's house, was punished by a fine of 120 scillinga only.

The epithets given by the pope to the first Christian king of the Anglo-Saxons were, "the glorious," and "the most glorious." In several of their letters, the phrase "your glory" is used as synonymous with our expression of "your majesty." The same epithet of "most glorious" is applied by Aldhelm to the king of Cornwall, and, by an abbot, to the Frankish king.[z] But this epithet was rather the complimentary language of the day, than a phrase appropriated to royalty; for Alphuald, king of East Anglia, writing to Boniface, styles the mitred missionary, "Domino gloriosissimo." A pope, in 634, addresses the king of Northumbria as "your excellency." Boniface, to the king of Mercia, says, "We intreat the clemency of your highness." On another occasion, his superscription is more rhetorical: "To Ethelbald, king, my dearest lord, and in the love of Christ to be preferred to other kings, governing the illustrious sceptre of the empire of the Angles."[a] Another address of the same sort in

[x] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 14.
[y] Ibid. p. 16.
[z] Bonif. Letters, 16 Mag. Bib. 65, 85.
[a] Ibid. 16 Mag. Bib.

Saxon occurs in a monk's dedication of a saint's life: "To my most loved lord above the earthly kings of all other men, Alfwold, king of the East Angles, ruling his kingdom with right and with dignity."[b]

The titles which the ancient Saxon kings assumed in their charters may be briefly noticed:—"I, Æthelbald, by the divine dispensation, king of the Mercians." The powerful Offa simply writes, "Offa, king of the Mercians." Another: "Kenulph, by God's mercy, king of the Mercians." Witlaf's, Burtulph's, and Beorred's, are as unassuming. In the same spirit, Ethelwulph calls himself merely Rex West Saxonum. The style in which Edgar chose to be mentioned is usually very pompous and rhetorical.

Alfred's exordium to his laws is as dignified as Ina's: "I, Alfred, cyning, gathered together and have commanded to be written many of those things that our forefathers held which pleased *me;* and, many of those things that liked *me* not *I* have thrown aside, with the advice of my witan, and other things have commanded to be holden."[c]

The subsequent kings, in the same manner, promulged the laws in their own name, with the advice of their witan.

The prerogatives and influence in society of the cyning were great. He was to be prayed for, and voluntarily honoured;[d] his word was to be taken without an oath;[e] he had the high prerogative of pardoning in certain cases;[f] his mundbyrd and his were were larger than those of any other class in society;[g] his safety was protected by high penalties for offences committed in his presence or habitation, or against his family;[h] he had the lordship of the free;[i] he had the option to sell over sea, to kill, or to take the were of a freeman thief; also to sell a theow over sea, or take a penalty;[j] he could mitigate penalties;[k] and could remit them;[l] he had a sele, or tribunal, before whom thieves were brought;[m] he had a tribunal in London;[n] his tribunal was the last court of appeal;[o] he was the executive superintendant of the general laws, and usually received the fines attached to crimes.[p] The Jews were his property;[q] the high executive officers, the ealdormen, the gerefas, the thegns, and others, were liable to be displaced by him.[r] He convoked the councils of the witan,[s] and summoned the people to the army, which he commanded.

In the Saxon book of constitutions, he is thus spoken of: "The king should be in the place of a father to his people; and, in vigi-

[b] MS. Vita S. Guthlaci. Cott. Lib.
[c] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 34.
[d] Ibid. p. 10.
[e] Ibid. p. 11.
[f] Ibid. p. 20, 65.
[g] Ibid. 71, 72.
[h] Ibid. 22.
[i] Ibid. 2.
[j] Ibid. 12.
[k] Ibid. 77.
[l] Spelm. Conc. p. 485.
[m] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 8.
[n] Ibid. p. 10.
[o] Domesday, in loc.
[p] Heming. Chart. 1, p. 265.
[q] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 203.
[r] Ibid. 109, 122.
[s] Ibid. 109.

lance and guardianship, a viceroy of Christ, as he is called. It belongs to him and all his family to love Christianity, and shun heathenism. He should respect and defend the church, and tranquillize and conciliate his people by right laws; and by him happiness will be increased. He loves right, and avoids what is not so."[t]

His property, on the dissolution of the octarchy, was very extensive in every part of England. Just before Alfred acceded to the crown, there were four kings reigning over the Anglo-Saxons;—the kings of Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria. These four sovereignties had absorbed the other four. But when the sword of the Northmen had destroyed the dynasties of Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria, and when the invaders had themselves bent to the power of Alfred, then the Anglo-Saxon cyning rose into great power and property, because the royal power and property of the subdued kingdoms became the right of the ruling king. Alfred united in himself all the regal possessions in England, except those which he allowed the Danish princes to retain in Northumbria and East Anglia. The Northmen were completely subdued by Athelstan; and, when this event took place, the cyning of England became the possessor of all the prerogatives and property which the eight kings of the octarchy had enjoyed. It was this concentration of wealth and privileges, and its consequences, which exalted the cyning to that majesty and power which, in the later periods of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, became attached to the throne.

The royal property consisted of lands in demesne in every part of England; and though in the lapse of time he had given

[t] Wilk. Leg. p. 147. The exhortations which Alcuin gives to a king of Northumbria will show what the Anglo-Saxons expected or desired their kings to be. After reminding him that man cannot perish like an animal, but must live somewhere else for ever, and happily or miserably according to his actions here, he adds:

"Love not unjust riches, for all injustice is avenged by God. It is the duty of a king to repress all iniquities by his power, to be just in his judgment, and prone to mercy. God will be merciful to him, according as he shows mercy to his subjects. Let him be sober in his morals, true in his words, liberal in his gifts, provident in his councils. Let him choose prudent ministers, who fear God and lead an honourable life. He must not covet another's inheritance, nor indulge in avarice, nor in rapine. Often by rapine he loses his own possessions; for the Supreme hears the groans of the oppressed.

"You have seen how the kings your predecessors have perished from their injustice, their rapines, and their profligacy. Dread their ruin. The same God surveys your actions who did not spare their crimes. Many desired to amass supplies by violence and iniquities, and did not foresee that by this conduct they would lose the comfort both of this world and the future. Cultivate their peace, benignity, mercy, justice, and virtue." Ep. 1538.

In another letter to him he says:

"It does not become you on a throne to live with rustic manners. Anger should not govern you, but reason. Mercy will make you amiable, and cruelty hateful. Let truth only be heard from your mouth. Be chaste, sober, and reputable. Be free in giving, and not covetous in receiving. Let justice adorn your actions, and the form of honourable demeanour distinguish you to all who see you." P. 1554.

large possessions to his friends and followers, yet from many he reserved rents and services which were a great source of wealth and power. The places which occur with the denomination of royal towns, or royal villas, are very numerous; and among these we may notice the name of Windeshore (Windsor), which is still a regal residence.

His revenues were the rents and produce of his lands in demesne; customs in the sea-ports; tolls in the markets, and in the cities on sales; duties and services to be paid to him in the burghs, or to be commuted for money; wites, or penalties and forfeitures which the law attached to certain crimes and offences; heriotes from his thanes, and various payments and benefits arising to him on the circumstances stated in the laws.

His dignity and influence were displayed and upheld by his liberality, of which specimens will be given in another place.

But all the prerogatives and rights of the Anglo-Saxon cyning were definite and ascertained. They were such as had become established by law or custom, and could be as little exceeded by the sovereign, as withheld by his people. They were not arbitrary privileges of an unknown extent. Even William the Conqueror found it necessary to have an official survey of the royal rights taken in every part of the kingdom; and we find the hundred, or similar bodies, in every county, making the inquisition to the king's commissioners, who returned to the sovereign that minute record of his claims upon his subjects which constitutes the Domesday-book. The royal claims in Domesday-book, were, therefore, not the arbitrary impositions of the throne, but were those which the people themselves testified to their king to have been his legal rights. Perhaps no country in Europe can exhibit such an ancient record of the freedom of its people, and the limited prerogatives of its ruler.

The military force was under the command of the king, while it was assembled. It was rather a militia than a regular army. We have already given some notices of its nature: from a certain quantity of land, a fixed number of soldiers were sent, when the king summoned his people to an expedition, who were bound to serve under him for a certain time, apparently two months. Thus, in Berkshire, "When the king sent anywhere his army, one soldier went from every five hides, and for his victuals or his pay every hide gave him four shillings for two months. This money was not transmitted to the king, but to the soldiers. If any one, after he was summoned to the expedition, did not go, he forfeited to the king all his land. If any who had the right of staying at home promised to send a substitute, and the substitute did not go, the penalty was fifty shillings." In Wiltshire, "When the king went on an expedition by land or sea, he had from Wilton burgh either twenty shillings to feed his buzecarlos, or

led one man with him for the honour of five hides." A curious instance of tenure on military service occurs in Heming's Chartularium. The prior of a monastery gave a villa to a miles for life, on condition of his serving for the monastery for it, in the expeditions by sea and land which then frequently took place.

By the laws persons were forbidden to join the fyrd, or expedition, without the king's leave. To depart from it without permission, when the king commanded, was still more severely punished. The loss of life and the forfeiture of all the offender's property, was the consequence.

The scip fyrd, or naval expedition, was ordered to be always so accelerated as to be ready every year soon after Easter.

It was enacted, that whoever destroyed or injured the people's fyrd scyp should carefully compensate it, and to the king the mund.[u]

So early as in the time of Ina, it was provided, that if a sithcund man, having land, neglected the fyrd, he should pay one hundred and twenty shillings, and forfeit his land. If he had no land, he was to pay sixty shillings. A ceorl paid thirty shillings as a fyrd-wite.[v]

In this obligation of military service attached to lands, we see the leading principle of the feudal system. Its next principle was that of doing homage to the superior from whom they were held. Did the Anglo-Saxons perform the act of homage? I have met with one passage which implies it. The head of a monastery, finding he could not prevail against an opposing bishop, sought Wulstan as a protector, and did homage to him.[w]

CHAPTER IV.

The Witena-Gemot, or Anglo-Saxon Parliament, and of whom composed.

THE gemot of the witan was the great council of the Anglo-Saxon nation; their parliament, or legislative and supreme judicial assembly. As the highest judicial court of the kingdom, it resembled our present House of Lords. And in those periods, when the peers of the realm represented territorial property rather than hereditary dignities, the comparison between the Saxon witena-gemot and the upper house of our modern parliament might have been more correctly made in their legislative capacity. As the

[u] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 122. [v] Ibid. 23.
[w] Petiit Wulstanum fecit que sibi homagium. 3 Gale Script. 482.

German states are recorded by Tacitus to have had national councils,[a] so the continental Saxons are also stated to have possessed them.[b]

If we had no other evidence of the political wisdom of our Gothic or Teutonic ancestors than their institution of the witenagemots, or national parliaments, this happy and wise invention would be sufficient to entitle them to our veneration and gratitude. For they have not only given to government a form, energy, and direction more promotive of the happiness of mankind than any other species of it has exhibited, but they are the most admirable provision for adapting its exercise and continuance to all the new circumstances ever arising of society, and for suiting and favouring its continual progress.

Of these assemblies, originating amid the woods and migrations of the Teutonic tribes, one important use has been, to remove from the nation that has possessed and preserved them, the reproach, the bondage, and the misery of an immutable legislation. The Medes and Persians made it their right that their laws should never be changed; not even to be improved. This truly barbaric conception, a favourite dogma also with the kingly priests, or priestly kings of the Nile, and even at Lacedemon, could only operate to curtail society of its fair growth, and to bind all future ages to be as imperfect as the past. It may produce such a political and intellectual monstrosity as Egypt long exhibited, and force a nation to remain a piece of mechanism of bygone absurdity. But internal degradation and discomfort, external weakness, and national inferiority and decay, are the certain accompaniments of a polity so violent and unnatural.

Instead of thus making the times of ignorance, national infancy, and incipient experience the standard and the laws of a country's future manhood, the Anglo-Saxon witena-gemot or parliament was a wise and parental lawgiver; not bound in the chains of an obsolete antiquity, but always presiding with a nurturing care; always living, feeling, and acting with the population and circumstances of the day, and providing such regulations, either by alterations of former laws, or by the addition of new ones, as the vicissitudes, novelties, wants, improvement, sentiment, situation, and interest of its co-existing society, in its various classes, were found to be continually needing: sometimes legislating for the benefit of the rich, or the great, or the clergy, or the commercial, or the agriculturist; sometimes for the middling and lower orders; and sometimes collectively for all. Open to petitions, stating the grievances from which certain classes or individuals occasionally suffer, and acquiring thus a knowledge of the wants and feelings of society, which no vigilance of its own or of government could

[a] Tacitus de Morib. Germ.
[b] Fabricius Hist. Sax. 64, 69. Chronographus Saxo. p. 115.

by other means obtain: ready to enact new laws, as manifest evils suggest and reasoning wisdom patronises, an English parliament, with all its imperfections, many perhaps inevitable, is,—I speak with reverence, and only use the expression from the want of another as meaning,—the nearest human imitation of a superintending Providence which our necessities or our sagacity have yet produced or devised. The right of petitioning brings before it all the evils, real or imaginary, that affect the population which it guards; and the popular part being new-chosen at reasonable intervals, from the most educated orders of society, is perpetually renewed with its best talents; and, what is not less valuable, its living and contemporaneous feelings, fears, hopes, and tendencies. No despotic government, however pure and wise, can have these advantages. It cannot so effectually know what its subjects want. It cannot so well judge what they ought to obtain. It cannot so completely harmonize with the sympathies and flowing mind of the day, because its majesty precludes the acquisition of such identity as a septennial or hexennial election infuses. Whether new members are chosen, or old ones are re-elected, in both cases the election bespeaks their affinity with the hearts and understandings that surround them, and provides this security for a kind, vigilant, and improved legislation more effectually than any other system has yet imparted. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had all these advantages, though the peculiar state of their society prevented them from having that full benefit of such a noble institution as we now enjoy. But they were petitioned, and they legislated; and the dom-boc, or laws, of every Anglo-Saxon reign that has survived to us contains some improvements on the preceding. Some of their members were also most probably chosen like our own august parliament. The noble tree was then planted and growing, and had begun to produce fruit; though it had not obtained the majestic strength and dilation, and the beauty and fertility of that which now overshadows, protects, and distinguishes the British islands and their dependencies.

But this excellence our Anglo-Saxon parliaments certainly possessed, that they contained the collected feelings and mind of all the classes of the nation, except of the enslaved. The king was always an integral part of their constitution. He summoned, he addressed them; his concurrence was always necessary to their legislation, and he was the organ of its execution. The noble proprietors of land, and of the dignities annexed to it or flowing from it, were also essential members, and sometimes the most powerful. The gentry or thegns, knights, and the official dignities were there, and the chiefs of the clergy who had landed property. The bishops and abbots were always a constituent part after Christianity was introduced; and if that unhappy por-

tion of the people, which consisted of the slaves of all these orders, had no actual representatives, yet the many provisions for their benefit in the laws show that they possessed humane friends in it, attentive to their interests, and compassionating their degradation: these were probably the king and the clergy. It was the interest of royalty, and congenial with the courteous feelings which have usually accompanied our kings, to increase the number of the free; because every freed slave gave the crown a new partisan, and thus lessened those of a fierce, haughty, and dangerous nobility. It was the duty and the benevolent wish of the religious, and also their interest, to pursue the same policy, and, in the mean time, to mitigate the evils of thraldom. Thus the feelings, the interests, and the reason of all classes of the Anglo-Saxon society appeared in their witena-gemot; and whoever studies the successive provisions of their legislation which have come down to us, will perceive that the state of every class was progressively meliorated by new laws as new circumstances required them; and, even as far as we can discern their operation, almost every law seems to have been an improvement. Nothing more tended to insure this effect, than the right and practice of the subject to petition his legislature; for this, in practical tendency, makes every man, who has any grievance to complain of, a kind of party to its councils, as it enables him to lay his complaint before it, as completely as if he were a member of its body. Thus as our present parliament, in its sovereign, its nobles, and its popular representatives, and in the petitions which it receives, concentres all the feelings and mind of the nation, so did the Anglo-Saxon witena-gemot; for there is good reason to believe, that the cities and burghs sent their members into its body; and if these were not at first commercial, from the poverty and low estate of the earliest Anglo-Saxon tradesmen, they were likely to be of this description, when commerce had increased into the power of giving wealth, and that wealth, of creating for the merchant an effective rank not less important in the society whom he benefited, than the born nobility, which the great so highly valued. It is to the credit of the Anglo-Saxons, that no other European branch of the Teutonic population preserved so free and so effective a witena-gemot as they did. The legislatures which continued to exist of this sort in other countries gradually dwindled into non-existence, while the English parliament has flourished like the English nation, an example and an instrument of a national prosperity and power, exceeded by no preceding state, and equalled, if at all, by very few. To Fra Paolo's exclamation, of "Esto perpetua," the tendencies of the present age allow us to add the hope that, sooner or later, "Sit universa."

Where the cyning was only the temporary commander of the nation, for the purposes of war, whose function ceased when peace returned, the witena-gemot must have been the supreme

authority of the nation. But when the cyning became an established and permanent dignity, whose privileges and power were perpetually increasing till he attained the majestic prerogatives and widely-diffused property which Athelstan and Edgar enjoyed, the witena-gemot then assumed a secondary rank in the state. We will endeavour to delineate its nature and powers with fidelity, adopting no theory, but carefully following the lights which the Saxon documents afford to us.

The topics of our inquiry will be these:

What its members were styled.
Of whom it was composed.
By whom convened.
The times of its meetings.
The place.
Its business.
Its power.

The gemot and its members have various appellations in the writings of our ancestors. In their vernacular tongue they have been styled, the witena-gemot; the Engla ræd gifan (council-givers); the witan; the Eadigra geheahtendlic ymcyme (the illustrious assembly of the wealthy); the Eadigan (the wealthy); the mycel synoth (great synod).[c]

In the Latin phrases applied to them by our forefathers they have been called optimates; principes; primates; proceres; concionatores Angliæ, and such like.[d]

The kings, who allude to them in their grants, call them, My witan; meorum sapientum archontum; heroicorum virorum; conciliatorum meorum; meorum omnium episcoporum et principum optimatum meorum; optimatibus nostris.[e] All these are various phrases to express the same thing. With reference to their presumed wisdom, they were called witan; with reference to their rank and property, or nomination, they were styled eadigan, optimates, principes, proceres, &c. Other names will appear in some of the subsequent quotations.

On the question, who were the members of the witena-gemot, some certain information can be given, and some probable inferences may be made. That the bishops, abbots, eorles, ealdormen, and those who bore the title which was latinized into dux, princeps, &c., were parts of the great national council, is indisputable, from the language of the laws and the numerous charters which they signed. It is manifest, that others besides these higher nobles also attended it; and that these were thegns or ministri,

[c] Sax. Chron. 154. MS. Claud. A. 3. Sax. Chron. 148. Alfred's Will. Wilkins, 76, 102. Ibid. p. 10, p. 72, &c.

[d] Ethelward, 847. Hem. Chart. p. 15, 17, 23. MS. Claud. MS. Cleop. 3 Gale 484, 485, &c.

[e] Heming, Chart. 2, 41, 57. MS. Claud. C. 9, 103, 112, 113, &c.

milites, and several who are mentioned in the charters without any designation of legal rank. Thus far the Anglo-Saxon documents give certain information. The only questionable points are, whether these thegns, milites, and others, attended like our ancient and present barons, as a matter of personal right from their rank, when summoned by the king, and with a legal claim to be so summoned; or whether they were elected representatives of any and what part of the nation, inferior in rank to the summoned nobility. After many years' consideration of the question, I am inclined to believe, that the Anglo-Saxon witena-gemot very much resembled our present parliament, in the orders and persons that composed it; and that the members, who attended as representatives, were chosen by classes analogous to those who now possess the elective franchise.

We have an expressive outline of the general construction of all the German national councils, in these words of Tacitus: "On the minor affairs the chiefs consult; on the greater, ALL. Yet so, that those things, of which the decision rests with the people, are treated of among the chiefs."[f] This passage shows that, by the general principle of the most ancient German gemots, the people made an essential part of the assembly. Both chiefs and people deliberated, and the people decided. This being the primeval principle of the national councils of ancient Germany, before the Angles and Saxons left it, it becomes incumbent on the historical antiquary to show, not when the people acceded to the witena-gemots, but when, if ever, they were divested of the right of attending them. Of such a divestment there is no trace either in our historical or legal records.

The popular part of our representation seems to have been immemorial. There is no document that marks its commencement. And if the probabilities of the case had been duly considered, it would have been allowed to be unlikely, that the sovereigns and the aristocracy of the nation would have united to diminish their own legislative power, by calling representatives from the people to share it. Neither kings nor nobles could alone confer this power; and it would have been a voluntary and unparalleled abandonment of their own exclusive prerogatives and privileges, that they should have combined to impart it to others, if these had not possessed an ancient indefeasible right of enjoying it. But, in considering the Anglo-Saxon people that were represented at the gemot, we must not confound them with our present population. Those classes only who now elect members would then have been allowed to elect them; and the numbers of the individuals composing those classes were very much smaller indeed than their present amount. The great bulk of the Anglo-Saxon

[f] Tacitus Germ. s. 11.

population was in a servile state, and therefore without any constitutional rights. All the villani, servi, bordarii, coscetæ, cotarii and coliberti, esnes and theows; that is, all the working agricultural population, and most of those who occupied the station of our present small farmers; and in the burghs and cities, all those who were what is called the men, or low vassals of other persons, analogous to our inferior artisans and mechanics and small tradesmen, were the property of their respective lords, and with no more political rights than the cattle and furniture, with which we find them repeatedly classed and transferred. Two-thirds, at least, more probably three-fourths, of the Anglo-Saxon population were originally in this state, till voluntary or purchased emancipations, and the effects of war and invasion, gradually increased the numbers of the free. Domesday-book shows, that even in the reign of the Confessor, the largest part of the English population, was in the servile state.

The constitutional principle as to the servile population of the country seems to have been, that it was represented by its masters in the national council, like the rest of their property.

Hence it was only to the freemen of the counties, or, as we now call them, freeholders; and to the free inhabitants of the burghs or boroughs, and cities, whom we now call burgesses and citizens, that any legislative representation can have applied in the Anglo-Saxon times. The freeholders appear to have multiplied from the Northmen invasions; for greater numbers of them are enumerated in Domesday-book, in the counties which the Danish population principally colonized than in the others.[g] These desolating wars destroyed so many nobles and their families, that many of the servile must have often become liberated from no lords or thegns surviving to claim them; and corresponding with this idea, there are many passages in our laws which are directed against those who wander over the country without having a visible owner. All such, as well as every fugitive who could escape pursuit, became in time freemen in the burghs or towns where they ultimately settled; yet these would not become electors in those places where none were allowed to be burgesses, who were not formally admitted to be such. They could only acquire a share in the elective franchise in those parts where mere house-holding was sufficient to constitute an elector; and as this large privilege was in after-times possessed in very few places, there is no reason to believe, that it was more extensively enjoyed in the Anglo-Saxon burghs.

If the freeholders of the Anglo-Saxon counties were not represented in their witena-gemot, at what other time did this important privilege originate? That it should have begun after the

[g] See Domesday-book in Essex, Norfolk, &c.

Norman conquest is incredible. If the legislative council of the nation had been from immemorial custom confined to the king and nobles, their sturdy maintenance of all their exclusive rights and advantages, is evidence that they would not have willingly curtailed their power by so great an innovation. The pride of nobility would not have admitted unnoble freeholders to have shared in the most honourable of its privileges; and least of all would the fierce and powerful Norman lords have placed the Anglo-Saxon freemen, whom they had conquered, and with whom they were long in jealous enmity and proud hatred, in the possession of such a right. But the total absence of any document or date, of the origin of the election of representatives by the freeholders of counties, is the strongest proof we can have that the custom has been immemorial, and long preceded the Norman conquest. The fact that such representatives have been always called knights of the shire, and that milites, or an order like those afterwards termed knights, were a part of the witena-gemot, befriend this deduction. Milites or knights were not the nobles of the country, though noblemen courted the military honour of the Anglo-Saxon knighthood. So many charters of the witena-gemots exist, signed by knights or milites, that either milites had a right as such to be a part of the council, or they were sent there as the representatives of their counties. The first supposition is supported by no law or practice, and is improbable from the number of milites in the country. The latter has been the ancient custom, without any known origin or limitary date.

To the citizens and burgesses of parliament analogous remarks are equally applicable. We may find no existing writ ordering their election earlier than the 23d year of Edward I.;[h] but the loss of the preceding records is no proof of their non-existence, and ought never to have been confounded with it. All the writs of summons of the Anglo-Saxon nobles to the witena-gemot have been lost; yet, who would infer from their non-appearance that the nobles were not summoned to the gemot, and had no right to be there. The earliest summons of the peers to parliament is usually, but erroneously, said to be that of the 49 Hen. III.; but is this a proof that they were not in parliament before?[i] There is nothing in the earliest writ which has survived that marks such writ to have been the commencement of the custom. The truth seems to be, that this privilege has been, like the county repre-

[h] Brady gives this writ of summons, Hist. Treat. Boroughs, p. 54.

[i] The error on this subject shows the absurdity of dating the origin of any part of the parliamentary representation from the first writ that has happened to survive. Dugdale, and from him Hume, and a stream of writers on this subject, state the summons of the peers of the 49 Hen. III. as the most ancient that exists; and yet Selden had noticed one twenty-three years earlier. There is one to the archbishop of York, 26 Henry III. It is Dors. Claus. 26 Henry III. Mem. 13.

sentation, immemorial. Authentic history can assign to it no limit.

It is in this way that the privilege is mentioned by our most venerable writers. When our ancient Littleton mentions burghs, he describes them as the most ancient towns of England, and as possessed of this privilege of representation, without any remark that this great right was a novelty, or at that time of modern origin. His words are: "The ancient towns called burghs are the most ancient cities that are in England; for those towns that are called cities were burghs in ancient times, and were called burghs. For of such ancient cities, called burghs, come the burgesses to parliament, when the king has summoned his parliament." It appears to me, that our venerable judge, when he wrote this passage, considered the custom of sending burgesses as ancient as the burghs themselves.[j]

The ancient words of the writ to the sheriffs, cited by Lord Coke, correspond with the preceding view of the subject. They do not order him to return burgesses from this or that particular burgh, to which the king or parliament had at some late period granted a right; but they direct him to send from every burgh in his county two burgesses;[k] *every* burgh, as if it had been the common public right of all burghs, and not a special privilege granted to any in particular. The language of the oldest writ yet found, 23 Ed. I., is precisely the same.[l]

In the same manner our ancient lawyer Bracton speaks generally of the English laws, as having been made by the three estates of king, lords, and commons. It must be observed that he is not here speaking of new laws, but of the ancient law of the kingdom. "It will not be absurd to call the English laws by the name of laws, although not written, since whatever shall have been justly defined and approved by the council and consent of the magnates, and the common assent of the republic, the authority of the king or prince preceding has the vigour of law."[m] Here our unwritten common law is derived from the concurring authority of the king, the great, and the common assent of the republic. This third branch of authority is evidently that which arose from the popular representation.

Ina, in his introduction to his laws, mentions distinctly the three orders of the nation as assisting and concurring in their formation. "My bishops and all ealdormen, and the eldest *witan of my people*, and a great collection of God's servants."[n] Here the nobles, *the people*, and the clergy, are distinctly recognised.

[j] Littleton, Ten. lib. ii. s. 164.

[k] Coke on Littl. p. 109.

[l] "De *qualibet* civitate ejusdem comitatus, duos cives, et de quolibet burgo, duos burgenses." Brady, p. 54.

[m] Bracton, c. i. p. 1.

[n] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 14.

That in addition to the clergy and greater nobles, there were other members of the witena-gemot; that thegns or ministri,[o] and milites, or a rank in the community called afterwards knights, were among these other members; and that there were other persons there, who were neither clergy, nobles, knights, thegns nor ministri, and who, being mentioned without designation, in an age when all were so tenacious of their rank, may be reasonably considered to have been of an inferior order, are facts proved by the expressions used in many Anglo-Saxon charters, and by the signatures to them.

A charter of Ethelbald, in 736, is signed by the king, two bishops, two comites, a dux, an abbas, and by *six persons without any note of their quality.*[p]

A charter of Ethelred, expressed to be made "with the consent and license of my optimates *and other fideles*," is signed by the king, two archbishops, six bishops, four duces, six abbots, ten ministri, and *by two without any title.*[q]

A charter of Ethelwulph is signed by the king, archbishop, two duces, and by twenty-three *without a title.* It is endorsed by two abbots, seven presbyters, six deacons, and *by three without a title.*[r]

A charter of Sigered, expressed to be made "with the advice and consent of my principes," is signed by the king, archbishop, two abbots, one presbyter, one comes, and *by four without a title.*[s]

A charter of Ceolwulf is signed by the king, archbishop, two bishops, a subregulus, ten duces, three abbots, two presbyters, and *by five without a title.*[t]

A charter of Offa is signed by the king, queen, one archbishop, three bishops, five abbots, two principes, one dux, one prefect, and *by eight without a title.*[u] Another of Offa's *has two without a title.*[v]

A charter of Cenwulf, made "with the advice and consent of my optimates," is signed by the king, queen, archbishop, four bishops, five duces, and *by one without a title.*[w]

A charter of Berthtwulf, mentioned to be made before the king and proceres, and that the optimates adjudged, and that the king before his archontes did it, is signed by the king, queen, four bishops, one abbot, eight duces, and *by six without a title.*[x]

A charter of Edward, the son of Alfred, made "with the testimony of the bishops, and princes, and *some senators subject to them*," is signed by the king, the ruler of Mercia and his lady, three bishops, two duces, two ministri, and *by one without a title.*[y]

A charter of Burghred, made "with the advice and license of all my proceres," is signed by the king, queen, four bishops, ten duces, and *by ten without a title.*[z]

A charter of Edward, in 908, is signed by the king, archbishop, four bishops king's brother and two sons, five duces, four presbyters, eighteen ministri, and *by three without a title.*[a]

A charter of Edward the Confessor to the Abbey of Westminster, is signed

[o] The Saxon word used to express minister is thegn. In Henry the First's time thegn is mentioned as if analogous to baron. For a legal offence the fine of a comes was ten manex: thanii vel borones quinque. Wilk. Leg. 250.

[p] MSS. Cott. Aug. A. 2. [q] Ibid. [r] Ibid.

[s] Dugdale, Mon. Ang. p. 29. [t] MSS. Aug. A. 2. [u] Ibid.

[v] Heming. Chart. p. 18. [w] Ibid. p. 23.

[x] Ibid. p. 28. Another of Berthtwulf is signed by seven without a title, p. 224.

[y] Ibid. p. 65. [z] Ibid. p. 87. [a] Dugd. Mon. p. 37.

by the king, queen, two archbishops, eight bishops, seven abbots, the chancellor, four duces, six ministri, and *by four without a title.*[b]

A charter of Edgar is signed by the king, two archbishops, three bishops, three abbots, four duces, four ministri, and *by fifteen others without a title.*[c]

A charter of Cnut is signed by the king, queen, two archbishops, six bishops, seven duces, seven milites, seven abbots, and *by five without a title*;[d] and this is expressed to be made with the advice and decree of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and *of my other fidelium.*[e]

A charter of Edgar in 973, besides the king, two archbishops, three bishops, three abbots, four duces, and four disc-thegns, *has twenty-one without* a title among the according persons.[f]

In a charter of Edward the Confessor, the consenting persons are the king, two archbishops, three bishops, the chancellor, a notary, five abbots, four duces, a chamberlain, a stallere, *and two without a title.*[g]

From these instances it is manifest that there were members of the witena-gemot who were distinguished by no rank or title of honour, like the duces, earls, thegns, or ministri, and milites, and who had no other dignity than that of being part of the gemot, and therefore signed the charters without any designation of peculiar quality. These untitled persons suit the situation of those who were sent by the cities and burghs. Such would be but plain citizens and burgesses, who had no rank in the state by which they could be designated.

That thegns, or ministri, and milites, were always members of the witena-gemot, will be sufficiently manifested by the following instances, as well as by some of those already adduced. It will be hereafter shown, in considering the dignity of thegns, or thanes, that the superior thanes, also called king's thegns, had under them inferior thegns, who were named medeme, or middling thegns. As Domesday-book mentions thanes holding land, with their milites under them, who were also landed proprietors, we may presume that the Saxon term of the middling thanes, was first used to mark those who are in Domesday called their milites, especially as Alfred translated the milites of Bede by the word thegn. But the term cniht was also coming into use before the Conquest for the same class; and afterwards the word knights was their established English denomination, as milites was the Latin one. That the Saxons had a dignity and class of persons analogous to the Norman knight has already been proved: one authority will be hereafter noticed which applies the word drenc to this celebrated class of our population.

[b] Dugd. Mon. p. 62. [c] Ibid. p. 66. [d] MSS. Aug. A. 2.
[e] Dugd. Mon. p. 288. [f] Ibid. p. 244. "His testibus *concordantibus.*"
[g] Dugd. Mon. p. 238. In a charter granted by Wihtred, it is stated that it was confirmed in 716, in the synod held at Cloveshoe, by the authority of those whose names follow. It is signed by the archbishop, thirteen bishops, ten presbyters, one deacon, two abbots, two prepositi, one earl, and twenty others who have no titles. Astle's Charters, MS. No. 2. In 1018 is a charter of Cnut signed by prelates and duces, and also by a prepositus, two ministri, and by four others with no quality annexed. Ast. Ch. MSS. No. 31.

It has been already intimated that Saxon superior thegns were classed as the Norman barons, and it is probable that the secondary or middling thegns were similar to the Norman knights. But although milites were in the Anglo-Saxon witena-gemot, as well as thegns, yet, as all the milites, or secondary thegns, were too numerous to be there, the inference seems indisputable that those who were present did not come with any personal right of being members, but were sent as the elected representatives of others, either of their own class, or of all the freeholders in the county whom they preceded in rank.

The following examples will add more information on these subjects:

A charter of Ceolulf, in 803, is signed by the king, archbishop, two bishops, three duces, one presbyter, and *by thirteen milites*.[h]

One of Ethelstan has the names of the king, archbishop, eight bishops, four duces and *twenty marked mis and mi*, which may either mean miles or minister.[i]

One of Cnut, stated to be "with these witnesses consenting," and "under the testimony of the optimates," is signed by the king, queen, two archbishops, nine bishops, four duces, eight abbots, *and four milites*.[j]

One of Ethelstan has the king, archbishop, five bishops, three duces, and seven ministri.[k]

Eadwig's charters exhibit to us, in one, the king, his brother, archbishop, two bishops, five duces, and eight ministri; in the other, besides the clergy, six duces and six persons marked m.[l]

Besides one of Edgar's, signed *by sixteen* m̃, and another *by twenty-six mis*,[m] there is another, expressed to be "confirmed at London by the *common* council of his optimates," which is signed *by four ministri*.[n]

In 958, a charter of Edgar's made "with the advice of my optimates," adds, "these witnesses consenting, whose names follow *according to the dignity of each*." The names are, the king's, two archbishops, six bishops, the king's avia, a former queen, three abbots, seven duces, and *sixty ministri*.[o]

A charter of Wulfere, in 664, made "with the accompanying kings, fathers, and duces, is signed by the king, by three other kings of the octarchy, his brother, and two sisters, archbishop, four bishops, two presbyters, one abbot, three principes, *and five ministri*;" and it is added, "*by the rest of the optimates and ministri of the king*."[p]

Edmund's charter, in 942, is signed by eleven milites;[q] another in 941, by fourteen ministri.[r] So one of Edred's has nine ministri;[s] another, marked as with the consent "heroicorum virorum," has also nine ministri.[t] One of Ethelstan's is signed by eleven ministri.[u] One of Cnut, "with the advice of twenty ministri, among others."[v]

Of Ethelred's charters, one contains fifteen ministri among the concurring persons;[w] another is made with the advice of forty-three ministri, among

[h] MSS. Aug. A. 2. [i] Ibid. [j] Ibid.
[k] Ibid. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid.
[n] Dug. Mon. 17. One of the persons, among the kings that sign, is Mascusius Archipirata. This was a sea-king. Another has twelve ministri. p. 141.
[o] Dug. Mon. p. 103. [p] Ibid. p. 66. [q] Ibid. p. 287.
[r] Ibid. 214. So another in 940, has twenty-three ministri. Aug. A. 2.
[s] Aug. A. 2. [t] Dugd. Mon. 215. [u] Hem. Chart. p. 12.
[v] Dugd. 276. Another of his is signed by twenty-six ministri, ibid. p. 229.
[w] Dugd. p. 258.

others;[x] another, in 1006, among the "sapientes," or *wise men, places twenty-one ministri;*[y] and also ten ministri in 1001.[z]

On so important a subject it may be proper to adduce a few more examples:

A charter of Edgar, in 970, gives strong evidence on this subject: it is signed by the king, two archbishops, eleven bishops, the queen, eleven abbots, nine duces, and twenty-six milites, or knights; and there are added these words, "With many others of all the dignities and primates of my kingdom."[a]

It is obvious from this document that the witena-gemot consisted not only of the prelates, abbots, and nobles, but of knights and many others, who are called dignitates et primates.[b]

Another charter of Edgar is signed by the king, one archbishop, twelve bishops, twelve abbots, six duces, and twenty-eight milites, or knights.[c]

One of Cnut is signed by the king, queen, two archbishops, eleven bishops, eight abbots, three earls, five milites, and five others called satraps.

That this was part of the witena-gemot is manifest, because one of the Comites expresses, in addition to his signature, that it was the decretum sapientum, the decree of the wise men.[d]

The Saxon Chronicle obviously alludes to the members and assembly of the witena-gemot when it mentions that William the Conqueror wore his crown every year, in Easter, at Winchester; on Whitsuntide, at Westminster; and in mid-winter at Gloucester; and then were with him all the rice men over all England; archbishops, bishops, abbots, and earls, thegns, and cnihtas.[e] It is not at all probable that thegns and knights would have been part of the Conqueror's parliament if they had not been constituent parts of the national council before his invasion.

That the thegn, or minister, was also sometimes a miles, I infer from observing that one of Edgar's charters is signed by eight with the designation of miles, some of whose names I recognise in other charters of the same king, where they are denoted as ministri.[f] That thegn is sometimes translated minister, many charters and Saxon documents show;[g] but there is one that has come down to us which actually distinguishes the ministri from the nobiles: it is signed by the king, the archbishop, four bishops, six duces, one abbot, *three nobiles*, and *nine ministri*.[h]

That the witena-gemot contained some who had lands, and some who had none, and therefore did not sit in that assembly by virtue of their baronies, or landed property, may be justly inferred from an important charter of Kenulf, king of Mercia, in the year 811.

[x] Dugd. p. 261. [y] Ibid. 270.
[z] Ibid. 217. So fifteen ministri sign another, p. 218.
[a] Compare the charters in Dugdale, p. 211, with those in p. 141, and 103.
[b] Gale's Script. vol. iii. p. 517. [c] Ibid. p. 520.
[d] Ibid. p. 523. [e] Sax. Chron. p. 190.
[f] Compare the charters in Dugd. Mon. p. 211, with those in p. 141, and 103.
[g] And so Alfred translates the Latin of Bede. [h] Dugd. Mon. p. 230.

It states that the king called to the consecration of the church, "the whole of the optimates of Mercia; the bishops, princes, earls, *procuratores*, and my relations, the kings of Kent and Essex, with all who were present, witnesses, in our synodical councils." The king adds, "With all the optimates of Mercia IN THREE SYNODS, with unanimous advice, I gladly gave my gifts to all the archontes of Mercia, and of the other provinces, in gold, in silver, and in all my utensils, and in chosen steeds; that is, to each according to the dignity of his degree; *and on all who had not lands* I bestowed a pound in the purest silver, and in the purest gold: and to every presbyter one marc; and to every servant of God one shilling; and these gifts are not to be numbered, as it became our royal dignity.[j]

This important charter not only proves that some of the members of the witena-gemot had no lands, but it seems to intimate that they met in three chambers. The expression "in three synods," coupled with "the unanimous advice," leads the mind to ask whether it does not refer to the three orders of clergy, nobles, and commons meeting in separate synods, rather than to three successive meetings of the same synod. The practice from the time that the meetings of parliament become distinctly visible to us has been such separate meetings, with the custom of all uniting together when the king was present. The natural force of the words "three synods" is to express three distinct councils, not three sittings of the same council.

There is a charter, dated 970, in Ingulf, which, besides the clergy, duces, and ministers, has fourteen signatures without any designation.[k]

In one a person signs himself as both sacerdos and minister, as if the minister was a qualification distinct from, and additional to, that of priest.

In 833, the king says he makes his charter before the bishops, and greater proceres of all England, as if the proceres had been in two divisions—the majores and the minores.[l]

The same distinction is expressly mentioned in 851. The optimates of the universal concilii, of the *whole* council, are noticed; and Ingulf says, "in this council, many, tam majores quam minores, became afflicted with an epidemical disease."[m]

[j] Dugd. Mon. 189. It is signed by only the king, the two other kings, archbishop, twelve bishops, and eleven duces, which shows that only a part of the witena-gemot signed this charter. Some of the Saxon charters have been supposed to be forged just after the Conquest. The observation has been made much too indiscriminately. But though the monks may have sometimes pretended to more grants of land, and of exemptions than they were entitled to, their own interest would lead them to be correct in their forms and phrases of the documents they adduced. In the above citations I have endeavoured to avoid all that seemed doubtful, but we cannot believe that the monks would expose themselves to immediate detection by introducing into the witena-gemot those classes who were never there. Therefore even surreptitious charters would throw light on this subject. *Procuratores*, or attorneys, imply representation.

[k] Ingulf, Hist. p. 117.

[l] Ibid. p. 10.

[m] Ibid. p. 16. In the same sense Eadmer mentions "totam regni nobilitatem, *populumque minorem*." p 58.

This distinction of the greater from the less barons, or proceres, in the Anglo-Saxon times, shows that there were two classes of them in the national council before the Conquest. That the majores, or greater barons, answered to our present House of Peers, and were, like them, called individually to parliament by the king's writ of summons, and that the others were to be sent like our Commons, we may safely infer from the provisions of Magna Charta: "We will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, majores barones, separately, by our letters; and besides, we will cause to be summoned, in general, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who hold of us in capite at a certain day, at the end of forty days at least, at a certain place," &c.[n] The provisions of Magna Charta were not claimed as innovations, but as the ancient rights and privileges of the nation.

The same distinction of the inferior barons from the superior chamber of them, is expressively mentioned in the life of Becket, by his contemporary secretary.

After stating that the king appointed a general council, or parliament, to meet at Northampton, he says, "On the second day the bishops, earls, and *all* the barons were sitting."[o] In the discussion the bishops said, "We sit here not as bishops, but as barons: you are barons and we are barons, your peers."[p] He afterwards adds, "The king exacted from the earls and barons their judgment of the archbishop." Then follows this important passage: "Some sheriffs and barons of the second dignity are called in, ancient in days, that they may be added to them, and be present at the judgment."[q]

These last quotations prove that there were barons of the second dignity distinct from the greater, not only in John but in Henry the Second's times; and by comparing them with the expressions of Ingulf, it is obvious that the same distinction prevailed in the Saxon times. The passage from Stephanides also implies that, until called in, the minor barons were not sitting with the peers.

The expressions of the writers immediately after the Conquest, in describing the national council, show that it consisted of other classes besides the nobles and clergy, because it is not likely that the three first Norman sovereigns would have introduced, as there is no evidence that they did introduce, a more popular representation. Thus of Henry the First it is said, by Peter of Blois, "Having appointed a most distinguished council at London, as well of the bishops and abbots of all the clergy of England, as of the earls, barons, *optimates and proceres* of all his kingdom."[r] The optimates and proceres express members different from the earls, and barons, and additional to them.

[n] Statutes of the realm, p. 10.
[o] W. Stephan. p. 35.
[p] Ibid. p. 37.
[q] Ibid. p. 46.
[r] Pet. Bless. Hist. p. 128.

So the Saxon Chronicle mentions of the same king, Henry the First, that he "sent his writs over all England, and commanded his bishops and his abbots, and *all his thegns*, that they should come to his ge-witena-mot at Candlemas-day at Gloucester: and they did so: and the king bade them choose an archbishop. The bishops chose one, but it is added, that the monks, the eorles, *and the thegnas*, opposed him."[s] So it is mentioned four years afterwards, that Henry held all his "hired," meaning his council, at Windsor, at Christmas; and that all the head men, lay and clergy that were in England, were there; and it adds, that the archbishop, bishops, and abbots, and the earls, and *all the thegns*, that were there, swore fidelity to his daughter.[t] These passages concur with the preceding to show that the witena-gemot here contained other members, called thegns, in addition to the earls and clergy.

Recollecting preceding facts, and the immemorial custom of the united assent of King, Lords, and Commons being given to all our statute-laws, without any record of the commencement of their concurrence, the following passages of the unanimous consent of the whole council in the Anglo-Saxon times, and of their being the council of the *whole* nation, seem very much to imply a unanimity of more bodies or classes than one single assembly of assenting nobles:

"With the unanimous consent of the whole of the present council."[u]

"With the common gratuitous council and consent of all the magnates of the kingdom."[v]

"When (948) the *universal* magnates of the kingdom, summoned by the royal edict, as well the archbishop, bishops, and abbots, as the other *proceres* and *optimates* of the *whole* kingdom, had met together at London, to treat of the public affairs of the whole kingdom."[w]

"947. Who at London in a *common* council before the archbishop, bishops, and the magnates of the whole land."[x]

So Egbert says:

"With the license and consent of the *whole of our nation*, and with the unanimity of all the optimates."[y]

So a charter of Ethelred mentions, emphatically, "with the unanimous legal council, and most equal judgment, of the bishops, duces, and all the optimates of this kingdom." And a charter of Burhred, in 864, is made "with the consent and license of all our senate of bishops, princes, and of *all* our optimates *together*." Another document says, "with the testimony of the bishops and princes, and of some *senators subject to them*."[z] All these ex-

[s] Sax. Chron. 224, 225. That thanes or thegns made part of the witena-gemo tis expressly declared by Edgar; for he says, "I and my thegnas will," &c. Wilk. p. 80.

[t] Sax. Chron. p. 230. [u] Ingulf, p. 15. [v] Ibid. p. 13.

[w] Ibid. p. 32. [x] Ibid. p. 39. [y] MSS. Claud. c. 9.

[z] MSS. Claud. and Hem. Chart. 63, 65.

pressions seem not to suit an assembly that consisted merely of nobles and clergy.

Hence, when we read that William the Conqueror adds, "By the *common council* of *all* our kingdom,"[a] and that his son Henry the First uses the words "By the common council of the barons,"[b] we appear not to err when we infer that the words common council express a united council of more classes and bodies than one. It is thus the terms have been immemorially used in the city of London. Its lord mayor, aldermen, and the elected deputies of its wards, form, when all assemble, its common council; yet the aldermen have a separate court, with separate powers and privileges, and at times, like the mayor, act distinctly and apart. There is every reason to suppose that this civic constitution of the metropolis originated in the Anglo-Saxon times.

But this meaning of the terms "common council" is not left merely to our conjecture, it is the actual meaning given to the words by the most ancient writ of electing citizens and burgesses to parliament that has survived to us. It occurs among the Rolls of the 23d Edward the First.

"We command and firmly enjoin you, that of the aforesaid county you cause to be elected, without delay, two knights, and from every city of the same county two citizens, and from every burgh two burgesses, of the more discreet and able to labour, and cause them to come to us at the aforesaid day and place; so that the said knights may have then there full and sufficient power for themselves, and for the community of the aforesaid county; and the said citizens and burgesses for themselves, and for the community of the aforesaid cities and burghs, distinct from them, to do there what shall be ordained from the common council (de communi consilio) in the premises."[c]

Here the words common council are applied to express the deliberate determinations of the whole body of the parliament in its three estates of king, lords, and commons.

If only the nobles and clergy, as nobles or barons, had formed the witena-gemot, there seems to be no reason why so many and such various phrases should have been used in the Anglo-Saxon documents to express its members. If they had been of one class only, one uniform and simple denomination would have been more natural: but if the witena-gemot was a complex body, and, besides the nobles, comprised knights of the shires, citizens and burgesses, as all our parliaments since the Conquest seem to have done, then we perceive the cause of their appellations being multiplied.

The force of all the preceding circumstances, considered without reference to any theory, and taken together, seems to me to suit better the constitution of our present parliament than any

[a] Wilk. Concil. p. 228.

[b] Ibid. p. 233. So John says in the articles preceding Magna Charta, that no scutage or aid shall be imposed on the kingdom except by the "commune consilium."

[c] Claus. 23 Ed. I. M. 4, apud Brady, p. 54.

senate composed merely of nobility and clergy. Although we have no direct evidence from records that the cities and burghs were represented in the witena-gemot, yet there seems to be sufficient probabilities of evidence that the fact was so. The claim of the borough of Barnstaple, in Devonshire, must have considerable weight on our judgments when we reflect on this subject. In a petition to parliament, presented in the reign of Edward the Third, this borough claimed to have been chartered by Athelstan, with several privileges, and to have sent, from time immemorial, burgesses to parliament. Its claims were investigated by jurors legally appointed, and though from the loss of the charter the other immunities were not confirmed, its right of sending burgesses was admitted to continue.[d] In Edward the Second's reign the borough of St. Alban's stated, in a petition to parliament, that they, *as the other* burgesses of the kingdom, ought to come, by two common burgesses, to the parliament of the kingdom when that should happen to be summoned, as they have been accustomed to come *in all past times;* but that the sheriff, to favour the abbot, had refused to return them. The answer to this petition was not a denial of the right, but a reference to the Chancery, to see if *they* had been accustomed to come.[e] The right here claimed is not rested on any particular charter, but on the ancient usage of the country.

In the 51st Edward the Third, the Commons stated that, "of *the common right of the kingdom*, two persons are and will be chosen to be in parliament for the community of the said counties, except the prelates, dukes, earls, and barons, and such as hold by barony; and besides cities and burghs, who ought to choose of themselves such as should answer for them.[f] Here also the privilege of parliamentary representation is not rested on any dated law or royal charter, but *on the common right of the kingdom.*

There is a passage in the laws of Ethelstan that seems to me to relate to the witena-gemot, and to the representatives of burghs. If it has this reference, it shows the punishment that was provided for those who, when chosen for the burghs, neglected to attend the gemot:

"If any one shall forsake the gemot three times he shall pay a fine to the king for his contumacy, and shall be summoned seven nights before the gemot meets. If he will not then act rightly, (that is, attend,) nor pay for this contumacy, then all the yldestan men that belong to that burgh shall ride and take away all that he possesses, and set him to bail."[g]

The expense, trouble, suspension of business, and occasional danger, which the burgesses, especially the more distant, would

[d] Lord Lyttleton remarked this important document in his History of Henry II. vol. iii. p. 413.

[e] Plac. Parliam. vol. i. p. 327. [f] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 368. [g] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 60.

often experience from the perils of travelling, and the violence of the great, in attending the witena-gemot, must have made many persons backward in frequenting it, especially when they had been chosen without desiring the distinction. This law seems directed to counteract this disposition.

That it was no common gemot appears from the next provision of the same law, which supposes a reluctance in the yldestan men to inflict the punishment enjoined, and therefore imposes a fine on every one that would not ride with his companions to execute the law. It proceeds to forbid all revenge for the punishment, and directs the same loss of property on the avenger as had been attached to the person that would not attend the gemot. I cannot think that the severity of this law wanted for enforcing attendance on a mere folc or shire-gemot, for which there were so many inducements from its vicinity and popularity. Hence I think it relates to the great national council, to which only the word gemot, by itself, properly applies. The word gemot is frequently thus used to express the witena-gemot.[h]

That every freeman had his definite rights, and every land its definite burthens and services, known and established by law and custom, is apparent from numerous Anglo-Saxon documents which have survived to us, and is fully shown by Domesday-book, in which the commissioners appointed by the Conqueror made a specific return of the gelding lands and burghs of the country, and stated the individual payments and share of military burthens to which each was subject, and which only could be claimed from him according to law and ancient custom. The act of the national legislature to which, by his representatives, he assented, could alone subject him to further burthens. These definite, individual rights favour the supposition that the witena-gemot, in order to affect the property and exemptions of the free class of the people, must have consisted of more orders than that of the nobility and clergy, and the probabilities, on the whole, seem to be that the witena-gemot very much resembled our present parliaments.

Dr. Brady's assertions, in his treatise on boroughs, that "there were no citizens, burgesses, or tenants of the king's demesnes summoned to great councils or parliaments until the 23d of Edward the First"[i] is not supported by the authorities which he adduces, but rests on his mistaken supposition that the first writ, now existing, of that year, in which the sheriff was directed to proceed to the election of citizens and burgesses[j] was the first time that they were elected at all, although there is nothing in that writ which marks it to have been the commencement of an

[h] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 62, 69, 116, 146, &c.
[i] Brady on Bor. p. 68.
[j] He gives it in his book, p. 54.

innovation so momentous, and although one of the next documents which he produces shows that the government attempted to get money from the burghs without calling their representatives into parliament.[k] The true inference from all his documents is, that the writs for the election of burgesses now existing are but the copies of more ancient forms, and the repetition of a prescriptive custom which has no known commencement.

That they were not regularly summoned will appear probable when the frequent violences of power, and all the irregularities of those disturbed times are duly considered.

That kings may have sometimes been content with the money they obtained from the barons and the counties, or may have sometimes procured it, by persuasion or threats, from the burghs separately, as Edward the First attempted in the instance alluded to, are also credible facts; but the fact that he was obliged to solicit the grant from the burghs, is evidence that he had not the legal power of raising it without their consent; and their right to give this consent is evidence of the existence of their constitutional privilege of not being taxed without their own consent; and this truth confirms all the reasoning which makes it probable that their representatives were called to the Saxon witena-gemot when it was intended that the burghs should contribute to the taxation. It does not at all shake this general principle that some new burghs attained the privilege within the period of historical record.[l]

We know what was necessary to exalt a ceorl to a thegn, but we cannot distinctly ascertain all the qualifications which entitled persons to a seat in the witena-gemot. There is, however, one curious passage which ascertains that a certain amount of property was an indispensable requisite, and that acquired property would answer this purpose as well as hereditary property. The possession here stated to be necessary was forty hides of land. The whole incident is so curious as to be worth transcribing.—Guddmund desired in matrimony the daughter of a great man, but because he had not the lordship of forty hides of land, he could not, though noble, be reckoned among the proceres;

[k] Ibid. p. 66. One writ mentions that the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and all the communities of the city had granted him a sixth of their movables, and the other, reciting this as an example, directs the commissioners to ask (ad petendum) this of the demesne cities in the four counties mentioned, and to go with the sheriffs to them to require and efficaciously *induce* them to make a similar grant. P. 67.

[l] The ancient charters of London, or copies of them recited in authentic charters, exist from the time of Henry the First, but none contain the grant of its right of sending representatives. The just inference seems to be that this constitutional right had been established long before. There is no charter existing, and none have been known to exist, that confers the right on any of the ancient burghs. This appears to me to show that it was the ancient immemorial right of all burghs or cities, beginning with their existence, and constitutionally attached to it, and not flowing from any specific grant.

and therefore she refused him. He went to his brother, the abbot of Ely, complaining of his misfortune. The abbot fraudulently gave him possessions of the monastery sufficient to make up the deficiency. This circumstance attests that nobility alone was not sufficient for a seat among the witan, and that forty hides of land was an indispensable qualification.[m]

I cannot avoid mentioning one person's designation, which seems to have the force of expressing an *elected* member. Among the persons signing to the act of the gemot at Cloveshoe, in 824, is, "Ego Beonna *electus* consent. et subscrib."[n]

CHAPTER V.

Witena-Gemot.—How convened.—Times and Places of meeting.—Its Business and Power.

THEY were convened by the king's writ. Several passages in the writers of this period mention that they assembled at the summons of the king. "On a paschal solemnity all the greater men, the clergy, and the laity of all the land, met at the king's court, to celebrate the festival *called by him.*"[a] In 1048, the Saxon Chronicle says, "the king *sent* after all his witan, and bade them come to Gloucester a little after the feast of Saint Mary."[b] In one MS. in the year 993, the king says, "I ordered a synodale council to be held at Winton on the day of Pentecost."[c]

The times of their meeting seem to have been usually the great festivals of the church, as Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and of these, if we may judge by its being more frequently mentioned, Easter was the favourite period. But their meetings were not confined to these seasons; for we find that they sometimes took place in the middle of Lent,[d] near the feast of Saint Mary,[e] July,[f] September, and October.[g] One ancient law-book, the Mirror, mentions "that Alfred caused the earls to meet for the state of the kingdom, and ordained for a perpetual usage, that twice in the year, or oftener, if need were, during peace, they should assemble together at London to speak their minds

[m] 3 Gale's Script. p. 513.
[a] 3 Gale, Script. 395.
[c] MS. Claud. c. 9, p. 122.
[e] Sax. Chron. 163.
[g] Sax. Chron. 164. Heming. Chart. 50.
[n] Astle's MS. Charters, No. 12.
[b] Sax. Chron. p. 163.
[d] Sax. Chron. 161.
[f] Astle's MS. Chart. No. 2.

for the guiding of the people; how to keep from offences; live in quiet, and have right done them by ascertained usages and sound judgment."[h] We may add, that annual and more frequent meetings are often mentioned, but never annual elections.

The place of their assembly was not fixed. After Egbert's accession, the gemot was convened at London, at Kingston, at Wilton, Winton, Cloveshoe, Dorchester, Cyrneceaster, Calne, Ambresbury, Oxford, Gloucester, Ethelwaraburh, Kyrtlenegum, and other places.[i] Perhaps the place of their meeting depended on the king's residence at the time, and was fixed by his convenience.

Our monarchs seem to have maintained their influence in the witena-gemots by their munificence. One account of their meeting in the time of Edgar is thus given: "All England rejoicing in the placid leisure of tranquil peace, it happened that on a certain paschal solemnity all the majores of all the country, as well clergy as laymen, of both orders and professions, met at the royal court called by him to celebrate the festivity, and to be honoured by him with royal gifts. Having celebrated the divine mysteries with all alacrity and joy, all went to the palace to refresh their bodies. Some days having been passed away, the king's hall resounded with acclamations. The streets murmured with the busy hum of men. None felt entirely a refusal of the royal munificence; for all were magnificently rewarded with presents of various sort and value, in vessels, vestments, or the best horses.[j]

The king presided at the witena-gemots, and sometimes, perhaps always, addressed them. In 993 we have this account of a royal speech. The king says, in a charter which recites what had passed at one of their meetings, "I benignantly addressed to them salutary and pacific words. I admonished all—that those things which were worthy of the Creator, and serviceable to the health of my soul, or to my royal dignity, and which ought to prevail as proper for the English people, they might, with the Lord's assistance, discuss in common."[k] The speech of Edgar, in favour of the monks, is stated at length in one of our old chroniclers.[l]

It has been already mentioned, that one of their duties was to elect their sovereign, and to assist at his coronation. Another was to co-operate with the king in making laws. Thus Bede says, of the earliest laws we have, that Ethelbert established them "with the counsel of his wise men."[m] The introductory passages

[h] Mirror, c. i. s. 2.
[i] Sax. Chron. 142, 161, 168, 124, 128, 163, 146. Heming. 93. MS. Cott. Aug. 2, 20. Astle's MS. Chart. No. 8, No. 12. MS. Cleop. B. 13. MS. Claud. c. 9, 121.
[j] 3 Gale Script. p. 395.
[k] MS. Claud. c. 9, p. 122.
[l] Eth. Abb. Ailr.
[m] Bede, lib. ii. c. 5.

of the Anglo-Saxon laws which exist, usually express that they were made with the concurrence of the witan.

The witena-gemot appears also to have made treaties jointly with the king; for the treaty with Guthrun and the Danes thus begins: "This is the treaty which Ælfred, king, and Gythrun, king, and all the witan of England, and all the people in East Anglia, (that is, the Danes,) have made and fastened with oath."[n] In 1011, it is said, that the king and his witan sent to the Danes and desired peace, and promised tribute and supply.[o] On another occasion the Saxon Chronicle states, that the king sent to the hostile fleet an ealdorman, who, with the word of the king and his witan, made peace with them.[p] In 1016, it expresses that Eadric, the ealdorman, and the witan who were there, counselled, that the kings (Edmund and Canute) should make peace between them.[q] In 1002, the king ordered, and his witan, the money to be paid to the Danes, and peace to be made.[r] The treaty printed in Wilkins' Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, p. 104, is said to have been made by the king and his witan.

They are also mentioned to us as assisting the king in directing the military preparations of the kingdom. Thus, in 992, the Saxon Chronicle says, that the king ordered, and all his witan, that man should gather together all the ships that were to go to London."[s] In 999, the king with his witan, ordered that both the ship fyrde and the land fyrde should be led against the Danes.[t] So, in 1052, the king decreed, and his witan, that man should proceed with the ships to Sandwich; and they set Raulf, eorl, and Oddan, eorl, to heafod-mannum (to be the head-men) thereto.[u]

Impeachments of great men were made before the witena-gemot. Some instances may be concisely narrated. In 1048, the king, conceiving that he had cause of complaint against the family of the famous Godwin, convened the witena-gemot. The family armed. The witan ordered that both sides should desist from hostilities, and that the king should give God's peace and his full friendship to both sides. Then the king and his witan directed another witena-gemot to be assembled at London on the next harvest equinox, and the king ordered the army on the south and north of the Thames to be bannan.

At this gemot, eorl Swain, one of Godwin's sons, was declared an utlah (outlaw;) and Godwin and his other son, Harold, were cited to attend the gemot as speedily as possible. They approached, and desired peace and hostages, that they might come into the gemot and quit it without treachery. They were again cited, and they repeated their demand. Hostages were refused

[n] Wilk. Leg. Angl. 47.
[o] Sax. Chron. 140.
[p] Ibid. 132.
[q] Ibid. 150.
[r] Ibid. 132.
[s] Ibid. 126.
[t] Ibid. 130.
[u] Ibid. 165.

them, and five days of safety only were allowed them to leave the country. They obeyed, and went exiles into Flanders.[v]

We have another instance of the great council both banishing and pardoning. A great gemot, in 1052, was assembled at London, which, "all the eorls and the best men in the country" attended. There Godwin made his defence, and purged himself before his lord the king and all the people, that he was guiltless of the crime charged on him and his sons. The king forgave him and his family, and restored them their possessions and the earldom. But the archbishop and all the Frenchmen were banished.[w]

The same power was exerted in 1055. A witena-gemôt was assembled seven days before Mid-Lent, and eorl Elfgar was outlawed for high treason, or, as it is expressed, because he was a swica, a betrayer of the king and all his people. His earldom was given to another.[x]

So all the optimates meeting at Cyrnceaster, in the reign of Ethelred, banished Elfric for high treason, and confiscated all his possessions to the king.[y]

At a great council, held in 716, one of their main objects is expressed to have been to examine anxiously into the state of the churches and monasteries in Kent, and their possessions.[z]

At these councils, grants of land were made and confirmed. The instances of this are innumerable. Thus, in 811, Cenwulf, at a very great council convened in London, gave some lands of his own right, with the advice and consent of the said council.[a] It would be tedious to enumerate all the grants which we know of, where the consent of the council is stated. Many have been already alluded to.

At the council in 716, they forbade any layman taking any thing from the monastery therein named; and they freed the lands belonging to it from various impositions and payments.[b]

At the council in 824, they inquired into the necessities of the secular deputies, as well as into the monasterial disciplines, and into the ecclesiastical morals. Here a complaint was made by the archbishop, that he had been unjustly deprived of some land. He cited those who withheld it. The writings concerning the land were produced, and *viva voce* evidence heard. The writings and the land were ordered by the council to be given to the archbishop.[c]

At a council in 903, an ealdorman stated that his title deeds

[v] Sax. Chron. 164. [w] Ibid. 168. [x] Ibid. 169.
[y] MS. Claud. C. ix. 123, 124. [z] Astle's MS. Chart. No. 2.
[a] Ibid. No. 8. But it would seem that even the king could not grant lands without the consent of the witena-gemot, for a gift of land by a king is mentioned: "Sed, quia non fuit de consensu magnatum regni, donum id non potuit valere." 1 Dugd. Mon. 20.
[b] Ibid. No. 2. [c] Astle's MS. Chart. No. 12.

had been destroyed by fire. He applied to the council for leave to have new ones. New ones were ordered to be made out to him, as nearly similar to the former as memory could make them.[d]

What was done at one council was sometimes confirmed at another. Thus what was done in the great council in Baccanfield was confirmed in the same year at another held in July at Cloveshoe. So a gift at Easter was confirmed at Christmas.[e]

That the witena-gemot sometimes resisted the royal acts, appears from their not choosing to consider valid a gift of land by Baldred, king of Kent, because he did not please them.[f]

The witena-gemot frequently appears to us, in the Saxon remains, as the high court of judicature of the kingdom, or as determining disputed questions about land.

In 896, Æthelred, the ealdorman of Mercia, convened all the witan of Mercia, (which had not yet been reduced into a province,) the bishops, ealdormen, and all the nobility, at Gloucester, with the leave of Alfred. "They consulted how they most justly might hold their theod-scipe, both for God and for the world, and right many men, both clergy and laity, concerning the lands and other things, that were detained." At this gemot, the bishop of Worcester made his complaint of the woodland of which he was deprived. All the witan declared that the church should have its rights preserved, as well as other persons. A discussion and an accommodation took place.[g]

In another case of disputed lands, the bishop states, that he could obtain no right before Ethelred was lord of Mercia. He assembled the witan of Mercia at Saltwic, about manifold needs, both ecclesiastical and civil. "Then (says the bishop) I spoke of the monastery with the erfe ge write, (conveyances of the land,) and desired my right. Then Eadnoth, and Alfred, and Ælfstan, pledged me that they would either give it to me, or would, among their kinsfolk, find a man who would take it on the condition of being obedient to me." No man, however, would take the land on these terms, and the parties came to an accommodation on the subject.[h]

In 851, the monks of Croyland, having suffered much from some violent neighbours, laid their complaint before the witena-gemot. The king ordered the sheriff of Lincoln, and his other officers in that district, to take a view of the lands of the monastery, and to make their report to him and his council, wherever they should be, at the end of Easter. This was done, and the grievances were removed.[i]

[d] Ibid. No. 21.
[e] Ibid. No. 2; and MS. Claud. C. 9, 124.
[f] Spelm. Conc. p. 340.
[g] Heming, Chart. i. p. 93.
[h] Ibid. p. 120.
[i] Ingulf, p. 12. See other instances, Hem. p. 17, 27, 50.

The power of the witena-gemot over the public gelds of the kingdom, we cannot detail. The lands of the Anglo-Saxons, the burghs, and the people, appear to us, in all the documents of our ancestors, as subjected to certain definite payments to the king as to their lords; and we have already stated, that by a custom, whose origin is lost in its antiquity, among the Anglo-Saxons, all their lands, unless specially exempted, were liable to three great burdens, the building and reparation of bridges and fortifications, and to military expeditions. But what we now call taxation seems to have begun in the time of Ethelred, and to have arisen from the evils of a foreign invasion. Henry of Huntingdon, speaking of the payment of ten thousand pounds to the Danes, to buy off their hostility, says, "This evil has lasted to our days, and long will continue, unless the mercy of God interferes; for we now, (in the twelfth century) pay that to our kings from custom, which was paid to the Danes, from unspeakable terror."[j] This payment, and those which followed, are stated to have been ordered by the king and the witena-gemot.[k]

Under sovereigns of feeble capacity, the witena-gemot seems to have been the scene of those factions which always attend both aristocracies and democracies, when no commanding talents exist to predominate in the discussions, and to shape the council.

The reigns of Ethelred the Second, and of the Confessor, were distinguished by the turbulence, and even treason of the nobles. Of the former, our Malmsbury writes, "Whenever the duces met in the council, some chose one thing and some another. They seldom agreed in any good opinion. They consulted more on domestic treasons, than on the public necessities."[l]

It was indeed becoming obvious that the extreme independence of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy, during the last two reigns, was destroying the monarchy and injuring the nation. And if the Norman Conqueror had failed in his invasion, and had not by tightening the bonds of feudality, homage, wardship, and law, reduced the diverging and contradictory power of the nobility into a state of more salutary subordination, it would have become pernicious to the king and people, and even to itself; and have brought the land to that state of faction and civil warfare from which the Saxons had rescued it, and of which Poland and Albania have given us modern examples.

[j] Hen. Hunt. lib. v. p. 357. Bromton, Chron. p. 879. Ingulf also complains heavily of these exactions, p. 55.

[k] Sax. Chron. 126, 132, 136, 140, 142. Unless we refer it to the Anglo-Saxon period, I do not see when the principle could have originated which is recognised in Magna Charta and in its preparatory articles, and is so concisely mentioned by Chaucer in these two lines:

"The king taxeth not his men,
But by assent of the comminaltie." Ecl. fol. p. 88.

[l] Malmsb. p. 63.

CHAPTER VI.

Some General Principles of the Anglo-Saxon Constitution and Laws.

FROM a careful perusal of the laws, charters, and documents of the Anglo-Saxons which remain, the following may be selected as a statement of some of the great general principles of their constitution and laws.

At the head of the state was THE KING; the executive authority of the nation, and an essential part of its legislature: the receiver and expender of all taxations; the centre and source of all jurisprudence; the supreme chief of its armies; the head of its landed property; the lord of the free, and of all burghs, excepting such as he had consented to grant to others; the person intrusted to summon the witena-gemot, and presiding at it: possessed of the other prerogatives that have been noticed; but elective, and liable to be controlled by the witena-gemot.

Co-existing as anciently as the sovereign, if not anterior, and his elector, was a WITENA-GEMOT or parliament, consisting of the nobles holding land, including the superior thanes, and containing also milites, or those who were afterwards called knights, and likewise others without any designations, who were probably citizens and burgesses.

A church establishment pervaded the country, consisting of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, who were dignitaries sitting in the witena-gemot; comprising also inferior degrees of clergy, as deans, canons, archdeacons, priests, parochial rectors, &c.; besides the monks and nuns of their various cloisters.

The highest orders of nobility were open to the lowest classes of life.

A nobility existed with the titles of ealdorman, hold, heretoch, eorl, and thegn. These titles were personal and not inherited. That of thegn was probably connected with their lands. Some part of the nobility were distinguished by their birth, others by their office. The possessed lands of all were transmissible to their heirs as they pleased by their wills: but no system of primogeniture.

The landed property of the nation was generally bound to build castles and bridges, and to serve the king for a limited time, in his military expeditions, in proportion to the quantity of their land. To certain extents of it, independent legal jurisdictions were attached, exempt from all others.

An order of milites, made by the investment of the military belt, who were the privileged classes that served for the lands of the nobility and clergy and for their own, and who could not serve in the army in this rank nor command others until it had been conferred. These were the superior class of the free.

A class of freemen, with the king for their lord and defender, subject to no other master but whom they chose to serve.

The majority of the population, slaves or bondsmen to the other classes of society, with many shades of servility or of employment; who had no con-

stitutional or political right, but were part of the property of their master, and as such bought, sold, and transmissible at his pleasure; but for whose benefit the laws were watchful, and made from time to time various kind and superintending regulations, to promote their good usage and emancipation as well as good conduct.

No property of the nobility, clergy, or free, was taxed without the consent of these orders, given in the witena-gemot.

All the nobles and free were required to be always armed with arms appropriate to their condition.

All the free were required to place themselves in some tything, and every one was to be under bail for his general good behaviour, under certain regulations, and the bail were to answer for his quiet conduct.

Bail was to be given for all prosecutions, and for all defences.

Offences were punished by fines to the state, as well as by compensation to the party.

Every class had a pecuniary value fixed on it, at which each individual of it was estimated, called his were; and also another called mund, by which the value of his social peace was guarded.

A high regard for the personal liberty of the free subject, while unoffending against the laws; and repeated provisions made to punish those who imprisoned or bound him without legal justice.

Their principle of repelling criminal accusations was that of the accused producing a certain number of his neighbours, who swore to their belief of his innocence. Of this custom our habit of producing witnesses to character is a remnant. This imposed on every one the strongest obligation to maintain a good character in his neighbourhood.

To this principle was attached at length the right of trial by jury. No record marks the date of its commencement. It was therefore either one of their immemorial institutions, or was introduced by the Danish colonists among whose countrymen it prevailed.

From the extreme independence and violence of the great, and from the warlike spirit and habit of all their society, every stranger and traveller was considered as a suspected person, and jealously watched by many legal restrictions.

From the same cause, all purchases above a very small sum were required to be public, and in the presence of witnesses, in every city appointed for that purpose.

Although the right of property was a fixed principle among them, yet it was subject to certain rules, both of tenure and transmission, and to certain payments; but none of these seem to have been arbitrary, but all definite, known, and customary.

Public fairs at certain seasons, and markets every week, were allowed by law, and usually granted by charter. Tolls and payments to those entitled to receive them accompanied their sales; and tolls also were levied on the high roads on those who passed with traffic.

Every man was ordered to perform to others the right that he desired to have himself.

Judges were warned that every act should be carefully distinguished, and the judgment be always given righteously according to the deed; and be moderated according to the degree of the offence.

The superior orders were emphatically enjoined to comfort and feed the poor; to gladden and not distress widows and orphans, and not to harass or oppress strangers and travellers.

The witena-gemot declared that just laws should be established before God and the world, and that all that was unlawful should be carefully abolished; and that every man, poor or rich, should be entitled to his common rights, or, as they termed it, be worthy of his folk-right.

The principle of the laws was that of continual improvement, either by addition, annulment, or qualification, as circumstances required, and without any principle of immutability. The meetings of the witena-gemot gave the means of this improvement, and their laws for the conversion of slaves into free men, contrary to the interest of the chieftains, exhibited striking evidence of the impulse of the improving spirit.

That legal redress should be refused to no one, was one of Ina's laws, which enacted penalties on the shire-men or judges who gave refusal.

That revenge should not be taken personally till legal justice had been sought, was another.

The natural liberty of every individual was to be restricted by definite laws so far as social good required, but only by definite and previously enacted laws.

Not only the life and liberty of the free were strictly guarded by law, but every limb of the body had its protecting penalty, which was to be paid by those who injured it, that the safety of every individual might be reduced to as great a certainty as positive law and punishment could make it.

To discourage fighting and personal violence was a continual object of the witena-gemot; and also to repress those habits of reputable robbery and rapine which the powerful and warlike indulged in.

The domestic peace of every individual was promoted by strong laws against trespasses in his house or lands; and every one was required to make hedges to keep his cattle from injuring another.

The observance of Sunday as a day of rest from all worldly labour was strictly enforced.

To abate the pride and violence of a powerful and oppressive aristocracy, the Anglo-Saxon clergy taught the natural equality of man, which Alfred also enforced.

But the gradation of ranks was a principle recognised by all the laws; and offences were differently punished according to the quality of both the offender and the offended.

Each class had its appropriate rights and protecting penalties, and its appointed redress; each was kept distinct, but each was rescued from the oppressions of the other; and the law and government, as far as they could operate, watched impartially over all, and for the benefit of all.

The character of individuals was protected as well as their rights and property; and slanderous words were subjected to punishment.

The fair sex were taken by the law under its protection, and the principle of respecting and exalting it appears in one of our earliest laws, which placed the children, on the father's death, under the care of the mother; and by another forbidding concubinage; and by others protecting them from violence and forced marriages.

A tenderness even for animals appears in the provision that lambs should not be sheared before Midsummer.

We will close this enumeration by adding the principles which appear in the laws of Canute:

That just laws shall be universally established.

We forbid that any Christian man should be consigned to death for a small cause, but rather that a peace-like punishment should be established for the public benefit; that man may not destroy the work of the Divine hands for a little cause, who was redeemed by so dear a price.

That it should be always contemplated in every way how the best councils may be adopted for the benefit of the public:

That every one twelve winters old should swear that he will not be a thief, nor the adviser of a thief:

That nothing shall be bought above four pennies' worth, living or dead, without the true witness of four men.

No one shall receive another into his house for more than three days, unless one that had previously served him as a follower.

Every master shall be the pledge or bail for his own family, and answer for it, if accused.

If any friendless man or stranger be accused, so that he has no bail, he must be put into the pillory till he doth go to the ordeal.

A man convicted of perjury shall be disqualified for giving evidence afterwards.

Every man might hunt in his own wood and fields.

CHAPTER VII.

Their Official and other Dignities.

The ealdorman was the highest officer in the kingdom. In rank he was inferior to an etheling; for when an etheling's were-geld was fifteen thousand thrymsas, an ealdorman's was but eight thousand.[a] He was the chief of a shire, and he lost this dignity if he connived at the escape of a robber, unless the king pardoned him.[b] He was one of the witan, who attended the witena-gemot.[c] He presided with the bishop at the scire-gemot, which he was ordered to attend,[d] and the folc-gemot.[e] He ranked with a bishop,[f] but was superior to the thegn.[g] He had great civil powers in administering justice, and also enjoyed high military authority; he is also mentioned as leading the shire to battle against the enemy.[h] To draw weapons before him, incurred a penalty of one hundred shillings;[i] and to fight before him in a gemot, incurred a fine to him of one hundred and twenty shillings, besides other punishments.[j] The ealdorman is a title which occurs perpetually in the Saxon Chronicle.

The eorl is a dignity recognised in our earliest laws. It appears in those of Ethelbert, who died in 616, where offences in the tune and against the birele of an eorl are expressly punished.[k] He is also mentioned in a charter, dated 680.[l] The mund of his widow is highly estimated.[m] He is also noticed in the laws of Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, and Edgar.[n]

An eorl's heriot was four horses saddled and four horses not

[a] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 71. [b] Ibid. 20. [c] Ibid. 14.
[d] Ibid. 78, 136. [e] Ibid. 42. [f] Ibid. 38.
[g] Ibid. 22, 71. [h] Sax. Chron. p. 78.
[i] Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 38. [j] Ibid. 42. [k] Ibid. p. 3.
[l] Spelman. Concil. p. 164. [m] Wilk. Leg. p. 7. [n] Wilk. 35, 53, 70, 82.

saddled, four helms, four mails, eight spears and shields, four swords, and two hundred mancusa of gold, which was twice a thegn's heriot.[o] To be an eorl was a dignity to which a thegn might arrive,[p] and even a ceorl.[q]

In 656, Wulfer in his charter mentions the eorls: "I Wulfer, kyning, with the king and with eorls, and with heretogas, and with thegnas, the witnesses of this gift."[r] The persons who sign this, with the king and clergy, call themselves ealdormen. The title of eorl occurs again in a grant of 675,[s] and afterwards.[t]

In the fragment of poetry in the Saxon Chronicle to the year 975, Edward, the son of Edgar, is called the eorla ealder; the ruler of eorls.[u]

In 966, Oslac is stated to have received his ealdordome. In 975, he is called se mære eorl, the great carl; and is stated to have been banished;[v] he is also called ealdorman.[w] This same Oslac is mentioned in the laws of Edgar as an carl: "Then let Oslac eorl promote it, and all the army that in this ealdordome remaineth."[x] These passages induce a belief that eorl and ealdorman were but different denominations of the same official dignity. Yet, when we find in the Chronicle such distinctions, in the same paragraph, as "Ealfrice ealdorman, and Thorode eorl,"[y] we are led to imagine that there must have been some peculiar traits by which they were discriminated. But it is obvious, from the Saxon Chronicle, that eorldome[z] expressed the same thing that ealdordome has been applied to signify.

In the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period, the title ealdorman seems to have been superseded by that of eorl.[a] The iarl of the Northmen was the same title. We cannot now ascertain the precise distinction of rank and power that prevailed between the eorl and the ealdorman.

The term HERETOCH implies the leader of an army; and HOLD is mentioned as a dignity in Æthelstan's laws, whose were was higher than that of a thegn.[b] Many persons with this title are mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle,[c] in the years 905, 911.

The GEREFAS were officers appointed by the executive power, and in rank inferior to the eorl or ealdorman. They were of various kinds. The heh-gerefa is mentioned, whose were was four thousand thrymsas.[d] Also the wic-gerefa, before whom purchases of the Kentishmen in London were to be made, unless they had good witnesses.[e] And the porte-gerefa, or the gerefa of the gate, who was to witness all purchases without the gate, unless other unimpeachable persons were present.[f]

[o] Wilk. 144.
[p] Ibid. 71.
[q] Ibid. 112.
[r] Sax. Chron. p. 37.
[s] Ibid. 42.
[t] Ibid. 62.
[u] Ibid. 123.
[v] Ibid. 121, 123.
[w] Ibid. 122.
[x] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 82.
[y] Sax. Chron. 127.
[z] Ibid. 168, 169.
[a] Ibid. 164–173.
[b] Wilk. Leg. Sax. 71.
[c] Sax. Chron. 101, 103.
[d] Wilk. Leg. 71.
[e] Ibid. 9.
[f] Ibid. 48.

The gerefas were in every byrig.[g] They were judicial officers,[h] and were ordered to judge according to right judgment, and the dom-boc, or book of judgment. They delivered over offenders to punishment.[i] They were present at the folc-gemot,[j] where they were to do justice. They were ordered to convene a gemot every four weeks, to end lawsuits.[k] They took bail or security in their respective shires for every one to keep the peace; and if they omitted to take the bail, and neglected their duty, they lost their office, and the king's friendship, and forfeited to him one hundred and twenty shillings.[l]

In cases of robbery, application was to be made to the gerefa in whose district it was; and he was to provide as many men as were sufficient to apprehend the thief, and avenge the injury.[m] If any one became "untrue" to every one, the king's gerefa was to go and bring him under bail, that he might be brought to justice to answer his accuser. If the offender could find no bail, he was to be killed.[n] He was to supply such prisoners with food who had no relations that could support them.[o] He was to defend the abbots in their necessities.[p]

They were made responsible for their official conduct. If they neglected their duty, it was ordered, in the laws of Ethelstan, that they should be fined for their delinquency, and be displaced, and the bishop was to announce it to the gerefa in his province. If they broke the law, they had to pay five pounds the first time, the price of their were the second, and for the third offence they lost all their property.[q] If they took a bribe to pervert right, they were punished as severely.[r]

The thegns of the Anglo-Saxons were in rank below the eorls and ealdormen. They formed a species of nobility peculiar to those ancient times; and though, at this distant period, they cannot be delineated accurately, yet, from the circumstances which we can collect, we shall find them a very curious and interesting order of men.

[g] Wilk. Leg. 54, 55. [h] Ibid. 9, 12, 48, 49. [i] Ibid. 12.
[j] Ibid. 39, 41. [k] Ibid. 50. [l] Ibid. 69.
[m] Ibid. 68. [n] Ibid. 103. [o] Ibid. 34.
[p] Ibid. 115. [q] Ibid. 61.
[r] Ibid. 62. The exposition of the duties of an eorl, and the higher dignities, which exists in Anglo-Saxon, adds something to our notions of their character: "Eorls and heretogas, and the secular judges, and also the gerefas, must necessarily love justice before God and the world, and must never by unjust judgment lay aside their own wisdom for either enmity or friendship. They must not thus turn wrong into right, nor decree injustice to the oppression of the poor. They should, above all other things, honour and defend the church; they should protect widows and orphans, and help the needy, and watch to guard the enslaved. Thieves and robbers they should hate, and spoilers and plunderers destroy, unless they will amend and abstain for ever from their violences. For this is true which I say, believe it who will, 'Wo to those that inflict injury, unless they amend: most surely they shall suffer in the dim and deep caverns of the infernal punishments, apart from all help,'" &c. Lib. Const. Wilk. Leg. 149.

It has been already mentioned, that it was a rank attainable by all, even by the servile, and that the requisites which constituted the dignity are stated in the laws to have been the possession of five hides of his own land, a church, a kitchen, a bell-house, a judicial seat at the burgh gate, and a distinct office or station in the king's hall. It is not clear whether this means an office in the king's household, or a seat in the witena-gemot. The latter has some probabilities in its favour.

But it was essential to a thegn, that he should be a landed proprietor; for though a ceorl had a helm, mail, and a gold-handled sword, yet if he had no land, the laws declare that he must still remain a ceorl.[s]

The thegns were of two descriptions. The inferior sort was called thegn, and the superior were distinguished as king's thegns. The laws recognise these two descriptions. A king's thegn accused of homicide was to acquit himself of guilt by twelve king's thegns; a thegn of lessa maga, with eleven of his equals.[t] The here-geat, or heriot of the king's thegn that was nearest to him, was two horses saddled, and two not saddled, two swords, four spears, shields, helms, and mails, and fifty mancusa of gold. But the here-geat of a middling thegn was but one horse, and his trappings and arms.[u] By comparing these heriots, we may see how greatly superior the rank of a king's thegn was esteemed.

The inferior thegns appear to have been numerous. In every borough, says a law, thirty-three thanes were chosen to witness. In small burghs, and to every hundred, twelve were to be selected.[v] Thegns had halls.

Thegns are twice mentioned in the laws as thegns born so.[w] Perhaps the title was attached to their landed property, and descended with it. In the Domesday Survey, many lands are mentioned in several counties, which are called "Terra tainorum;" the land of the thegns; and they are mentioned also with their milites. Thegn-lands seem to have had some analogy with the baronies of the Norman times.

If a thegn had a church in his boclande, with a place of burial, he was to give to the church one-third of his own tenths; if he had not a burial-place, he was to give what he chose out of the nine parts.[x]

What Alfred calls the king's thegn is in Bede the king's minis-

[s] Wilk. Leg. 70.

[t] Ibid. 47. So the superior thane is mentioned in the laws as having a thane under him, serving him as his lord in the king's hall. Ibid. 71.

[u] Ibid. 144. The officers of the king's household were also called thegns, as his dise-thegn, bregel-thegn, hors-thegn, or the thanes of his dishes, his wardrobe, and his horses.

[v] Ibid. 80. Their halls are often mentioned in Domesday-book.

[w] Ibid. 125, 27.

[x] Wilk. Leg. 130, 144.

ter.[y] No one was to have any socne or jurisdiction over him but the king.[z]

We learn from Domesday-book, that for the tenure of five hides of land the owner was liable to the fyrd, or Saxon militia. We have also found, that the tenure of five hides of land was essential to the dignity of thegn. The king's thegn is mentioned in the laws as attending in his expeditions, and as having a thegn under him.[a]

The thegn was also a magistrate, and might lose his dignity. The laws declared, that if a judge decided unjustly, he should pay to the king one hundred and twenty shillings, unless he could swear that he knew no better; and he was to lose his thegnscipe, unless he could afterwards buy it of the king.[b]

They are thus mentioned by Edgar: "In every byrig, and in every scire, I will have my kingly rights, as my father had; and my thegns shall have their thegn-ship in my time, as they had in my father's."[c]

His were was two thousand thrymsas.[d] It is elsewhere stated as equal to that of six ceorls, or twelve hundred shillings.[e] If a thief took refuge with a thegn, he was allowed three days' asylum.[f]

The judicial magistracy of the thegns appears from their assisting at the shire-gemots. The Northmen had also a dignity of this sort, for thegns are mentioned in Snorre.

I am inclined to believe that the inferior thanes were those who were afterwards called barons, for the laws of Henry the First put the titles as synonymous;[g] and that the next degree of thegns

[y] Bede, lib. ii. c. 9, and lib. iv. c. 22. Alfred, p. 511, and 591.

[z] Wilk. Leg. 118. The thegn is not merely termed a liberalis homo, or free man, as in Tex. Roff, but his rank is mentioned in the higher degree of the comparative mood as one of the liberalioribus, one of the more free.

[a] Wilk. Leg. 71. [b] Ibid. 78. 135.

[c] Wilk. Leg. 80. [d] Ibid. 71.

[e] Ibid. 64, 72. He is mentioned as synonymous with twelfhynde man. Leg. Hem.; Wilk. 265; and Du Cange voc. Liberalet. In another passage of the laws of Henry I. the twelfhynde is mentioned as a man plene nobilis, and a thane, p. 269. Such a man was to swear as for sixty hides of land. Wilk. 18. We may, therefore, consider this as the quantity of land of the higher thane. The comparative dignities of the land, in the time of Ethelstan, will appear from their different weres:

The king's was - - - -	30000 thrymsa.
Etheling's, or king's sons, -	15000
Bishop - - - - -	8000
Ealdorman - - - -	8000
Holdes and high-gerefa - -	4000
Mass thegn - - - -	2000
World's thegn - - -	2000
Ceorl - - - - -	266

[f] Wilk. Leg. 63.

[g] Thaini vel baronis. Wilk. Leg. p. 250, and 276. They are frequently classed with barons, as 272. The same is implied in the Hist. Rames., who uses the term baronis where the Saxon word would have been thegn, p. 395. So Hist. El. 475.

were those who were after the Conqueror's time termed knights, because five hides of land were the feudum of a knight,[h] and the thegn of five hides of land is mentioned as that rank of thegn which served the more dignified thegns.[i] These inferior thanes were called middling thanes.[j] A general idea of an Anglo-Saxon nobleman may be formed from the note below.[k]

CHAPTER VIII.

Some Features of the Political State of the Anglo-Saxons.

OUR Saxon ancestors appear to us at first in that state in which a great nation is preparing to be formed on new principles, unattained by human experience before. The process was that of

[h] Quinque hidæ (faciunt) fœdum militis. Chr. T. Red, ap. Blamt. voc. Virgata.

[i] Wilk. Leg. p. 71. The Epistle of the prior and convent of Canterbury to Henry II. states, that before the Conqueror's time there were no knights in England but threnges, and that this king converted them into knights. Wilk. 429. This authority tends to show that Drenge was the Anglo-Saxon word at first applied to express their milites. It occurs frequently in their poems on martial subjects. The term cniht, at last superseded it. Drenches occur in Domesday.

[j] In Saxon mederne, and in Latin mediocris. The comparative ranks in Henry the First's time appear thus in their relevationes: *the comes*, eight horses, four helmets, four coats of mail, eight lances and shields, four swords, and one hundred mancæ of gold; *the king's thegn*, "who is next," four horses, two swords, four lances and shields, one helm and mail, and fifty mancæ; *the middling thane*, one horse, with his trappings and arms, and his half-hang. Leg. Hen. Wilk. 245. We may look on these as corresponding with the ranks of earls, barons, and knights.

[k] The Monk of Ramsay has left a full picture of what was then deemed an accomplished nobleman, in the following traits of the character of one of Edgar's favourites, and in Oswald's conversation with his brother:

"His innate prudence, his noble birth, and approved vigour of body in warlike affairs, had obtained from the king much dignity and favour. He was distinguished for religion at home, and for the exercise of his strength and use of military discipline abroad. He adorned the nobility which he derived from his birth by the beauty of his manners. Cheerful and pleasing in his countenance; venerable in his mien; courteous in his fluent conversation; mild and sincere in his words; in duty impartial; in his affections cautious; with a heart resembling his face; constant in good faith; steady and devout. In counsel persuading what was right; ending disputes by the equity of his judgments; revering the divine love in others, and persuading them to cultivate it."

Oswald says of him: "Throughout the king's palace he was famed and esteemed; his nod seemed to govern the royal mind; clothed in silk and purple, he shared the royal banquets with us in the court," &c. His brother, also a favourite with the king, tells the bishop: "I am a man under the power of another, exercising also authority myself. Nobility of birth, abundance of wealth, the wisdom of the world, the grace of the lip, and the public favour, as well of the rich as of the poor, have alike exalted me; yet I cannot apply to the good studies which I desire. Often the king's difficulties, or warlike exercises, or the distributions of presents to the knights, or the judgment of causes, or the exercise of punishment on the guilty, or some other forensic business, which I can hardly if ever decline without offence, occupy and fatigue me." Hist. Ram. 3 Gale, 395, 396.

leading their population to such a practical system as would combine the liberty of the people with the independence and elevated qualities of a high-spirited nobility, and with the effective authority of a presiding king, and of such wise and improving laws as the collected wisdom of the nation should establish from the deliberations of its witena-gemot, not legislating only for the powerful.

The first stage in this political formation was the diffusion and independence of a great and powerful nobility. After these were radically fixed in the land, the influence and prerogatives of the king were enlarged, and the numbers of the free were increased. A new bulwark was also raised for the benefit of all the three classes, in a richly endowed church, who, besides their political utility in supporting, as circumstances pressed, each order of the state from the oppressions of the rest, introduced into the Anglo-Saxon mind all the literature it possessed. The course of events led all these great bodies into occasional collisions with each other, and with foreign invaders till the actual practice of life had abated their mutual excesses and injurious powers. The nobility and great landed proprietors, however, still too much preponderated in their exclusive privileges, when the Norman Conquest occurred to fix them in a greater subordination to the crown and to the law than the Anglo-Saxon constitution permitted. From the time of the Conquest the English aristocracy declined into an inferior, but permanent state of power, more compatible with the freedom and prosperity of the nation, and the liberties of the people, while the number of the free were proportionably multiplied.

That a great landed and independent aristocracy should have been first formed in the nation was the natural result of their mode of invading the Britons. Small fleets of Anglo-Saxon warriors successively landed, and forced from the Britons certain districts of the island, which their future warfare enlarged. Being comparatively few in number, the division of the conquered territory threw large tracts of land into the hands of the first chieftains and their followers, and the conquered natives were made their slaves. Their king being at first but one of themselves, elected as their war-king, had no pretensions to more power or prerogatives than they chose to concede; and hence a martial aristocracy, headed by a king, became the prevailing character of the Anglo-Saxon body politic. Their feuds with each other led the weaker party at all times to seek aid from the king, and the people had no other asylum than his power from the violence of their superiors. Hence the royal authority was perpetually invited into greater power and activity for the general benefit; and the Christian clergy made it venerable to the nation by the religious considerations which they attached to it.

Thus the first state of the Anglo-Saxon nation was that of a great landed body, in proud independence, of fierce spirit, and

attached to military habits. The rest of the nation were chiefly enslaved peasantry and domestics, and free burghs, with poor artisans, and tradesmen of small consideration and no greater property; with a clergy that, in their tithes and church payments, and in the endowments of their monasteries, were sharing with the nobles the land and property of the country.

But the same evil existed among the Anglo-Saxons that attends every country in which the laws of property have become established, and to which extensive commerce has not opened its channels; that of continually having an unprovided population, which had their subsistence to seek, and their love of consequence to gratify. The monasteries took off some portion of this disquieting body, which was the more formidable to the peaceful, from the warlike habits of the country; but the larger part sought their provision perpetually by the sword. Hence robbery and rapine became one of the main internal features of the country; and more of the laws of every Anglo-Saxon king were directed against such plunderers than to any other single subject. Hence the severity against those who had no lords or no friends to bail them. It was this habit that compelled the law to enjoin that every body should be armed, and have their appointed weapons ready, that the burghs and towns might be more secure, and the marauders repressed or pursued. The same cause urged Alfred and the witena-gemots to put every man into a state of bail for good behaviour, and to shackle what little trade there was, by making it illegal, unless transacted before deputed officers and witnesses, and by treating every traveller as a suspicious wanderer. Hence all who could afford it had knights and retainers in their pay, to protect their property and persons from violence. Hence the laws against binding free men, and selling them and Christians for slaves; for by seizing those who had property, the violent extorted a ransom, or by disposing of them as slaves, extracted a profit from their misery. Hence we find, amid the chronicles of the clergy, repeated instances of land torn by force and rapine even from them. And we may form some notion of the amount and danger of these depredations, by observing that, in the laws of Ina, they are described as of three classes. While they did not exceed seven men together they were called thieves (theofas;) but from that number to thirty-five they were called a hloth or band; when they were more than thirty-five they were termed an army. Each of these offences were differently punished.[a] In the subsequent reigns we find ealdormen, thegns, and others, possessing themselves of lands by force from weaker proprietors.[b]

[a] Leg. Ina. Wilk. 17.

[b] The instances of these are numerous. See of one single monastery, Hist. El. p. 466, 467, 469, 482, 483, 484, 485, &c. &c.

Much individual prosperity could not be expected from such habits; but the bounty of nature every year pours such riches from the earth, that, notwithstanding these habits of depredation, the property of the country could not fail to increase. Timber grows, grass diffuses itself, fruit-trees blossom, and animals multiply, and minerals enlarge, whether man labours, idles, or combats. But there were plenty of slaves to pursue the husbandry that was needed, and therefore all the natural riches of animal, vegetable, and mineral production were perpetually accumulating in the country. These are the foundations of wealth in all; and though the Anglo-Saxons had at first but little external or internal traffic, and imperfect roads, except those left by the Romans, yet the permanent property of the country was increasing in the multiplied permanent comforts of each individual. Every additional article of furniture or convenience from the forest or the mine; from the horns, hair, hides, or bones of his animals; every barn of corn and stock of salted provision, or pile of turf, wood, or peat, beyond his immediate consumption, was, as well as the stones he dug from the quarry, or the articles he manufactured from his flax or metals, an accumulation of actual property to himself, and an augmentation of the general wealth of the nation. All these articles were every year accumulating in the country, and many were by degrees exchanged for the gold and silver, and natural produce of other countries, as slowly increasing trade gradually brought them from abroad. Hence every reign discovers to us some indication of an increasing affluence, as well as an increasing population of the Anglo-Saxon nation.

The progress of the Anglo-Saxons to wealth was accelerated by the previous civilization of Britain. The Romans had retired from it but a few years before their invasion, and had raised many temples and buildings in the island, and filled them with appropriate furniture, of which much remained to assist the ingenuity and excite the taste of the new conquerors. That gold and silver had abounded in the island, while it was possessed by the Romans and Britons, the coins that have been found at every period since, almost every year, sufficiently testify; and it was the frequency of these emerging to view which made treasure-trove an important part of our ancient laws, and which is mentioned by Alfred as one of the means of becoming wealthy. In the earliest Anglo-Saxon laws, almost all the penalties are pecuniary, in silver coin. That bullion was not deficient in the country, but was continually increasing, appears from the numerous instances of purchase-moneys given in gold and silver, either coined or by weight, for lands, of which the charters still remain. By the quantities of money given to buy land for a monastery, by one

bishop and by its first abbot,[c] it would appear that the church and monasteries had abundance of it; and indeed the pecuniary payments appointed for them, besides their tithes and presents, gave them great facilities of acquiring it,[d] as the fines and gafols poured still more into the royal exchequer. The great quantity of payments recorded in Domesday-book, as due to the king, in pounds, shillings, and pence, from the various subdivisions of lands in every county, show both the diffusion and the abundance of bullion among the Anglo-Saxons.[e]

But our ancestors by their conquests among the Britons obtained immediately abundance of cattle, corn, slaves, agricultural instruments, and cultivated lands. They found in the island, as Gildas and Bede state, twenty-eight noble cities, and innumerable castles, with their walls, towers, and gates. Productive veins of copper, iron, lead, and even silver had been opened. A great supply of shell-fish, yielding a beautiful scarlet dye; and muscles with pearls, mostly white, but some of other colours, abounded on their shores. The marine animals, whales,

[c] Thus for the Ely monastery they paid to various persons the following sums:

100 pounds and a golden cross,
100 aureos,
60 pounds of silver,
20 aureos,
40 shillings,
15 pounds,
100 shillings,
7 pounds,
4 pounds,
15 pounds,
20 shillings,
30 aurei,
200 aurei,
30 aurei,
11 pounds,
20 pounds,
50 aurei,
8 pounds,
80 aurei,
200 aurei,
6 pounds,
8 pounds,
12 pounds,
80 shillings,
7 pounds,
90 aurei,
112 memmi,
100 shillings,
20 shillings,
30 pounds,
40 shillings,
40 pounds,
4 pounds, 18 pence,
100 shillings,
15 pounds,
100 shillings,
50 aurei,
20 pounds, 10 aurei,
15 pounds,
100 aurei,
10 pounds,
40 aurei,
20 pounds,
11 pounds,
4 pounds.

Hist. Eliens. 465–488.

[d] Thus a plough-alms, fifteen days before Easter; St. Peter's penny on his anniversary; the church sceat on St. Martin's; the light-money thrice a year; and the soul sceat at every grave. Wilk. Leg. Sax. 121. The church sceat was enforced by Ina, under a penalty of forty shillings, and twelve times the money withheld. Ib. p. 15. Besides these certainties, a quantity of money was always coming to them from wills, as already noticed. Other occasions also produced it. Thus a thegn, to have his parish church dedicated, brought a silver scutella of forty shillings. Hist. El. 467.

[e] That the clergy and monasteries advanced money to the landed proprietors, we have an instance in Ely monastery. Oslac had to pay the king Edgar one hundred aureos; he had not so much, and borrowed of the bishop forty aureos, for which he gave him forty acres. Hist. El. 476.

seals, and dolphins, frequented the coasts; salmons and other fish their rivers; and eels and water-fowl their pools and marshes. Vines in some places, and useful forests in all, increased their general resources of natural wealth.[f]

Settling in a country thus abundantly supplied with the means of affluence, it is not surprising that the Anglo-Saxons became a prosperous people, notwithstanding the retarding effects of their military and predatory habits. After the reign of Alfred they became gradually more commercial. The invasions of the Danes had the effect of connecting them with the countries in the north of Europe, and of leading them to distant voyages of intercourse and traffic. Their progress was such, that by the time of the Norman invasion they had become both populous and rich. Some evidence of their extending intercourse is given by the facts, that some Moors or Africans, as well as Spaniards, were in the country at that time.[g]

From the views that have been presented of the Anglo-Saxon classes of society, it is obvious that their unprovided poor must have been chiefly of the free. The vassal peasantry of the great and the clergy had their masters to depend upon or to relieve them. But when the freemen were destitute, their situation must have been deplorable. Jealously suspected and pursued by the laws, if they wandered to seek or solicit subsistence, they had no resource, if they could not join armies, or become minstrels and jugglers, or be enlisted as retainers in the service of the great, but to engage as servants to burghers and others, or to become robbers, outlaws, and foresters. Poor freemen are several times noticed in Domesday.[h]

It is perhaps in no age from the insufficient productions of nature that any would perish from want. The existing food on the earth always exceeds the wants of its actual inhabitants; but it cannot be distributed by any laws or polity just as individual necessities require. It can only flow to all through the regular channels of civilized society, on the system of equivalent exchange; and the means of acquiring this frequently fail. It is from the temporary want of an equivalent to exchange for the food they need, and not from the non-existence of that food, that so much misery usually pervades society, and at times rises to an afflicting height. Yet the evil cannot be remedied by a legislature without invading those sacred rights of property which are the cement of the social fabric. Benevolence must effect on this point what no law can command. The poor can only put

[f] See Gildas, and Bede's Hist.

[g] Domesday-book mentions Matthæus *de Mauritanie;* and also a Servus, who was an *Afrus*, in the county of Gloucester; also Alured as *Hispanus*. P. 165, 170, 162, 86.

[h] As in Suffolk, fifty-four freemen satis inopes.

themselves in possession of equivalents to exchange for food by their personal industry. Where the demand for their labour declines, a wise and discriminating charity must be active to contrive employments for the distressed, that they may acquire the means of obtaining subsistence from those who have it to dispose of, or must in her kindness distribute that subsistence without the equivalent, until increasing occupation can enable the distressed again to provide it.

These principles were not understood by our ancestors; yet the benevolent feelings of the clergy were always labouring to impress on the affluent the duty of succouring the needy. The church gave them the emphatic name of "the poor of God;" and they are frequently so mentioned in the laws: thus presenting them in the most interesting of all relations, as those which the Deity himself presents to human benevolence as his peculiar class, and for whom he solicits our favourable attentions.

But the supplies from individual liberality are always precarious, and usually temporary, and not so salutary to the necessitous as those which, with a conscious exertion of power, independence, and self-merit, they can obtain by their own industry. It was therefore a great blessing to the Anglo-Saxon society, that, as their population increased, an augmented traffic arose, and employments became more numerous. The property of the landholders gradually multiplied in permanent articles raised from their animals, quarries, mines, and woods; in their buildings, their furniture, their warlike stores, their leather apparatus, glass, pigments, vessels, and costly dresses. An enlarged taste for finery and novelty spread as their comforts multiplied. Foreign wares were valued and sought for; and what Anglo-Saxon toil or labour could produce, to supply the wants or gratify the fancies of foreigners, was taken out to barter. All these things gave so many channels of nutrition to those who had no lands, by presenting them with opportunities for obtaining the equivalents on which their subsistence depended. As the bullion of the country increased, it became, either coined or uncoined, the general and permanent equivalent. As it could be laid up without deterioration, and was always operative when it once became in use, the abundance of society increased, because no one hesitated to exchange his property for it. Until coin became the medium of barter, most would hesitate to part with the productions they had reared, and all classes suffered from the desire of hoarding. Coin or bullion released the commodities that all society wanted, from individual fear, prudence, or covetousness, that would for its own uses have withheld them, and sent them floating through society in ten thousand ever-dividing channels. The Anglo-Saxons were in this happy state. Bullion, as we have remarked, sufficiently

abounded in the country,[i] and was in full use in exchange for all things. In every reign after Athelstan the trade and employment of the country increased. Pride and the love of pleasure favoured their growth, and still more the fair taste for greater conveniences in every class of society. Population multiplied, and found more occupation for the numbers of its free classes, until it reached that amount at the time of the Conquest, which we shall proceed to enumerate.

CHAPTER IX.

Sketch of the Anglo-Saxon Population.

In Domesday-book, we have a record of the Anglo-Saxon population, which, though not complete, yet affords us sufficient information to satisfy our general curiosity. The following summary has been taken from its statement. For the convenience of the reader the counties there noticed will be enumerated alphabetically here.

Bedfordshire (*Bedefordscire*).

Chief proprietors	55	Molendini	86
Prefects of the king and others	21	Silvatici	72
Villani	1766	Milites	5
Bordarii	1113	Tenentes	102
Servi	454	Piscatores	1
Sochmanni	88	Burgesses of Bedford	9
			3772

Berkshire.

Chief proprietors	63	Molini	166
Other persons	13	Piscar.	70
Villani	2424	Silvat.	67
Bordarii	1802	Others	169
Cotarii	732	Hagas noticed	459
Servi	772		
			6737

[i] Many facts are mentioned in the Chronicles, implying the quantity of the valuable metals in the monasteries, &c. Thus Hereward in his romantic attack of Peterborough, took from the crucifix there the crown of pure gold, and its footstool of red gold; the cope, all of gold and silver, hidden in the steeple; also two gilt shrines, and nine of silver; fifteen great crosses of gold and silver; and "so much gold and silver, and so much treasure in money, robes, and books, that no man can compute the amount." Gurney's Sax. Chron. p. 215.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (*Bockingamscire*).

Chief proprietors	56	Molini	129
King's thanes	12	Silvatici	122
Villani	2885	Moldarii	1
Bordarii	1320	Cotarii	10
Servi	828	Burgenses of Buck	52
Sochmanni	19	Others	110
Piscatores	19		
			5563

CAMBRIDGESHIRE (*Grentebrscire*).

Chief proprietors	42	Mol.	121
Villani	1898	Porcarii	7
Bordarii	1438	Silvatici	26
Servii	563	Tenentes	53
Cotarii	742	Milites	34
Sochmanni	245	Others	6
Mold.	2	Burgenses of Cambridge	295
Pisc.	34		
			5506

CHESHIRE (*Cestrescire.*)

Villani	768	Salinæ	10
Bordarii	633	Tenentes	72
Servi	223	Francigenæ	39
Bovarii	184	Milites	12
Radmanni	134	Drenches	54
Silvatici	127	Burgenses, C.	559
Piscat.	29	Others	29
			2873

CORNWALL (*Cornvalgie*).

Chief proprietors	6	Mol.	4
Villani	1738	Pasturæ	109
Bordarii	2441	Silvæ	38
Servi	1148	Cerevisarii	40
Coliberti	49	Tenentes	23
Salinæ	10		
			5606

DERBYSHIRE (*Derbyscire*).

Chief proprietors	15	Mol.	68
Taini	22	Silvæ	71
Villani	1825	Presbyters	51
Bordarii	731	Tenentes	167
Servi	16	Censarii	41
Sochmanni	127	Others	6
			3140

DEVONSHIRE (*Devonscire*).

Chief proprietors	50	Bordarii	4814
Taini	18	Servi	3210
Servientes regis	8	Cotarii	19
Villani	8246	Coleberti	32

Coscez	32	Tenentes	118	
Porcarii	296	Burg. of Exeter	476	
Piscat.	17	Barnstaple	83	
Salinæ	117	Lideford	69	
Mol.	79	Totness	110	
Pasturæ	249	Ochemanton	4	
Silvæ	157	Others	41	
				18,245

Dorset (*Dorseti*).

Chief proprietors	56	Silvæ	239	
Villani	2663	Moleni	269	
Bordarii	2827	Censorii	9	
Servi	1165	Burgenses	655	
Cotarii	185	Liberi hom.	10	
Coleberti	33	Taini	127	
Salinarii	100	Taini proprietors	24	
Pasturæ	334	Other persons	37	
Coscez	146			
				8879

Essex (*Excessa*).

Chief proprietors	79	Piscat.	48	
Villani	4014	Salinæ	28	
Bordarii	6329	Others	30	
Servi	2041	Censarii	36	
Sochmanni	343	Burg. of Malden	180	
Liberi homines	306	Orsett	100	
Mol.	129	Sudbury	5	
Silvæ	437	Colchester	400	
Presbyters	44			
				14,549

Gloucestershire (*Glowecesterscire*).

Chief proprietors	66	Mol.	254	
Taini	16	Silvæ	45	
Villani	3071	Piscat.	90	
Bordarii	1901	Salinæ	7	
Servi	2423	Others	124	
Radchenistri	119	Burgenses, &c.	144	
Coleberti	105			
				8365

Hampshire.

General amount - - - - - -	9807	
Isle of Wight - - - - - -	824	
		10,631

Herefordshire.

Chief proprietors	37	Coleberti	16	
Villani	2052	Cotarii	19	
Bordarii	1381	Mol.	95	
Servi	966	Sylvæ	45	
Bovarii	130	Piscat.	12	
Radchenistri	41	Porcarii	14	
Radmanni	38	Salinæ	8	

Francigenæ	23	Milites	34	
Presbyters	26	Buri	18	
Prepositi	33	Clerici	19	
Bedelli	21	Other persons	26	
Liberi	15	Subtenentes	78	
Homines	204	Hereford burg.	70	
Wallenses	41	Clifford burg.	16	
Fabri	23	Another	9	
				5510

HERTFORDSHIRE (*Herfordscire*).

Chief proprietors	43	Silvatici	87	
Taini regis	12	Mold.	9	
Villani	1763	Tenentes	194	
Bordarii	1118	Burgenses of		
Servi	575	Escewille	14	
Cotarii	853	St. Alban's	46	
Sochmanni	57	Berchamsteed	52	
Mol.	95	Stanestede	6	
				4924

HUNTINGDONSHIRE (*Huntedunscire*).

Chief proprietors	27	Piscatores	12	
Taini	7	Silvatici	28	
Villani	1886	Presbyters and eccl.	46	
Bordarii	383	Tenentes	42	
Sochmanni	23	Milites	16	
Molin.	33	Homines	8	
				2511

KENT (*Chenth*).

Chief proprietors	305	Piscat.	158	
Villani	6676	Burghers of		
Bordarii	3367	Dover	42	
Servi	1142	Canterbury	1600	
Cotarii	308	Sandwich	415	
Molin.	212	Rochester	7	
Mol.	107	Romeney	166	
Salinæ	130	Hide	231	
				14,866

LEICESTERSHIRE (*Ledecestre*).

Chief proprietors	52	Presbyteri	34	
Villani	2446	Francigenæ	37	
Bordarii	1285	Tenentes	101	
Servi	374	Milites	27	
Sochmanni	1716	Others	9	
Molin.	105	Burgenses	371	
Silvæ	56			
				6613

Lincolnshire.

Tenentes,	68	Salinæ	361	
Taini	27	Piscarii	211	
Sochmanni	11,322	Censorii	20	
Villani	7168	Burgenses	274	
Bordarii	3737	Other persons	260	
Molini	414	Lincoln mans.	982	
Moldarii	76	Stamford	317	
Silvæ	252	Terchesy	102	
Ecclesiæ	226			
				25,817

Middlesex.

Chief proprietors	23	Molini	34	
Villani	1124	Silvæ	35	
Bordarii	367	Tenentes	106	
Servi	112	Stanes burg.	46	
Cotarii	442			
				2289

Norfolk (*Nordfolc*).

Chief proprietors	62	Piscatores	72	
Villani	4528	Salmæ	240	
Bordarii	8679	Vara apium	187	
Servi	1066	Other persons	61	
Sochmanni	5521	Burg. Norwich	883	
Liberi homines	4981	Others there	68	
Molini	403	Bordarii there	480	
Silvæ	180	Yarmouth	70	
Ecclesiæ	159	Thetford	725	
				28,365

Northamptonshire (*Northantscire*).

Chief proprietors	62	Silvæ	112	
Villani	3901	Milites	50	
Bordarii	2011	Tenentes	125	
Servi	879	Presbyteri	55	
Sochmanni	915	Other persons	11	
Molini	249	Burg. North.	295	
				8665

Nottinghamshire (*Snotinghamscire*).

Chief proprietors	28	Presbyteri	63	
Taini	26	Piscatores	32	
Villani	2555	Tenentes	201	
Bordarii	1099	Other persons	44	
Servi	26	Censorius	2	
Sochmanni	1565	Burg. Nottingh.	363	
Molini	118	Derby, were	243	
Silvæ	69	Others	56	
				6490

Rutlandshire.

Villani	722	Sochmanni	2	
Bordarii	109			
				833

OXFORDSHIRE.

Chief proprietors	77	Silvæ	41	
Villani	3525	Pasturæ	32	
Bordarii	1838	Salina	1	
Servi	938	Houses in Oxford, were	721	
Piscatores	38	Other persons	80	
Molini	170			
				7461

SHROPSHIRE (*Sciropescire.*)

Chief proprietors	9	Presbyteri	54	
Villani	1726	Molini	88	
Bordarii	1118	Silvæ	69	
Servi	991	Piscatores	31	
Bovarii	388	Salinæ	6	
Radmanni	173	Wallenses	64	
Radchenistri	3	Tenentes	98	
Cotarii	24	Other persons	193	
Cosces	5	Burgenses	191	
Coliberti	13			
				5344

SOMERSETSHIRE (*Summersete*).

Chief proprietors	46	Silvæ	206	
King's thanes	17	Gablatores	7	
Other proprietors	11	Burgenses		
Villani	4947	Bath, Bade	30	
Bordarii	4377	Tautone	64	
Servi	1565	Lanperth	39	
Coliberti	156	Alsebruge	32	
Cotarii	299	Givelcestre	108	
Cosces	43	Meleburn	61	
Piscarii	21	Bremet	17	
Porcarii	57	Bristow	10	
Molini	323	Masuræ	22	
Pasturæ	156	Subordinate tenentes	205	
				12,819

STAFFORDSHIRE (*Statfordscire*).

Chief proprietors	16	Presbyteri	22	
King's thanes	18	Piscarii	2	
Villani	1758	Liberi homines	20	
Bordarii	897	Milites	5	
Servi	230	Burgenses	217	
Molini	62	Other persons	24	
Silvæ	143	Subordinate tenentes	84	
				3498

SUFFOLK (*Sudfulc*).

Chief proprietors	72	Silvæ	152	
Villani	3024	Molendini	220	
Bordarii	6292	Ecclesiæ	358	
Servi	947	Piscatores	60	
Sochmanni	1014	Salinæ	18	
Liberi homines	8012	Burgenses	1924	
				22,093

Surry (*Sudrie*).

Chief proprietors	40	Silvæ	86
Villani	2327	Piscarii	16
Bordarii	921	Porcarii and others	23
Servi	469	Milites	6
Cotarii	288	Sochmanni	9
Molini	121	Lib. homines	4
Ecclesiæ	62	Burg. Gildeford	175
			4547

Sussex (*Sudsexe*).

Tenentes	753	Berquarii	10
Villani	5866	Propositus manerii	1
Bordarii	2510	Molini	148
Cotarii	738	Hagæ	26
Servi	415	Salinæ	285
Oppidani and Burgenses	830	Piscariæ	30
Presbyteri	3	Ecclesiæ	103
			11,718

Warwickshire (*Warwicscire*).

Chief proprietors and Thanes	43	Tenentes	109
Villani	3537	Liberi homines	20
Bordarii	1705	Milites	24
Servi	726	Francigenæ	15
Molini	121	Other persons	61
Silvæ	110	Burgenses of	
Presbyteri	59	Warwick	398
Salinæ	3	Tamewerd	10
			6941

Wiltshire (*Wiltescire*).

Chief proprietors	66	Coleberti	252
Villani	3290	Porcarii	87
Bordarii	2713	Pasturæ	206
Servi	1475	Silvæ	143
Cosces	1385	Ecclesiæ	29
Cotarii	284	Burgenses	371
Molini	404	Other persons	44
			10,749

Worcestershire (*Wirecestrescire*).

Chief proprietors	27	Bovariæ	65
Villani	1524	Molini	107
Bordarii	1725	Silvæ	87
Servi	813	Salinæ	50
Cotarii	39	Piscarii	18
Cotmanni	19	Francigenæ	23
Radchenistri	2	Presbyteri	21
Radmanni	52	Other persons	93
Coleberti	9	Burgenses	242
			4916

YORKSHIRE (*Euruicscire*).

Chief proprietors	65	Piscarii	61
Villani	5061	Censores	36
Bordarii	1842	Coteros	16
Sochmanni	438	Other persons	68
Molini	103	Tenentes, about	200
Silvæ	122	Burg. of York	1716
Presbyteri	130	Other burghers	110
			9968
		General total	300,785

DANISH COUNTIES.

Norfolk	28,365	Essex	14,549
Lincolnshire	25,819	Yorkshire	9,968
Suffolk	22,093		
			100,794

OTHER COUNTIES PLACED ACCORDING TO THEIR NUMBER.

Devonshire	18,205	Buckinghamshire	5,563
Kent	14,866	Herefordshire	5,510
Somerset	12,819	Cambridgeshire	5,506
Sussex	11,718	Shropshire	5,344
Wilts	10,749	Herts	4,924
Hampshire	10,631	Worcestershire	4,916
Dorset	8,879	Surry	4,547
Northamptonshire	8,665	Bedfordshire	3,772
Gloucestershire	8,365	Staffordshire	3,498
Oxfordshire	7,461	Derbyshire	3,140
Warwickshire	6,941	Cheshire	2,873
Berkshire	6,737	Huntingdon	2,511
Leicestershire	6,613	Middlesex	2,289
Nottinghamshire	6,490	Rutland	833
Cornwall	5,606		
			199,991

TOTAL.

Danish counties	100,794
The others	199,991
Persons mentioned in Domesday-book[a]	300,785

These may be considered as so many families, and if we take five as the general average of a family for all the counties, it would make the Anglo-Saxon population actually alluded to, at the time of the Conquest, 1,504,925, or a million and a half; but this enumeration was made after the destructive wars between William and the English,[b] and after his dreadful devastation of

[a] I have taken the numbers for Hampshire and Sussex from Mr. Rickman's enumeration; and have, in all the rest, assumed, as he has done in these, a man for every silva, molinum, pastura, domus, &c. that is mentioned.

[b] The effect of these wars appear frequently in Domesday. Thus in the county

Yorkshire, which left one hundred miles of the country, north of the Humber, a mere desert,[c] hence the number of that county is so small. Four counties are also entirely omitted; as Cumberland, Durham, Lancaster, and Northumberland.[d] But London, a century afterwards, is stated to have furnished sixty thousand fighting men;[e] therefore its population cannot have then been less than three hundred thousand persons. In Domesday-book it is also obvious that all the burghers, or actual inhabitants of the cities and burghs, are not mentioned. When Canterbury was burnt by the Danes in 1006, it contained eight thousand men, of whom only eighty-four survived the ruin. Only one thousand six hundred are mentioned in Domesday-book eighty years afterwards, though a city so venerated and celebrated must have recovered its prosperity. But in other cities and towns it is manifest that almost all the residents are omitted; as in Bristol, where only ten are noticed, though this was at that time a great trading city; only seventy at Yarmouth; fifty-two only at Buckingham; nine only at Bedford; five at Sudbury; seventy at Hereford; forty-two at Dover; and but forty-six at St. Alban's, though a place peculiarly frequented and respected. Winchester, though then a large town, is not mentioned.

All the monks, and nearly all the parochial clergy, are omitted.[f] So in the different counties it will be found that, excepting in the Danish counties, and in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, which they also pervaded, very few of the actual freemen are enumerated. It would seem as if those persons were chiefly, if not only, recorded whose lands and tenements rendered some payments or services to the crown or state, or had been supposed to do so. Hence there is a careful enumeration of the extent of the lands and of the cultivators that had to defend themselves; that is, to contribute to the military force of the country in the proportions alluded to, but little more than this is attended to; and though this contribution was a very general obligation on the landed property of the country, yet the charters show us that some parts were exempt from it. If we take all these things into

of Dorset, it is said that in Dorchester *were*, in the time of the Confessor, 172 houses, but that 100 had been entirely destroyed; so in Warcham 143, of which 73 were "penitus destructæ;" so in Shaftesbury 38 out of 104, p. 75. So in Oxford, though 243 houses paid gold, yet 478 had become so "vastæ" as to yield none. In Ipswich 328 were "vastatæ." In York 540 are noticed as "vacuæ." Many such occur in other counties.

[c] See Turner's Hist. Eng. vol. i.

[d] These were the border counties, the seat of almost continual warfare; and part of them were then in the power of Malcolm, the king of Scotland, especially Cumberland and Durham.

[e] See Stephanides's Life of Becket.

[f] We may infer the extent of the omission as to the parochial clergy from recollecting that the parish churches in England, in the middle ages, were stated to be 46,822.

consideration, we shall perceive that the Anglo-Saxon population, in the period just before the Norman conquest, must have exceeded TWO MILLIONS.

This enumeration intimates to us the political benefits which resulted from the invasions of the Northmen. They appear to have planted in the colonies they occupied a numerous race of freemen; and their counties seem to have been well peopled. Thus,

In Essex	343 sochmanni.
	306 liberi homines.
Leicestershire	1716 sochmanni.
Lincolnshire	11,322 sochmanni.
Nottinghamshire	1565 sochmanni.
Norfolk	5521 sochmanni.
	4981 lib. hom.
Suffolk	8012 lib. hom.
	1014 sochmanni.
York	438 sochmanni.

This enumeration of the population shows how large a proportion of Englishmen were then in the servile state; for that villani were in a state of bondage is manifest from the manner in which they are mentioned in our ancient Glanville,[g] Bracton, and Fleta,[h] who say that even holding a freehold does not give liberty to a villanus, a remark not observed by those who have deemed villani free peasants, because they were found to have lands. The bordarii, servi, cotarii, cosces, &c., were similarly circumstanced. In Domesday-book, burghers are mentioned as having bordarii under them. There can be no doubt that nearly three-fourths of the Anglo-Saxon population were in a state of slavery; and nothing could have broken the powerful chains of law and force by which the landed aristocracy held their people in bondage but such events as the Norman conquest, and the civil wars which it excited and fostered, and in which such numbers of the nobility perished; and also that wise and humane law which directed that if a slave was not claimed by his lord within a limited period, he should be presumed to be free. It was perhaps as much by the destruction of the Anglo-Saxon great proprietors as by their own colonists near the Baltic, that the number of the free were so numerous in the districts where the Danes had predominated.

[g] P. 74. [h] P. 1 and 3.

BOOK IX.

THEIR POETRY, LITERATURE, ARTS, AND SCIENCES.

CHAPTER I.

Their Native or Vernacular Poetry.

As poetry has been always classed among the most interesting productions of the human mind, few topics of human research are more curious than the history of this elegant art, from its rude beginning to that degree of excellence to which it has long been raised by our ingenious countrymen.

In no country can the progress of the poetical genius and taste be more satisfactorily traced than in our own. During that period which this work attempts to commemorate, we find it in its earliest state. It could, indeed, have been scarcely more rude, to have been at all discernible. But though its dress was homely, and its features coarse, yet it was preparing to assume the style, the measures, and the subjects, which in subsequent ages were so happily displayed as to deserve the notice of the latest posterity.

The poetry of the Anglo-Saxons was of two sorts; the poems which they composed in their own tongue, and the poems which they wrote in Latin. These two kinds of poetry were completely distinct from each other;—distinct in origin; distinct in style.

The Anglo-Saxon native poetry may be distinguished into its mind and its style.

In the mind of poetry we look for its imagination, its feeling, and its force of thought; but these in all ages obey and display the tastes, sentiment, and habits of the passing day. In the Anglo-Saxon times, though women were highly respected and valued, yet that cultivated feeling which we call love, in its intellectual tenderness and finer sympathies, was neither predominant nor probably known. The stern and active passions were the rulers of society, and all the amusements were gross or severe.

Women were reverenced, but not loved; and hence, except in the little effusions which have been noticed of our self-cultivated Alfred, there is no affectionate allusion to the fair sex in any Anglo-Saxon poem.

War and religion were the absorbing subjects of this period, and all the imagination, and feeling, and thought which exist in the Anglo-Saxon poetry are connected with one or both of these topics. There can be no poetry without imagination and feeling; but these endeared qualities appear in different nations, and in different states of society, in very dissimilar forms.

In the Anglo-Saxon poetry they took the peculiar shape of the metaphor and the periphrasis. The imagination exerted itself in framing those abrupt and imperfect hints or fragments of similes which we call metaphors, and the feeling expressed its emotions by that redundant repetition of phrases, which, though it added little to the meaning of the poet's lay, was yet the emphatic effusion of his heart, and excited consenting sympathies in those to whom it was addressed. This habit of paraphrasing the sentiment is the great peculiarity of the mind of the Anglo-Saxon poetry; the metaphor may be frequently observed, but the periphrasis is never long absent.

The style of their poetry was as peculiar. It has been much disputed by what rules or laws the Saxons arranged their poetical phrases. I have observed a passage in the general works of Bede which may end the controversy, by showing that they used no rules at all, but adopted the simpler principle of consulting only the natural love of melody, of which the human organs of hearing have been made susceptible; and of using that easy allocation of syllables which pleased the musical ear. In defining rhythmus, Bede says,

"It is a modulated composition of words, not according to the laws of metre, but *adapted in the number of its syllables to the judgment of the ear*, as are the verses of our vulgar (or native) poets.

"Metre is an artificial rule with modulation; rhythmus is the modulation, without the rule. For the most part, you find, by a sort of chance, some rule in rhythm; yet this is not from an artificial government of the syllables, but because the sound and modulation lead to it. The vulgar poets effect this rustically; the skilful attain it by their skill; as,

Rex eterne! Domine!
Rerum Creator omnium!
Qui eras ante secula!"[a]

From this passage it is obvious that Bede's poetical countrymen wrote their vernacular verses without any other rule than that of pleasing the ear. To such a selection and arrangement of words as produced this effect, they added the habit of frequently omitting the usual particles, and of conveying their

[a] Bedæ Op. vol. i. p. 57.

meaning in short and contracted phrases. The only artifices they used were those of inversion and transition.

The most ancient piece of Anglo-Saxon poetry which we possess, is that fragment of the song of the ancient Cædmon which Alfred has inserted in his translation of Bede. Cædmon was a monk, who accustomed himself to religious poetry, which he began late in life. He died in 680.

The fragment which has descended to us, he made on waking in a stall of oxen which he was appointed to guard during the night.[b] The original shows the rhythm to which Bede alludes:

Now we should praise	Nu ꝑe ſceolan heꝛıȝean
The Guardian of the heavenly kingdom;	Heaꝼon ꝛıceſ ꝑeaꝛd;
The mighty Creator,	Metodeſ mıhte
And the thoughts of his mind,	And hıſ mod ȝethanc,
Glorious Father of his works!	Weoꝛc ꝑuldoꝛ ꝼædeꝛ!
As he, of every glory	Sꝑa he ꝑuldꝛeſ ȝehꝼæſ
Eternal Lord!	Ece dꝛıhten!
Established the beginning;	Oꝛd onſtealde;
So he first shaped	He æꝛeſt ȝeſcop
The earth for the children of men,	Eoꝛthan beaꝛnum,
And the heavens for its canopy.	Heoꝼon to ꝛoꝼe.
Holy Creator!	Halıȝ ſcẏppend!
The middle region,	Tha mıddan ȝeaꝛd,
The Guardian of Mankind,	Mon cẏnneſ ꝑeaꝛd,
The Eternal Lord,	Ece dꝛıhtne,
Afterwards made	Æꝼteꝛ teode
The ground for men.	Fıꝛum ꝼoldan;
Almighty Ruler!	Fꝛea almıtıȝ!

Alfred's Bede, 597.

In these eighteen lines the verbal rhythm and periphrasis of the style are evident. Eight lines are occupied by so many phrases to express the Deity. These repetitions are very abruptly introduced; sometimes they come in like so many interjections:

The Guardian of the heavenly kingdom;
The mighty Creator—
Glorious Father of his works!—
Eternal Lord!—
Holy Creator!
The Guardian of Mankind,
The Eternal Lord—
Almighty Ruler!

Three more of the lines are used for the periphrasis of the first making the world:

[b] Bede, iv. 24. Alfred has preserved the Saxon.

He established the beginning;
He first shaped—
He afterwards made—

Three more lines are employed to express the earth as often by a periphrasis:

The earth for the children of men—
The middle region—
The ground for men—

So that of eighteen lines, the periphrasis occupies fourteen, and in so many lines only conveys three ideas; and all that the eighteen lines express is simply the first verse of the book of Genesis, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."

No Saxon poem can be inspected without the periphrasis being found to be the leading characteristic. The elegant Menology in the Cotton Library displays it in its very beginning. The rhythm in the placing of the syllables is also apparent:

Cꞃiſt ꝑæſ acennẏð	Christ was born
Cẏninʒa ꝑulðoꞃ	the King of Glory
On miðne ꝑinteꞃ:	in mid-winter:
Mæꞃe theoðen!	Illustrious King!
Ece ælmihtiʒ!	Eternal! almighty!
On thẏ eahteothan ðæʒ	On the eighth day
hælenð ʒehaten	he was called the Saviour,
Heoꝼon ꞃiceſ ꝑeaꞃð.	Ruler of heaven's kingdom.

As all the specimens of their native poetry which will be adduced in this chapter will be found to abound with periphrastical amplifications, it will be unnecessary to introduce more instances here.

Their periphrasis is always mingled with metaphors; and as these will be seen very frequently in the subsequent citations, they need not be particularized. One striking instance will suffice, which we will take from Cedmon's periphrasis and metaphors to express the ark; he calls it successively, the ship, the sea-house, the greatest of watery chambers, the ark, the great sea-house, the high mansion, the holy wood, the house, the great sea-chest, the greatest of treasure-houses, the vehicle, the mansion, the house of the deep, the palace of the ocean, the cave, the wooden fortress, the floor of the waves, the receptacle of Noah, the moving roof, the feasting-house, the bosom of the vessel, the nailed building, the ark of Noah, the vehicle of the ark, the happiest mansion, the building of the waves, the foaming ship, the happy receptacle.

Another prevailing feature of the Anglo-Saxon poetry was the omission of the little particles of speech, those abbreviations of language which are the invention of man in the more cultivated ages of society, and which contribute to express our meaning more discriminatingly, and to make it more clearly understood.

The prose and poetry of Alfred's translation of Boetius will enable us to illustrate this remark. Where the prose says, Thee the on tham ecan ſetle ꝓicſaſt, "Thou who on the eternal seat reignest," the poetry of the same passage, Thee on heahſetle ecan ꝓicſaſt, "Thou on high seat eternal reignest," omitting the explaining and connecting particles, *the* and *that*. So, "Thou that on the seat," is again in the poetry, "Thou on seat." The Saxon of the little fragment of Cedmon is without particles.

Whoever looks into Anglo-Saxon poetry after being familiar with their prose, will perceive how uniformly barren their poems are of the discriminating and explanatory particles. He will likewise feel, in the difficulties which attend his construction of it, how much obscurity is created by their absence.

In prose, and in cultivated poetry, every conception of the author is clearly expressed and fully made out. In barbaric poetry, and in the Anglo-Saxon poetry, we have most commonly abrupt, imperfect hints, instead of regular description or narration. The poetical citations which follow, will abundantly show this. But that their poetry seeks to express the same idea in fewer words than prose, may be made apparent by one instance. Thus, the phrase in Alfred's prose, "So doth the moon with his pale light, that the bright stars he obscures in the heavens," is put by him in his poetry thus:

With Pale light
Bright stars
Moon lesseneth.

Even when the same idea is multiplied by the periphrasis, the rest of the sentence is not extended either in meaning or expression. One word or epithet is played upon by a repetition of synonymous expressions, but the meaning of the sentence is not thereby increased.

Of their artificial inversion of their words and phrases in their poems, every specimen adduced will give evidence. It is quite different in their prose. The words follow there most commonly in an easy and natural order. The poem on Beowulf will give repeated instances of their abrupt and unconnected transitions. Their metre will be the subject of a separate chapter.

The poetry which pleases a refined age, has no more similarity to such poetry as we find to have been popular among the Anglo-Saxons, than the sonatas of Haydn, Mozart, or Beethoven, can be supposed to have to the boisterous music of our ancestors. Poetry, like painting and architecture, has attained to its perfection by slow degrees. The leaves of its laurel seem to have been the gradual contributions of genius and labour during many centuries. But at the period in which it is the province of this his-

tory to contemplate it, little else seems to have been done than the formation of a style of composition different from prose. If we call this style poetry, it is rather by complaisance than truth—rather with a knowledge of the excellences afterwards introduced into it, than of those which it then possessed.

The barren and peculiar state of the Anglo-Saxon poetry leads us to infer, that it was the product of art more than of nature. Its origin seems to have been as homely as its genius.

The origin of the periphrasis is easily accounted for; a favourite chief or hero conquers, and is received on his return by the clamorous rejoicings of his people. One calls him brave; another, fierce; another, irresistible. He is pleased with the praises; and some one at his feast, full of the popular feeling, repeats the various epithets with which he had been greeted:

Edmund
the brave chief,
fierce in war!
irresistible in battle!
slaughtered his enemies
at————————.

This is in substance an Anglo-Saxon poem.

But when these addresses were found to interest the vanity of the chiefs, and to excite their liberality, more labour would be bestowed in the construction of the periphrasis; the compliment would be sometimes higher seasoned, and then the periphrasis would be raised into occasional metaphors: the hero would be called, the eagle of battle, the lord of shields, the giver of the bracelet, the helmet of his people; and the lady would be saluted as a beautiful elf.

The style of the Anglo-Saxon poetry seems to have been originally the common, imperfect language of the people, in its half-formed and barbarous state. When an infant first begins to talk, it uses only the nouns and pronouns of its language. By degrees it learns the use of a few verbs, which for some time it uses in their simplest forms, without any of their conjugations. The meaning of these is supplied by its actions, or is left to be guessed by its parent. The knowledge of the abbreviations, or the particles of language, is gradually attained. With our careful education, children acquire from us the habit of using them with fluency and correctness in a few years. But wild nations must have been some centuries without them.

All nations, who have formed their languages, have gone through the same process, in doing so, that our children are always exhibiting. The nouns, or the names of things, are at first their only language. Some of these, which signify visible action or motion, come at last to be used to express motion or action generally, or are added to other nouns, to express them in

a state of action. These are what we now call verbs. Hence nouns, nouns used as verbs, or thus converted into verbs, and others made pronouns, compose the whole of the language in the ruder ages of every uncivilized nation.

As the progress of society goes on, the abbreviations of language begin to be formed; words multiply, and the forms of using them to distinguish the various ideas of the human mind from each other, and to give determination and precision to its meaning, begin also to multiply. The conjugations of the verbs, and the declensions of nouns, are then invented, new sets of nouns receive being, and new meanings are given to the primitive nouns, as will be shown in our chapter on language, till at length every language receives that multiplicity of terms and particles which form the copious and clear stream of expressive and cultivated prose. If a people narrate a tale in the full and copious period of their language, they will do it naturally in that easy and loquacious prose which forms the style of Herodotus, the oldest prose writer of Greece that has survived to us. But if the same tale was told by the ancestors of this people in their ruder state, when language had not acquired its abbreviations, nor the verbs their conjugations, nor the nouns their secondary meanings and derivative applications; and if that tale, so rudely told, were handed down faithfully by tradition in its rude state to the cultivated age, it would probably exhibit all the features of the Anglo-Saxon poetry;—it would be without particles, without conjugations or declensions, with great contraction of phrase, with abrupt transitions, with violent metaphor and frequent periphrasis. The contraction of phrase would arise from the penury of their associations. The same poverty of mind and knowledge would make the periphrasis, or the retracing the same idea again and again, their easiest source of eloquence; and the violence of metaphor naturally arises from not having immediately new terms to express the new, or more intellectual ideas, that would every year be rising among an improving people; and therefore, till new words are devised, the old names of real things are necessarily, though violently applied.

The metre of the Saxon poetry is the simplest that can be conceived, and is, indeed, often little else than a series of short exclamations. Its inversions are more artificial. But when music was applied to poetry, and men found it beneficial to sing or recite a chieftain's praise, we may conceive, that, to secure to themselves the profits of the profession, some little ingenuity was exerted to make difficulties which would raise their style above the vulgar phrase. Its inversion was one of the easiest modes of making a peculiar style of composition; and as society advanced in its attainments, the transition, the alliteration, and

other ornaments, may have been added, either as new beauties or as new difficulties.

When the style of the nation had been improved into an easy and accurate prose, the ancient style may have been kept on foot by the bards of the chiefs from design, and by the people from habit and veneration. The old style would be long remembered by a nation, from respect to its ancestors, from that venerable air which it has from its antiquity, like the dialect and stanza of Spenser to us, which is always pleasing, and often imitated; and from the fact, that the ancient compositions which had become popular were in the ancient style.

Hence, independent of the interest which the bards would have to use the ancient style, because, by becoming more unlike the improving language of the improving people, it would remain more securely appropriated to them, and therefore more beneficial; the people, from habit and association, would also prefer it.

Thus humbly, it is conceived, the Anglo-Saxon poetry arose: at first the rude exclamations of a rude people, with a rude language, greeting their chieftains; soon repeated or imitated by some men, from the profit derived from it. When, from the improvement of the manners and state of the people, a more cultivated style, or that we call prose, became general, because better fitted to the uses of life, then the old rude style dropped out of common use. The bards, however, retained and appropriated this, because more instrumental to their professional advantages. To enjoy these more exclusively, to secure their monopoly of credit and gifts, they added more difficulties to the style they adopted, to make it more remote from the vulgar attainment; till at length their poetical style became for ever separated from prose.

In thus considering our ancient poetry as an artificial and mechanical thing, cultivated by men chiefly as a trade, we must not be considered as confounding it with those delightful beauties which we now call poetry. These have arisen from a different source, and are of a much later chronology. They are the creations of subsequent genius; but they have sprung up, not in its dark and ancient days, but in a succession of better times, during the many ages which followed, in which the general intellect of society being continually improving, taste and imagination improved also. The English fancy was cultivated with assiduous labour for many centuries before Chaucer arose, or could have arisen. True poetry is the offspring of cultivated mind. Art cannot produce it without nature, but neither can nature make it where art is wholly unknown. Hence, all that we owe to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in poetry is, that, by accident or design, they perpetuated a style of composition different from the common language of the country, which gradually became appro-

priated to fancy and music. In happier times, genius, using it as the vehicle of its effusions, improved it by slow degrees, and enriched it with ever-succeeding beauties; till that rich stock of poetry has been created, which is the pride of our literature and country.

The Anglo-Saxon poetry, as it is earlier, so it is also inferior to the Northern in depth of feeling, in vigour of genius, and in culture of imagination. It occupies a middle space between the ancient and British poetry and the Northern. It has not the story, nor the strong imagination of the Northern.

It exhibits chiefly feeling, but it is vague feeling, or feeling vaguely expressed, not made out, not communicated by expressions or images adapted to excite it in others. It is strong heroic feeling in the mind of the writer, but more expressed by violent words than by the real effusion or detail of the genuine emotion.

But, in truth, society had then not acquired a phrase of eloquent passion for its own use. It felt often strongly; but, like the uncultivated mind of all ages, did not know how to express itself. Hence the use, and the cause of the use of oaths and imprecations, violent gesticulations and abuse. The strong feeling is expressed by them because the utterers have not yet attained the art or the habit of using any other form of diction to express their feelings by, and know no other way of giving them utterance.

Alfred, by translating the poetry of Boetius, did more to improve Saxon poetry than any other thing, but this kind was too intellectual to be then imitated by his uneducated contemporaries. He would have done them more service if he had translated Virgil or Homer, or any other epic poem into Saxon. The story would have caught their attention, and the descriptions and dialogues have been more level to their comprehension. The warlike story of Homer would have suited them; but Homer was out of the reach of Alfred, and perhaps Virgil's Eneid might have been too refined and sentimental.

The history of the Saxon poetry, and, indeed, of all modern European poetry, in its ruder state, may be divided into three heads: songs, or ballads: the lengthened narrative poems, or romances; and that miscellaneous kind which, if we term it lyric, it is more for the convenience of using a short generic word, than for the exact appropriation of its meaning. Under these three divisions shall be arranged all that can be collected on the Saxon poetry.

That our ancestors had popular songs on the actions of their great or favourite characters, or on such other subjects as interested the vulgar mind is proved by many instances, which may be traced in the ancient writers. Aldhelm, whose Latin poctry will be noticed, applied himself to compose songs, or ballads, in the Anglo-Saxon language, to instruct, as well as to amuse, his

countrymen. Alfred inserted it as a remark in his Manual, that no one had ever appeared before Aldhelm so competent in English poetry; none had been able to compose so much, or to sing and recite it so appositely. The king mentions a popular ballad of Aldhelm's, which was in his time (that is, nearly two centuries afterwards) sung in the streets. Malmsbury adds, that Aldhelm, anxious to instruct his countrymen, then semi-barbarous, and inattentive to their religious duties, took his station on the public bridge, as if a singer by profession, and, by mixing sacred with lighter topics, won their attention, and meliorated their minds.

None of Aldhelm's vernacular poetry has survived; but the circumstance above mentioned, that he composed and sang these ballads as if "he professed the art of singing,"[c] show that the harpers of the day were accustomed to recite them. That such things were then in general circulation is also implied by Bede, when he mentions, that in a festive company the harp was sent round, that those might sing who could.[d]

It was a book of Saxon poems which first allured Alfred to learn to read;[e] and the fact, that he had his children taught to read the Saxon poems,[f] and that he himself visited the Danish camp as a harper,[g] which, in the reign of his grandson, Anlaf imitated,[h] prove the existence of popular songs, which interested both the child and the rude warrior.

These songs, or ballads, are also mentioned on other occasions. When Malmsbury, after narrating the reign of Athelstan, proceeds to describe his origin from Edward's amour with a shepherd's daughter, he says, "The following facts I have taken rather from the songs (cantilenis) worn out by the course of time, than from books composed for the instruction of posterity."[i]

When Malmsbury has to mention the adulteries of Edgar, he endeavours to lessen their historical authority by saying, "The other infamies which I shall mention have been rather diffused by songs" (cantilenæ).[j]

These popular songs occur to us again in the ancient life of Dunstan. He is there said to have learnt "the vain songs of his nation."[k] He was also at that time a player upon the harp.

A fragment of a ballad composed by Canute the Great has survived to us,[l] which gives us a specimen of the measure which this kind of poetry had attained in his time. As he was sailing by the abbey in the isle of Ely, he heard the monks chanting their psalms and anthems, and was so struck with the interesting melody, that he composed a little Saxon ballad on the occasion, which began thus:

[c] Malmsb. 3 Gale, 339.
[d] Bede, lib. iv. c. 24.
[e] Asser.
[f] Ibid.
[g] Malmsb. 43.
[h] Ibid. 48.
[i] Ibid. 52.
[j] Ibid. 56.
[k] MS. Cleop. B. 13.
[l] Hist. Elien. 3 Gale, 505.

Merie sungen ðe munecheſ binnen Elẏ
Tha Cnut ching reuðer bẏ;
Roweð, Cnitеſ, noer ðe land,
And here ye ðeſ munecheſ ſang.

Merry sang the monks in Ely,
When Canute the king was sailing by;
"Row, ye Knights, near the land,
And let us hear these monks' song."

The historical ballads of the Saxons on the actions of their popular favourites are also intimated by Ingulf, the Conqueror's secretary. In his account of the chivalric hero, Hereward, who flourished in the time of Edward the Confessor and afterwards, he says, "His brave actions were sung in England."[m] In another passage, the monk informs us that Hereward died at last in peace, and was buried in their monastery, "after great battles, and a thousand dangers, frequently dared against the king, earls, barons, and magistrates, and bravely achieved, as is yet sung in the streets."[n] We may close our authorities by stating, that William of Malmsbury mentions, that the song (cantilena) of Roland was begun to be sung before the battle of Hastings, to excite a martial spirit in the combatants.[o]

Two of the historical songs of our ancestors, and some fragments of others, have been preserved in the Saxon Chronicle, in which they have been inserted as part of the Chronicle. As one of the songs on Edgar's death has not been hitherto brought before the English public, and the other, on Ethelstan's victory, has been given with an incorrect translation, I will add a version of both.

The Song on Ethelstan's Victory at Brunanburh.

Here Athelstan king,
of earls the lord,
the giver of the bracelets of the nobles,
and his brother also,
Edmund the ætheling,
the Elder! a lasting glory
won by slaughter in battle
with the edges of swords
at Brunan burh.
The wall of shields they cleaved,
they hewed the noble banners:
the survivors of the family,
the children of Edward.
As to them it was natural
from their ancestry,
that they in the field often
against every enemy
their land should defend,
their treasures and homes.
Pursuing, they destroyed
the Scottish people
and the ship-fleet.
The dead fell!
the field resounded!
the warriors sweat!
After that the sun
rose in the morning hour,
the greatest star!
glad above the earth,
God's candle bright!
the eternal Lord's!
till the noble creature
hastened to her setting.
There lay soldiers many
with darts struck down,
Northern men,
over their shields shot.
So were the Scotch;
weary of ruddy battle.

[m] Ingulf, p. 67. [n] Ibid. p. 68. [o] Malmsb. p. 101.

The West Saxons then
throughout the day,
with a chosen band,
to the last pressed
on the loathed people.
They hewed the fugitives of the army,
the behind ones, fiercely
with swords sharpened at the mill.
The Mercians did not refuse
the hard hand-play
with any of those men
that, with Anlaf,
over the turbid sea,
in the bosom of the ship,
sought the land
for deadly fight.
Five lay
in that battle place,
young kings,
by swords quieted:
so also seven,
the earls of Anlaf,
and innumerable of the army
of the fleet—and the Scots.
There was chased away
the lord of the Northmen,
driven by necessity
to the voice of the ship.
With a small host,
with the crew of his ship,
the king of the fleet
departed out on the yellow flood;
his life preserved.
So there also the routed one,
a fugitive, came
to his northern country;
Constantinus:
the hoarse din of Hilda
he needed not to vociferate
in the commerce of swords,
he was the fragment of his relations;
of his friends felled in the folk-place,
slain in the battle:
And his son he left
on the place of slaughter
with wounds beaten down.
Young in the conflict,
he would not boast;
the lad with flaxen hair,
from the bill of death,
tho' old in wit.
Nor more then Anlaf,
with the residue of their armies
had need to exult,
that they for works of battle
were better
in the place of combat,
in the prostration of the banners,
in the meeting of the arrows,
in the assembly of men,
in the exchange of weapons,
when they on the field of slaughter
against Edward's
descendants played.
Departed from them, then
the Northmen,
in nailed ships,
the dreary relics of the darts,
on the stormy sea,
over the deep water,
sought Dublin,
and their land,
disgraced in mind.
So the brothers
both together,
the king and the ætheling
their country sought,
the West-Saxon land.
The screamers of war
they left behind,
the raven to enjoy,
the dismal kite,
and the black raven
with horned beak;
and the hoarse toad;
the eagle, afterwards
to feast on the white flesh;
the greedy battle-hawk,
and the gray beast,
the wolf in the wood.
Nor had there been a greater
slaughter
in this island
ever yet
of people destroyed,
before this
by the edges of swords,
(This is what the books tell us
of the old wise men)
since from the East hither
the Angles and the Saxons
came up
over the broad waves.
and sought the Britons.
The illustrious smiths of war!
the Welsh, they overcame;
the earls excelling in honour!
and obtained the country.

In this song we may observe this artless order: in the two first paragraphs, the actions of Athelstan and his brother are recited.

The West Saxons and the Mercians are then separately praised. The fate of their enemies follows. The deaths of the five kings and seven earls are commemorated. Anlaf's flight and escape are sung, and Constantine's, whose son fell in the conflict. The poet then exults in the superior prowess of his countrymen. He conducts the remains of the defeated army to Dublin, and the victorious princes into West Saxony. He closes his song with two poetical commonplaces; one on the birds of prey, who crowd the field of battle, and the other on the superiority of this victory to all former ones.

The song on Edgar's death is much shorter:

Here ended
his earthly joys—
Edgar, England's king:
he chose for himself another light,
beautiful and pleasant;
and left this feeble life,
which the children of the nations,
the men on earth,
call so transitory.
On that month which everywhere
in this country's soil
they, that were before
in the art of numbers
rightly instructed,
call July;
in his youth departed
on the eighteenth day,
Edgar from life—
the giver of the bracelets of the nobles:
and his soon took
afterwards to the kingdom;
a child not full grown;
the ruler of earls:
Edward was his name,
an excelling hero.
Ten nights before
from Britain departed
the bishop so good
in native mind,
Cyneward was his name.
Then was in Mercia,
to my knowledge,
wide and everywhere
the praise of the Supreme Governor
destroyed on the earth.
Many were disturbed
of God's skilful servants.
Then was much groaning
to those that in their breasts
carried the burning love
of their Creator in their mind.
Then was the source of miracles
so much despised,
The Governor of victory;
the Lawgiver of the sky;
when man broke his rights.
And then was also driven
the beloved man,
Oslac, from the earth,
over the rolling of the waves,
over the bath of the sea-fowl,
the long-haired hero,
wise, and in words discreet,
over the roaring of the waters,
over the country of the whales;
of a home deprived.
And then was shown
up in the sky
a star in the firmament.
This the firm of spirit,
the men of skilful mind,
call extensively
a comet by name,
men skilled in art,
wise truth-tellers.
There was over the nation
the vengeance of the Supreme.
Widely spread
hunger over the mountains.
That again Heaven's
Ruler removed;
the Lord of angels!
He again gave bliss
to every inhabitant
by the earth's fertility.

These historical songs have none of the story, nor the striking traits of description which interest us in the ballads of a subsequent age. In the Saxon songs we see poetry in its rudest form, before the art of narration was understood. The simplicity of

the ballad deceives us into a belief that it is the easy and natural performance of the less cultivated ages of society. But the truth seems to be, that the excellence of the ballad is as difficult of attainment as any other species of approved poetry, and is the result not merely of genius, but also of great cultivation. In the ruder ages of nations, the ballad is the sort of poetry the most frequently composed and the most generally recited. The incessant cultivation of this particular species creates at least an excellence in it which subsequent ages do not attain, because other departments of the Parnassian art are then attended to, and the ballad becomes less used.

The song of Canute on Ely was the composition of the eleventh century; and being much later written than that on Athelstan, and therefore of a more cultivated kind, seems to have approached nearer that lively and dramatic form which interests us so much in the ballads of the following ages. This little fragment is, indeed, the oldest specimen of the dramatic or genuine ballad which we have in the Anglo-Saxon language.

The genuine ballad seems to have originated when the old Saxon poetry began to decline. The laboured metaphor, the endless periphrasis, the violent inversion, and the abrupt transition, being the great features of the Saxon poetry; these constituted that pompousness which William of Malmsbury truly states to have been its great characteristic. But it was impossible that while these continued prevalent and popular, the genuine ballad could have appeared. The ballad, therefore, probably arose from more vulgar and homely poets—from men who could not bend language into that difficult and artificial strain which the genius of the Anglo-Saxon bard was educated to use. The ambulatory glee-men, who strove to please the public by their merry-andrew antics, were most probably the first inventors of the genuine ballad. While at one time they tumbled and danced, showed their bears, and frolicked before the people in the dresses of various animals, at others they may have told little tales to interest the mob, from whose liberality they drew their maintenance.

Incidents narrated in verse were more intelligible than the pompous songs of the regular poets, and far more interesting to the people. In time they gained admission to the hall and the palace; and, by the style of Canute's ballad, this revolution must have been achieved by the beginning of the eleventh century. Then the harsh and obscure style of the old Saxon poetry began to be unpopular; and being still more discredited after the Norman conquest, it was at length completely superseded by the ballad and the metrical romance.

CHAPTER II.

Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poems, or Romances.—The Poem on Beowulf.

The origin of the metrical romance has been lately an interesting subject of literary research; and as it has not been yet completely elucidated, it seems proper to inquire whether any light can be thrown upon it from the ancient Saxon poetry.

It was asserted by Mr. Ritson, in conformity with the prevailing opinion of antiquaries, that the Anglo-Saxons had no poetical romance in their native tongue. But he grounds this opinion on the fact, that no romance had been at that time discovered in Saxon but a prose translation from the Latin of the legend of Apollonius of Tyre. The Anglo-Saxon poem on Beowulf, which was particularly recommended to the notice of the public in the first edition of this history in the year 1805, proves that this opinion was erroneous.

This work is a poem on the actions of its hero Beowulf. If it describes those deeds only which he actually performed, it would claim the title of a historical poem; but if, as few can doubt, the Anglo-Saxon poet has amused himself with portraying the warrior, and incidents of his fancy, then it is a specimen of an Anglo-Saxon poetical romance, true in costume and manners, but with an invented story. It is the most interesting relic of the Anglo-Saxon poetry which time has spared to us; and, as a picture of the manners, and as an exhibition of the feelings and notions of those days, it is as valuable as it is ancient. There is only one MS. of it now existing, which is in the Cotton Library, Vitellius, A. 15; and our antiquarian patriotism may be blamed that, when so much labour and money have been applied to print, at the public expense, so many ancient remains, and some of such little utility,[a] we should have left this curious relic of our ancestors to have been first printed by a foreigner, and in a foreign country.[b]

[a] Under the commission for printing the public records of the kingdom much has been printed which deserves the thanks of the community; but I should have rejoiced to have seen the Anglo-Saxon remains substituted for some of the volumes which have perhaps never been twice opened since their publication, and will never be molested even by antiquaries again. Would not a more enlarged principle of selection have been more advantageous to our most valuable MSS.?

[b] Ten years after the first edition of this part of the Anglo-Saxon history, Dr. G. J. Thorkelin, in the year 1815, printed this work at Copenhagen, which he addressed to the Lord John de Bulow, as his Mæcenas optime! by whose private munificence, he says, he had been enabled to bring into his country a monument of literature

The MS. of this poem was injured by the fire in the British Museum in 1731. It seems to have been written in the tenth century.[c] Its author, in several places, speaks as if he had been a contemporary of the events he describes; but this may be considered as a poetical license, especially if it be historically true that Beowulf fell in Jutland in the year 340.[d] The following analysis of the poem will give the reader of this history a general notion of its contents, and the extracts will be selected with a view to show the manners it describes.

It opens with an exclamatory introduction of his hero, but without immediately naming him:

How have we of the Gar-Danes[e]
in former days,
of the Theod-kings,[f]
the glory heard?
How the ethelings
excelled in strength!
Oft the scyld-scefing
from hosts of enemies,
from many tribes,
the mead-seats withdrew.
The earl was dreaded—
he grew up under the heavens;
he flourished in honours
till that each
of those sitting about
the path of the whole
should obey him;
should pay him tribute.[g]

His birth and encomium follow:

There was a good king:
to him offspring
was afterwards born,
a youth in the world:
this one God sent
the people to comfort
because he understood their need
which the Supreme knew
that they had before
a long while suffered.
To him the Lord of life,
the Ruler of glory,
the world's honours gave.[h]

which was above a thousand years old. But he is not entitled to claim it as a Danish poem; it is pure Anglo-Saxon; and though I grant that the Anglo-Saxon language is very like that of the old Icelandic poetry which has survived, yet it is a similarity with great idiomatical and verbal differences. It is by no means identity.

[c] So the late Mr. Astle thought, and the writing has all the appearance of being of that age.

[d] Dr. Thorkelin mentions this on the authority of Suhn, in his Geschichte der Danen. I can neither deny nor confirm the chronology.

[e] Thorkelin calls these the Northern Danes, inhabiting Zealand and the other isles, p. 261. His derivation of Gar from Aur, a peninsula in Iceland, is unsatisfactory. I would rather deduce it from the Saxon, as implying the ancient Danes; as eald Saxons, the old Saxons.

[f] Of these see vol. i. of this history, p. 286.

[g] Thorkelin's first translation of this poem was burnt in our bombardment of Copenhagen. At the request of his patron, Bulow, he made another translation in Latin, which he has published. As I very often differ with him in the construction of the original, I have attempted to convey the ideas of the poet in a version of my own, in the passages inserted in this work. Yet as a *first* translation of a very difficult composition, I ascribe great merit to Dr. Thorkelin for that which he has published; and cordially thank him for the courage and ingenuity of his undertaking.

[h] Thorkelin's Beowulf, p. 4.

He proceeds to name his hero, and to represent him as announcing and preparing for a warlike or predatory adventure:

Beowulf was illustrious.
Wide sprang the rumour
that the offspring of the scyld
would rush upon some lands.
So would he be able
good vessels to obtain,
with abundant money-gifts,
in seasonable time.

Then with him, as formerly,
again associated
his voluntary companions.
When the battle was coming
the people followed him.
With deeds of praise
everywhere among the tribes
this man shall flourish.[i]

The description of their embarkation is then given:

With them the scyld departed
to the ship,
while many were eager
to proceed with their lord.
They conducted him forth
to the journey of the ocean,
his dear companions
as he commanded,
when with words he governed
the friendly scyldingi,
the loved land-chieftain
had long possessed them.
There at the port he stood:
the voice rung on the ice
and out, ready
was the etheling's expedition.
They led then
the dear king,
the lord of bracelets,
the illustrious one,
into the bosom of the ship.
By the mast there was
of many vessels
from distant waves
the ornaments collected.[j]

The poet then indulges himself in describing the war-ship and its contents:

I have never heard
that a more king-like ship
has been prepared.
With the weapons of Hilda,
and noble garments,
and bills and mails.
In its bosom lay
many vessels,
that with them should far depart
on the territory of the flood.
Nor did they place in it
few presents from the people's wealth;
this they did
who at its first formation
sent it forth,
alone over the waves,
a spacious vessel.
Then they fixed in it
the flowing banner
high over their heads.
They let the waters bear it,
the tide, into the ocean.
To him would be a soul of sorrow;
a mourning mind:
men would not be able
to say, in truth,
that any warrior under heaven
would have a happy state
who from them would take its lading.[k]

The poet then introduces to us a character who makes also a principal figure in his work: this is Hrothgar, one of the sons of Halfden, a Danish king, to whose dignity Hrothgar had succeeded:

[i] Ibid. p. 4, 5. On collating the Doctor's printed text with the MS. I have commonly found an inaccuracy of copying in every page; but for a first publisher he has been, on the whole, unusually correct.

[j] Beowulf, p. 5.

[k] Ibid. p. 6.

Then was to Hrothgar
the army-treasure given,
the worship of battle.
Then him his dear relations
diligently obeyed,
while the youth grew up
the great lord of his kinsmen.[l]

The author now advances to the incident on which the main part of the poem turns, but which is narrated with considerable obscurity. The first incident is, that Hrothgar summons his warriors to one of those great meetings which it was customary with all the Teutonic kings to hold, which with the Anglo-Saxons was the time when their witena-gemot met, and when the sovereigns distributed their presents, as we have already mentioned.[m]

It occurred to his mind
that to the hall of his palace
he would summon his heroes.
Men hastened
much mead to prepare.
This the chiefs of men
always inquired for.
And within that place
he purposed to share every thing
with young and old,
except his territory
and the lives of his men.[n]

The meeting was proclaimed, and the assembly collected. The name given to the royal mansion, or town, was HEORT:

When it was all ready
the great hall-chamber,
the poet called it Heort,
he that of his words
had extensive power.
The king was not menacing:
he laid out his bracelets;
he divided the treasure;
at the feast the lofty hall
resounded with shouts,
and with the crooked horn.[o]

An enemy is now abruptly noticed as watching this festivity with dark and secret purposes of malignity:

He that abode in darkness,
while he every day
heard their joy.
loud in the hall.[p]

The author continues his description of their festivity, and introduces the curious circumstance of a scop or poet singing a poem on the origin of things, like Jopas, at Carthage, before Dido and Æneas:

There was on the harp
the sweet sound sung,
the poet's narration;
he that knew,
the origin of men,
though remote to describe.[q]
He sang, that the ALMIGHTY
created the earth:
its bright, beauteous plains.
So the water-beds
he bendeth.
He established the path
of the fierce sun,
and the moon's light,
to illuminate
the inhabitants of the earth.
He has also adorned
the regions of the world
with leaves and splendour.
He has also made life
for every species
of those that move alive.[r]

[l] Beowulf, p. 7. [m] See before, p. 297, 308. [n] Beowulf, p. 8.
[o] Ibid. p. 8, 9. [p] Ibid. p. 9.
[q] At this part of the latter MS. is a leaf inserted out of its place, which completely confuses all just comprehension of the poem. Dr. Thorkelin remarked the interpolation, and has restored it to its proper place. [r] Beowulf, p. 9, 10.

The poet of the feast is represented as continuing his song to notice the evil beings that disturb both heaven and earth; and the murder of Abel, an idea of some ingenuity in the author, as it leads on to a scene of blood, which occasions the principal events of his work, and which he ascribes to a malignant being whom he now and afterwards calls Grendel:

Thus the Lord made mankind
and they lived happily in joy,
till that one began
to perpetrate crimes,
the enemy in hell.
There was a more grim spirit called Grendel.
Great was the marks of his steps,
he, that ruled the moors,
the fen and the fastness
of the Fifel race.
Unhappy on the earth,
man resided awhile,
after the Creator had cast him off.
On Cain's offspring,
the Eternal Lord
avenged his murder.
His, who slew Abel.
He had no joy from that homicide;
but him afar
the Creator punished
for this crime to mankind.
From thence sprang
all the pernicious ones.
The Eotenas, and the Ylfe,
and the Orcneas;
such giants
as fought against God
for a long time,
till he retaliated on them his retribution.[s]

The author now represents the festive assembly as retiring to their rest; and while they were all sleeping secure and unsuspicious, this malignant enemy, or evil spirit, surprises them, and kills, in their repose, thirty thegns:

He departed to observe,
after night had come on,
how in the lofty mansion,
the warlike Danes were residing,
after quaffing of the beer.
He found there within
the assembly of the ethelings
sleeping after the feast,
knowing no sorrow.
This won-sceaft of men,
this creature unhealthful,
grim and greedy,
soon was ready,
reeking and fierce,
and he took away in their rest
thirty thegns.
Then again he departed,
satisfied with plunder,
to return home,
from that slaughter.[t]

This unexpected disaster became known in the morning, and excited both grief and indignation. The king, Hrothgar, was reproached for it, either from suspicion, or because he had not prevented it, or was unable to avenge it. For twelve winters the dissatisfaction of his people and his own vexation continued, and the fœhthe or homicide was still unpunished. It was in this state of things that Beowulf, hearing of "the deeds of the Grendel," undertook his expedition for the purpose of aiding Hrothgar, finding out Grendel, and inflicting vengeance for his midnight murders.

Beowulf is described sometimes as a princely chief, and some-

[s] Beowulf, p. 10, 11.

[t] Beowulf, p. 12.

times as the thegn, the heorth-geneat, and the beod-geneat of a king named Higelac. He is also styled lord of the scyldingi. His father was Ecgtheow, and his people are called Geata or Jutes.[u] He is thus represented as resolving on his enterprise:

He said, "The battle-king
over the road of the swans
will seek the great sovereign,
as he has need of men.
This expedition, for him,
prudent Ceorles shall soon provide."[v]

His companions assemble at his request, and

Sought the wood of the sea,
the warrior directed
the sea-skilled men
to the boundary of the shore.
The vessel was under the rock,
the heroes ready,
at his voice went down;
they waded thro' the streams
of the sea: on the sands
the warriors bore
into the empty bosom
the bright ornaments,
the instruments of battle,
of the Jute-like men.
The adventurers drew out,
for their voluntary journey,
the well-bound timber.[w]

Their voyage is then stated. Their sailing is described to be like the fanning of the neck of a fowl, till

They saw land:
the cliffs of the ocean;
the shining hills;
the steep wide promontories:
there their voyage ended.

Their debarkation follows:

The people of the storm
ascended on the plain.
They fastened the wood of the sea;
they shook their syrcas;
the garments of battle;
they thanked God,
that to them the wave-journey
had been so easy.[x]

The poet then exhibits the alarm, vigilance, and inquiries of those who had been appointed to watch the coast:

Then from the wall,
he that the sea-cliff
should maintain,
beheld the chief of the scyldingi
carrying over the rock
the bright shield
and battle weapons.
Hastily he broke the fire-vessel,
anxiously weighing in his mind
who these men could be.
The thegn of Hrothgar then turn'd
to the shore of the battle to ride.
Among his bands he shook
the wood of strength in his hands;
he inquired their intentions by his words.
"What are ye,
such a mailed host
of weaponed men,
that thus the bright keel
over the sea-street have led?
Come ye hither over the waves
to molest the inhabitants?
I keep guard here,
that on the land of the Danes
no hostile ones
with a ship-army injure them."[y]

Beowulf advances to answer him; states his country and descent, and assures him that he has come on a friendly errand to Hroth-

[u] Beowulf, p. 17, 22, 28, 29, 30.
[v] Ibid. p. 18.
[w] Ibid. p. 19.
[x] Ib.
[y] Ib. p. 20.

gar, and to assist him to procure vengeance on his dreaded enemy.

The Danish warder answers civilly, and sends the tidings of their arrival to his sovereign,[z] while Beowulf's warriors prepared to advance.

The street was of varied stone,
the path was observed
by the men together.
Their battle-mail shone
by hard hands well locked.
The shining iron rings
sung against their weapons,
when they to the palace,
in their formidable apparel,
were delighted to go.[a]

But as they were arranging their shields, and displaying their arrows and their ashen shafts, with the gray iron heads, they were interrupted by an opposing band:

A powerful champion asked them,
"Why do you here carry
your lusty shields,
gray vestments of war:
and grim helms,
and this heap of the shafts of battle?
I am Hrothgar's messenger and envoy:
I have never seen of foreigners
so many valiant-looking men.
For a path of revenge,
or for glory of mind,
do you seek Hrothgar?"[b]

Beowulf tells him that his errand is with his ealdor, if he will permit him to greet him. Wulfgar, "of the Wendel people," who answered him, announces their arrival to Hrothgar, and advises him to be on his guard. But the king declares that he knew him when "a cniht," and orders him to be welcomed and escorted to his palace.[c] Beowulf is then introduced to Hrothgar.

Beowulf addressed him.
The mail shone upon him:
the heavy net was linked
by the smith's care.
"Thou Hrothgar! hail!
I am the kinsman of Higelac,
and a born thegn.
Many an enterprise
have I begun in my youth;
to me the ruler of my native soil
this affair of Grendel revealed.
"The sea-sailing ones said
that this mansion, once the happiest hall,
has been to some warriors
deformed and useless,
after the light of evening,
under the serene sky,
had become darkened.
My people have taught me
that they were the happiest of wise Ceorles.
"King Hrothgar, I have sought thee,
that they may know my strength.—
And now against Grendel,
against that wretched one,
I will alone exert myself
against that Thyrse.
"Of thee, now, I ask one prayer,
bright lord of the Danes,
the hedge of the scyldingi!
Do not thou deny me,
asylum of warriors!
dear lord of thy people!
as I have thus far come;
let me alone,
the lord of my eorls
and of this sturdy host,
expiate Heorot.
"I hear that the wretch
madly cares not for weapons;
but this I despise,
so that Higelac, my lord,

[z] Beowulf, p. 22–26.
[a] Ib. p. 27.
[b] Ib. p. 27.
[c] Ib. p. 28–32.

may be blithe in his mind.
I will bear the sword
and the ample shield,
my yellow buckler, to the battle.
I will seize the foe with my grasp,
and fearless contend
with hate against the hateful."[d]

Recollecting, however, with modesty of mind, the adverse chances of battle, Beowulf adds:

"If death should take me away,
bear me from the bloody slaughter;
remember to bury me.
Eat over the solitary wanderer
un-mourningly.
Mark my hillock with the simple flower;
nor do thou about the fate
of my bodily life long sorrow;
but send to Higelac,
if Hilda should withdraw me,
my garments of battle.
The best that my bosom bears,
the richest of my clothes,
the remains of the Hred-lan,
the work of Weland.
Now let fortune
wheel as she may.[e]

Hrothgar answers this manly speech in a friendly manner, and ends it with inviting him to "a feast in the hall of mead." Benches are spread "in the beer hall;" the thegn arranges them; the cup-bearer, "laden with ale," distributes it to the band. The scop, or poet, is again introduced, singing peace in Heorot;[f] but a new character is introduced: Hunferth, "the son of Eglaf, who sat at the feet of the lord of the Scyldingi." He is described as jealous of Beowulf's reputation, and as refusing to any man more celebrity than himself. He is represented as taunting Beowulf on his exploits as a sea-king or vikingr.

"Art thou Beowulf,
he that with such profit
labours on the wide sea,
amid the contests of the ocean?
There you for riches,
and for deceitful glory,
explore its bays
in the deep waters,
till you sleep with your elders.
Nor can any man restrain you,
whether dear or odious to you,
from this sorrowful path.
There you rush on the wave;
there on the water streams:
from the miserable you flourish.
You place yourselves in the sea-street;
you oppress with your hands;
you glide over the ocean
through the waves of its seas.
The fury of winter rages,
yet on the watery domain
seven nights have ye toiled."

After other allusions to his exploits, he ends his speech with predicting:

"If thou darest the Grendel,
the space of a long night awaits thee."[g]
Beowulf answered
the son of Ecgtheow.
"What a throng of many words,
my friend Hunferth,
drunk with beer, hast thou spoken!"

He proceeds to justify himself for attempting the adventure, by a statement of some of his achievements, which is given as an illustration of their habits of life:

[d] Beowulf, 33–35.
[e] Ibid. p. 36.
[f] Ibid. 37–39.
[g] Ibid. p. 40, 41.

We said when a cniht,
and we threatened in the life of youth,
that out on the ocean,
with our elders we would sleep;
and we accomplished our purpose.
Naked were our swords,
hard in our hands,
when we rushed into the bay,
and against the whale fishes
intended to defend ourselves.
No creature could float away,
far on the waves of the flood from me,
swifter thro' the ocean
than I could pursue him.
For the space of five nights
we were together on the sea,
until the flood dispersed us;
the raging waves and the coldest sky,
the nipping nights and the north wind;
fierce were the waves,
strong and grim their rolling,
the rage of the great fishes was excited.
There against the enemies
my body's iron vest,
by hard hands well locked,
gave me complete help.
My braided battle-garment
lay on my breast,
adorned with gold.
The hateful enemy
would have dragged me to the ground;
fast he would have had me in his grim gripe,
but that it was given to me
that I should reach the wretch with my point.
With the battle axe of Hilda,
thro' my hands in the noble onset,
I took the mighty sea-deer.[h]

Beowulf continues to talk of his exploits. The conversation is carried on; and the author thus describes the continuation of the banquet, and the appearance of the queen of Hrothgar amid the festivity, and assisting to honour Beowulf:

There was in the hall
the dispenser of treasure,
the long-haired one, illustrious in battle,
the bright lord of the Danes.
He believed his salutation;
he heard from Beowulf,
the guardian of his friends,
the firmly counselled thought.
There was from the men
the din of laughter resounding;
their words were pleasant.
Waltheow came forth:
the queen of Hrothgar,
mindful of her descent,
circled with gold, she greeted
the warrior in the hall;
and the lordly wife gave the cup
to the first of the East Danes,
to the noble warder.
She welcomed him blithely,
the one dear to his people,
to that feast of beer.
He glowed with delight,
the illustrious king of victory,
at the feast and that hall-cup.
Then the lady went about
the helmed nobles and the youths.
A portion to every one
of the treasured vessels she gave;
till the opportunity arrived
that she, the queen, circled with bracelets,
elevated in her mind,
bore the cup of mead to Beowulf.
She greeted the Jute people;
wise with steady words, she thanked God
that he had fulfilled her wish,
for she believed the eorl would
be a comforter to his people in any thing.
He took the cup with joy,
the warrior of fierce slaughter
at the wall of the Whales,
and then he sang, that the battle might be hastened.[i]

The author proceeds to describe the continuation of these courteous civilities, which show us the royal manners of the day:

Beowulf spoke, the son of Ecgtheow,
"When I launch'd my sea-boat on the waves,
with the company of my warriors,
I thought that I alone
would fulfil the wish of your people.

[h] Beowulf, 43, 44.

[i] Ibid. p. 45–49.

And in the deadly conflict,
fast with hostile gripe,
I will show an eorl-like strength.
To the end of my day
in this mead hall expect me."
These words pleased the wife;
the Jute's expressions of glory.
Encircled with gold, she went,
the queen of the free-like people,
to sit by her lord.
Then, as before in the hall,
words of menace were uttered.
The people in the mansion
sang the victories of their nation,
till the son of Healfdan suddenly
sought his evening rest.[j]

Before he retires, Hrothgar again greets his brave visiter: he then withdraws with his own warriors. The queen "prays the King of Glory against Grendel," and the warder of the hall conducted Beowulf to his place of repose.

Then he took off from him
his iron coat of mail,
and his helm from his head.
He gave his ornamented sword of select iron
to his attendant thegn,
and bade him keep the instrument of Hilda.
The loved nobleman bent down his cheek,
his bolster received the face of the eorl,
and many of the active sea-warriors
around him, to happy rest inclined.[k]

But while they are in this state of rest and comfort, the poet prepares to change the scene.

The spirit of the wan night came on;
the hosts of the shadows roll up.
The shooters sleep—even those
that should have held the horn of the palace.[l]

The ancient enemy now suddenly returns, to take advantage of their security, by a new surprise.

Then came from the moors,
amid the mist from the mountains,
the Grendel, bearing the Divine anger.
The hateful foe purposed in his madness
to destroy treacherously some in that high hall.
He knew that the wine palace,
the gilded hall of warriors,
had been stored with various vessels.
It was not the first time
that he had sought the home of Hrothgar,
but never on former days, or since,
had he attempted braver men
than those hall thegns.[m]

His fatal measures are thus described:

Swiftly he passed the mouth of the hall,
and on the joyless floor the fiend trod;
he moved in wrathful mind;
he stood with eyes likest to flame,
a frightful light.
He saw in that mansion
Many warriors sleeping
in peace with their lord.
A band of related heroes.
Then his mind laughed:
deformed wretch!
He purposed that he should separate
the life of each from his body.
A feast full of hope shone before him.
The WYRD seemed propitious to him,
that he might prevail over more men that night.
He contemplated with rage
the kinsman of Higelac,
and how the execrable one
might get him under his fierce gripe.[n]

[j] Beowulf, p. 50. [k] Ibid. p. 52–54. [l] Ibid. p. 55.
[m] Ibid. p. 56. [n] Ibid. p. 57.

He appears to have been under the necessity of attacking first one of the warriors that surrounded Beowulf before he could reach the chief.

He assailed the sleeping warrior on his upper side:
his club struck the unwary one on the bone of his locks;
the blood burst from the broken veins.[o]

Beowulf awakes as the Grendel is about to destroy him; a fierce contest ensues between them, which is described at some length; and the issue of it is the flight and escape of Grendel without effecting his full purpose.[p] The people assemble in the morning at the place of conflict, surprised at the tidings. Beowulf is highly honoured for his first success. Much rejoicing and conversation ensue upon it. Hrothgar goes and congratulates Beowulf, and declares that he shall consider him as his son. Beowulf, in a respectful answer, shortly describes the conflict. The jealous son of Eglaf becomes silent, and another splendid banquet is prepared.[q]

It was then commanded
that the interior of Heort
by hands should be adorn'd.
There was then a number
of men and women,
who the wine-chamber
of the great mansion prepared.
There shone, variegated with gold,
the web on the walls;
many wonders to the sight
of each of the warriors
that would gaze on it, became visible.[r]

The king himself proceeded to the festive hall; and the author declares, that he had never heard that a nobler assembly, "about their giver of treasures, the chamber had ever borne." The royal presents to Beowulf are then described:

They bent towards the tables,
to enjoy their full fruit;
fair and free they rejoiced;
the mead cups abounded;
many kinsmen contended with them.
In the lofty hall
were Hrothgar and Hrothulf.
Heorot was filled with friends within.
No deceitful stafas (letters or charms)
the people of the scyldingi there framed.
Then to Beowulf he gave
the sword of Healfdan;
a golden banner,
the reward of his victory;
an ensign adorned in the hilt;
a helmet and coat of mail;
a great sword with decorations;
many saw borne before the hero.
Beowulf fully prospered in the chamber;
he needed not be ashamed
of the money-gifts then poured on him.
I have not observed
four vessels of gold more liberal,
prepared on the table of their meal,
to be given to many others of the men.
Around the roof of the helmet,
the castle of the head,
was a hedge firmly circled,
to keep off slaughter,
that no remains of danger on him
might the steel hard with scouring inflict,
when against the guilty robber
in fury he should go.

[o] Thorkelin here inserts the misplaced leaf.
[p] Beowulf, p. 58–64.
[q] Beowulf, p. 68–75.
[r] Ibid. p. 76.

The asylum of eorls then commanded
eight mares with fat cheeks,
to be drawn into the chamber;
on each of them was stationed
a saddle, varied with trappings richly made.

That was the high king's seat of battle,
when the oblation of swords
the son of Healfdan would perform.
Never on the fatal far-famed conflict
would they shrink from the slaughter.[s]

Hrothgar gives these presents to Beowulf, and exhorts him to use them manlily. He also gave "vases from the treasure of his inheritance to each of those at that mead table, who followed Beowulf through the paths of the ocean."[t] The author moralizes shortly, that the Creator governs all men; and that the understanding is the best part of the soul; and that—

Much forethought shall abide in it,
both of love and hatred
to him that in these days of trouble
long enjoys the world.[u]

Then were song and music united
before Healfdan's leader of Hilda,
the mouth greeted the wood;
the lay was oft narrated;
the hall games followed;
the poet of Hrothgar,
behind the table of mead,
recorded the expedition against the Finns.[v]

This episode is rather long. The enterprise ended in the capture of the king and queen of the Finns. After this—

The song was sung;
the lay of the gleemen.
The games again sprang up.
The music of the table enlivened them,
the cup-bearers distributed the wine
from wonderful vessels.

Then came forth Waltheow
to go under the golden crown,
where the two good heroes sat akin;
peace reigned between them,
each with the other in full confidence.[w]

The queen is then again exhibited as assisting actively in the friendly assembly; turning to her husband,—

Then the lady addressed the scyldinga:
"Take this cup, lord of my love!
Dispenser of treasure!
In thy hall thou hast been gladdened
with the wine of men;
and to the Jutes hast spoken
with the mild words that should be used.
Be cheerful with the Jutes,
mindful of gifts far and near.

"I am told thou hast declared,
thou wouldest have their chief for a son.
Heorot is now expiated;
the mansion bright with bracelets.
Enjoy the plentiful mead while thou canst,
and to thy relations leave
thy people and thy kingdom,
when thou shalt see the metodsceaft."[x]

After reminding him that Hrothulf will rule with honour if he survive him, and take care of their offspring, she returns to her seat, where her children and their young friends were near her.

[s] Beowulf, p. 77–79. This description corresponds with the gifts of kings to their nobles and knights, alluded to before.
[t] Ibid. p. 80. [u] Ibid. p. 81. [v] Ibid.
[w] Beowulf, p. 88, 89. [x] Ibid. p. 90.

Soon the music is repeated; and taking some valuable ornaments, the queen again rises.

Before the assembly she spoke:—
"Accept this bracelet, dear Beowulf!
Be it an omen of reward to you.
And these garments—enjoy their wealth,
and flourish well with skilful valour;
and to these cnyhts
be mild in thy counsels.
I will be careful of thy reward."[y]

After some further commendations, and recommending her sons to his attention, she orders "the drink to be got ready for the noble ones," and returns to her seat. Evening came on, the king withdrew, the tables were taken away, and the place was spread with beds and bolsters.

Some of the beer-servants,
speedy and joyful,
prepared the chamber of rest.
They fixed over their heads
the shields of Hilda;
the boards of bright wood.
There high over the Etheling on his bench,
the helmet of the noble one was seen,
his ringed coat of mail,
his glorious wood of strength.[z]

They all incline to rest; and in this situation the inveterate enemy attacks them again, but not in person. It is the mother of Grendel that is now the assailant; she enters secretly among the friends of Hrothgar, and kills one of his dearest thegns. Beowulf was not in that part, and the murderess escapes.[a] Hrothgar is much grieved for him, and exclaims:

"Dead is Æschere,
the son of Yrmenlates;
the brother of the elders;
of my run-witan;
of my ræd bora."[b]

Hrothgar goes on to lament the situation of his people, thus exposed to such assaults; ascribes the mischief to Grendel, and gives an account of his habitation.[c] Beowulf in a heroic speech proposes to undertake the enterprise of punishing both the Grendel and his mother for these new fehthes. He collects his own forces and some of Hrothgar's, and prepares for the expedition.[d] His arming himself is described. He takes an old sword of some celebrity that is described, and called Hrunting. He makes a farewell speech to Hrothgar, and requests that if Hilda, their goddess of war, should take him away, the presents he has received should be sent to Higelac his lord.[e]

He then proceeds to the adventure, and begins it by a combat with the mother of Grendel, who attacks him like a sea-wolf. He fights valiantly, but he finds the famous sword of no use. She is not impressible by its edge; her strength and fury begin to overpower him; she throws him down, and is proceeding to de-

[y] Beowulf, p. 93. [z] Ibid. p. 95. [a] Ibid. p. 96–100.
[b] Ibid. 101. These are some of the names given by the Anglo-Saxons to the members of their witena-gemot.
[c] Beowulf, p. 102–104. [d] Ibid. p. 105–109. [e] Ibid. p. 110–113.

stroy him, when an enchanted sword, a weapon of the ancient giants, and of their fabrication, comes within his reach: he strikes her with it, and she dies under his blow.[f] This success is followed by a victory over Grendel himself, whom he also destroys, and whose head he carries off and presents to Hrothgar.[g]

He tells the king that he could achieve nothing with Hrunting.

"But the ruler of ages granted me,
that over the waves I should see
an ancient sword hang beautiful.
It was often declared,
by the wine-geleasum,
that I should draw this weapon.[h]

Hrothgar looks at it, and says it was an ancient relic, on which were written the battles of the ancient times, when after the flood the race of the giants were destroyed. On the polished blade, in pure gold, the runæ-letters were marked.[i]

The poem proceeds to describe Beowulf's return to Higelac. He engages in some further adventures, which are not of equal interest with the former. He succeeds Higelac in his kingdom; builds a city; fights thirty battles; and dies after a reign of fifty years.[j] Such is the substance of this curious poem, which is quite Anglo-Saxon in the manners it describes, and corroborates several of those features, which in the preceding pages have been delineated. It seems to be the oldest poem, in an epic form, that now exists in any of the vernacular languages of modern Europe.

CHAPTER III.

Anglo-Saxon Poems of Judith and Cædmon.—Their other Poetry.

The fragment which remains of the poem on Judith, may be deemed another Anglo-Saxon poetical romance. The subject of this poem is taken from the Apocrypha, but the Anglo-Saxon poet has borrowed merely the outline of the story. All the circumstances, the descriptions, and the speeches, which he has inserted, are of his own invention. He has, therefore, done what all romancers did. He has applied the manners and characters of his day to the time of Judith, and thus really made it an Anglo-Saxon romance.

It is curious, from another circumstance. It is a romance written while the old Anglo-Saxon poetry was in fashion, but

[f] Beowulf, p. 114–119. [g] Ibid. p. 120–124. [h] Ibid. p. 126.
[i] Ibid. p. 127, 128. [j] Ibid. p. 137–236.

when it began to improve: for while it displays the continuity of narration and minuteness of description of the more cultivated romance, it retains some metaphors, the periphrasis, and the inversions which our stately ancestors so much favoured. It has only laid aside their abrupt transitions and more violent metaphors.

The eight first sections of the poem on Judith, and part of the ninth, are lost. It begins with a part that corresponds with this verse in the Apocrypha:[a]

"And in the fourth day Holofernes made a feast to his own servants only, and called none of the officers to the banquet."

The Saxon poet expresses this passage thus:

Understood I then,
Holofernes ordered
wine to be made diligently,
and with all wonders
a splendid feast to prepare.
To this commanded
the Baldor[b] of men,
all the eldest thegns.
They with much haste obeyed:
the shielded warriors came
to the rich king;
the leaders of the people.
This was the fourth day
that Judith,
cunning in thought,
the woman shining like an elf,
first sought him.

The subsequent narration of the Apocrypha is not followed by the poet; but instead of it, from his own invention, he substitutes these circumstances:

They then to the feast
went to sit,
eager to drink wine;
all his fierce chiefs,
bold, mail-clad warriors!
There were often carried
the deep bowls
behind the benches;
so likewise vessels
and orcas full
to those sitting at supper.
They received him, soon about to die,
the illustrious shield-warriors:
though of this the powerful one
thought not; the fearful
lord of earls.
Then was Holofernes
exhilarated with wine;
in the halls of his guests,
he laughed and shouted;
he roared and dinned;
then might the children of men
afar off hear
how the stern one
stormed and clamoured,
animated and elated with wine.
He admonished amply
that they should bear it well,
to those sitting on the bench.
So was the wicked one
over all the day,
the lord and his men,
drunk with wine,
the stern dispenser of wealth;
till that they swimming lay
over drunk,
all his nobility
as they were death-slain;
their property poured about.
So commanded the Baldor of men
to fill to them sitting at the feast,
till that to the children of men
the dark night approached.
Then commanded he
the man so overpowered,
the blessed virgin
with speed to fetch
to his bed rest,
with bracelets laden,
with rings adorned.
Then quickly hurried
the subjected servants,

[a] Judith, xii. 10.

[b] Baldor was one of the sons of Odin.—His name is figuratively used to express a chief.

as their elder bade them.
The mailed warriors
of the illustrious lord
stepped to the great place.
There they found Judith,
prudent in mind;
and then firmly,
the bannered soldiers
began to lead
the illustrious virgin
to the high tent.
There the powerful one
his rest on the feast night
within was enjoying;
the odious Holofernes.
There was the fair
the golden fly net
about the chief's bed hung,
that the mischief-ful
might look thro',
the Baldor of the soldiers,
on every one
that there within came
of the children of men;
and on him no one
of man kind;
unless the proud one,
any man of his illustrious soldiers,
commanded to come
near him to council.
Then they to the bed
brought quickly
the prudent woman.
Then went
the fierce-minded men
their lord to tell,
that the holy woman was brought
into the chamber of his tent.
Then was the illustrious one
blithe in mind.
The elder of the cities thought
the bright woman
with filth and pollution to stain.
But the Judge of Glory,
the keeper of majesty,
would not suffer it;
but the Lord,
ruler of his nobles,
from this thing restrained.
Then departed
the devil-worshipping lustful one
from the host of men,
mischief-ful,
his bed to visit,
where he should
suddenly his blood lose
within one night.
So, drunken with wine,
the rich one fell
on the middle of his bed,
as he knew no discretion
in the inclosure.
The soldiers stepped
out of the chamber
with much haste:
the wine-ful men
that the perfidious
people-hating tyrant
led to the bed
the nighest way.
Then was the glory-ful
maiden of the Saviour
very mindful
how she the foul elder
might easiest destroy,
before the vicious
stainful one awoke.
The maid of the Creator
with twisted locks
took then a sharp sword,
hard with scouring,
and from the sheath drew it
with her right limb.

The poet then describes her killing Holofernes:

She took the heathen man
fast by his hair;
she drew him by his limbs
towards her disgracefully;
and the mischief-ful
odious man
at her pleasure laid;
so as the wretch
she might the easiest well command.
She with the twisted locks
struck the hateful enemy,
meditating hate,
with the red sword,
till she had half cut off his neck;
so that he lay in a swoon,
drunk, and mortally wounded.
He was not then dead,
not entirely lifeless;
she struck then earnest,
the woman illustrious in strength,
another time
the heathen hound;
till that his head
rolled forth upon the floor.
The foul one lay without a coffer;
backward his spirit turned

under the abyss,
and there was plunged below,
with sulphur fastened;
for ever afterwards wounded by worms.
Bound in torments,
hard imprisoned,
in hell he burns.
After his course
he need not hope,
with darkness overwhelmed,
that he may escape
from that mansion of worms;
but there he shall remain
ever and ever,
without end, henceforth
in that cavern-home,
void of the joys of hope.
Jud. p. 23.

The poet continues to describe Judith's escape to the town of her countrymen. Her reception is thus mentioned:

There were they blithe,
those sitting in the burgh,
after they heard
how the Holy One spake
over the high wall.
The army was rejoiced.
Towards the gates of the fastness
the people went,
men and women together,
in numbers and heaps,
in crowds and hosts.
They thronged, and ran
against the illustrious maid,
from a thousand parts,
old and young.

Here repetition of phrase is the substitute for energy of description.

The poet then gives her speech to the people:

Then the discreet one ordered,
adorned with gold,
to her maidens,
with thoughtful mind,
that army-leader's
head to uncover,
and it on high,
bloody, to show
to the citizens—
Then spake the noble one
to all the people.
"Here may we manifestly
stare on the head
of the man illustrious for victory,
of the leader of his people,
of the odious heathen commander;
of the not living Holofernes,
he that of all men to us
most murders has done,
sore sorrows;
and more yet
would have augmented them,
but that to him God grants not
a longer life,
that he with injuries
should afflict us.
I from him life took away,
through God's assistance.
Now I to every man
of these citizens
will pray,
of these shield-warriors,
that ye immediately
haste you to fight.
When God, the source of all,
the honour-fast king,
from the East sends
a ray of light,
bear forth your banners;
with shields for your breasts,
and mail for your hams,
shining helmets,
go among the robbers;
let their leaders fall,
the devoted chiefs,
by the ruddy sword!
they are your enemies,
destined to death,
and ye shall have their doom,
victory from your great leader,
the mighty Lord!
as he hath signified to you
by my hand."
Jud. p. 24.

The sally which immediately took place, and the consequent battle, is thus described:

Then was the host of the swift
quickly gathered together,
the soldiers to the field;
the warriors and the nobles

illustrious stepped forth.
They bore the Tufas,
they went to fight
straight onwards:
men under helms
from the holy city,
at the dawn itself.
They dinned shields;
men roared loudly.
At this rejoiced the lank
wolf in the wood,
and the wan raven,
the fowl greedy of slaughter,
both from the west,
that the sons of men for them
should have thought to prepare
their fill on corpses.
And to them flew in their paths
the active devourer, the eagle,
hoary in his feathers.
The willowed kite,
with his horned beak,
sang the song of Hilda.
The noble warriors proceeded,
they in mail, to the battle,
furnished with shields,
with swelling banners.
They that awhile, before
the reproach of the foreigners,
the taunts of the heathen
endured.
To them what had been hard
at the play of swords,
was in all repaid
on the Assyrians;
when the Hebrews,
under the banners,
had sallied
on their camps.
They then speedily
let fly forth
showers of arrows,
the serpents of Hilda,
from their horn bows;
the spears on the ground
hard stormed.
Loud raged
the plunderers of battle;
they sent their darts
into the throng of the chiefs.
The angry land-owners
acted as men
against the odious race.
Stern-minded, they advanced
with fierce spirits:
they pressed on unsoftly,
with ancient hate,
against the mead-weary foe.
With their hands, the chiefs
tore from their sheaths
the sheer, cross sword,
in its edges tried:
they slew earnestly
the Assyrian combatants.
Pursuing with hate,
none they spared
of the army-folk
of the great kingdom
of the living men,
whom they could overcome.

Jud. 24.

As Cædmon's paraphrase is a poetical narration mixed with many topics of invention and fancy, it has also as great a claim to be considered as a narrative poem, as Milton's Paradise Lost has to be deemed an epic poem. It was published by Junius as the work of the ancient Cædmon, who has been already mentioned. It treats on the first part of the subjects which Bede mentions to have been the topics of the elder Cædmon; but it is presumed by Hickes not to be so ancient as the poet mentioned by Bede. I confess that I am not satisfied that Hickes is right in referring it to any other author than the person to whom Junius ascribes it.

It begins with the fall of angels, and the creation of the world. It proceeds to the history of Adam and Eve; of Cain, and the deluge; of Abraham and of Moses. The actions of Nabuchodonosor and Daniel are subjoined.

In its first topic, "the fall of the angels," it exhibits much of a Miltonic spirit; and if it were clear that our illustrious bard had been familiar with Saxon, we should be induced to think that he

owed something to the paraphrase of Cædmon. No one at least can read Cædmon without feeling the idea intruding upon his mind. As the subject is curious, I shall make no apology for very copious extracts from Cædmon, translated as literally as possible:

To us it is much right
that we the Ruler of the firmament,
the Glory-King of Hosts,
with words should praise,
with minds should love.
He is in power abundant,
High Head of all creatures,
Almighty Lord!
There was not to him ever beginning
nor origin made;
nor now end cometh.
Eternal Lord!
But he will be always powerful
over heaven's stools,[c]
in high majesty,
truth-fast and very strenuous,
Ruler of the bosoms of the sky!
Then were they set
wide and ample,
thro' God's power,
for the children of glory,
for the guardians of spirits.
They had joy and splendour,
and their beginning-origin,
the hosts of angels;
bright bliss was their great fruit.
The glory-fast thegns
praised the King:
they said willingly praise
to their Life-Lord;
they obeyed his domination with virtues.
They were very happy;
sins they knew not;
nor to frame crimes:
but they in peace lived
with their Eternal Elder.
Otherwise they began not
to rear in the sky,
except right and truth,
before the Ruler of the angels,
for pride divided them in error.
They would not prolong
council for themselves!
but they from self-love
throw off God's.
They had much pride
that they against the Lord
would divide
the glory-fast place,
the majesty of their hosts,
the wide and bright sky.
To him there grief happened,
envy, and pride;
to that angel's mind
that this ill counsel
began first to frame,
to weave and wake.
Then he words said,
darkened with iniquity,
that he in the north part
a home and high seat
of heaven's kingdom
would possess.
Then was God angry,
and with the host wrath
that he before esteemed
illustrious and glorious.
He made for those perfidious
an exiled home,
a work of retribution,
Hell's groans and hard hatreds.
Our Lord commanded the punishment-house
for the exiles to abide,
deep, joyless,
the rulers of spirits.
When he it ready knew
with perpetual night foul,
sulphur including,
over it full fire
and extensive cold,
with smoke and red flame,
he commanded them over
the mansion, void of council,
to increase the terror-punishment.
They had provoked accusation;
grim against God gathered together,
to them was grim retribution come.
They said that they the kingdom
with fierce mind would possess,
and so easily might.
Them the hope deceived,
after the Governor
the high King of Heaven,
his hands upreared.
He pursued against the crowd;
nor might the void of mind,

[c] I use the term in the original, because such expressions as have any allusion to ancient manners should always be preserved.

vile against their Maker,
enjoy might.
Their loftiness of mind departed,
their pride was diminished.
Then was he angry;
he struck his enemies
with victory and power,
with judgment and virtue,
and took away joy:
peace from his enemies,
and all pleasure:
Illustrious Lord!
and his anger wreaked
on the enemies greatly,
in their own power
deprived of strength.
He had a stern mind;
grimly provoked;
he seized in his wrath
on the limbs of his enemies,
and them in pieces broke,
wrathful in mind.
He deprived of their country
his adversaries,
from the stations of glory
he made and cut off,
our Creator!
the proud race of angels from heaven;
the faithless host.
The Governor sent
the hated army
on a long journey,
with mourning speech.
To them was glory lost,
their threats broken,
their majesty curtailed,
stained in splendour;
they in exile afterwards
pressed on their black way.
They needed not loud to laugh;
but they in Hell's torments
weary remained, and knew wo
sad and sorry:
they endured sulphur,
covered with darkness,
a heavy recompense,
because they had begun
to fight against God.

Cæd. p. 1, 2.

Cædmon thus describes the creation:

There was not yet then here,
except gloom like a cavern,
any thing made.
But the wide ground
stood deep and dim
for a new lordship,
shapeless and unsuitable.
On this with his eyes he glanced,
the king stern in mind,
and the joyless place beheld.
He saw the dark clouds
perpetually press
black under the sky,
void and waste;
till that this world's creation
thro' the word was done
of the King of Glory.
Here first made
the Eternal Lord,
the Patron of all creatures,
heaven and earth.
He reared the sky,
and this roomy land established
with strong powers,
Almighty Ruler!
The earth was then yet
with grass not green;
with the ocean covered,
perpetually black;
far and wide
the desert ways.
Then was the glory-bright
Spirit of the Warder of heaven
borne over the watery abyss
with great abundance.
The Creator of angels commanded,
the lord of life!
light to come forth
over the roomy ground.
Quickly was fulfilled
the high King's command;
the sacred light came
over the waste
as the Artist ordered.
Then separated
The Governor of victory
over the water-flood
light from darkness,
shade from shine;
he made them both be named,
Lord of life!
Light was first,
thro' the Lord's word,
called day,
creation of bright splendour.
Pleased well the Lord
at the beginning,
the birth of time,
the first day.
He saw the dark shade

blaek spread itself
over the wide ground,
when time deelined
over the oblation-smoke of the earth.
The Creator after separated
from the pure shine,
our Maker,
the first evening.
To him ran at last
a throng of dark clouds.
To these the King himself
gave the name of night:
our Saviour
these separated.
Afterwards, as an inheritanee,
the will of the Lord
made and did it
eternal over the earth.
Then eame another day,
light after darkuess.
The Warder of life then commanded
the greater waters
in the middle to be
a high-like heaven timber.
He divided the watery abyss
our Governor,
and made them
a fastness of a firmament.
This the Great One raised
up from the earth,
through his own word,
Almighty Lord!
The world was divided
under the high firmament
with holy might;
waters from waters:
from those that yet remain
under the fastness,
the roof of nations.
Then eame over the earth,
hasty to advanee,
the great third morning.
There were not then yet made
the wide land,
nor the useful ways;
but the earth stood fast,
eovered with flood.
The Lord of angels commanded,
thro' his word,
the waters to be together,
that now under the firmament
their course hold
an appointed plaee.
Then stood willingly
the water under heaven,
as the Holy One eommanded.
Far from each other
there was separated
the water from the land.
The Warder of life then beheld
dry regions;
the Keeper of the virtues
wide displayed them.
Then the King of Glory
named the earth.

Cæd. 3, 4.

But that part of Cædmon which is the most original product of his own fancy, is his account of Satan's hostility. To us, the "Paradise Lost" of Milton has made this subject peculiarly interesting; and as it will be curious to see how an old Saxon poet has previously treated it, we shall give another copious extract. Some of the touches bring to mind a few of Milton's conceptions. But in Cædmon the finest thoughts are abruptly introduced, and very roughly and imperfectly expressed. In Milton the same ideas are detailed in all the majesty of his diction, and are fully displayed with that vigour of intellect in which he has no superior.

The universal Ruler had
of the angelic raee,
through his hand-power,
the holy Lord!
a fortress established.
To them he well trusted
that they his serviee
would follow,
would do his will,
For this he gave them understanding,
and with his hands made them.
The Holy Lord
had stationed them
so happily.
One he had so
strongly made,
so mighty
in his mind's thought;

he let him rule so much;
the highest in heaven's kingdom;
he had made him
so splendid;
so beautiful
was his fruit in heaven
which to him came
from the Lord of Hosts;
that he was like
the brilliant stars.
Praise ought he
to have made to his Lord;
he should have valued dear
his joys in heaven;
he should have thanked his Lord
for the bounty which
in that brightness he shared;
when he was permitted
so long to govern.
But he departed from it
to a worse thing.
He began to upheave strife
against the Governor
of the highest heaven,
that sits on the holy seat.
Dear was he to our Lord;
from whom it could not be hid,
that his angel began
to be over-proud.
He raised himself
against his Master;
he sought inflaming speeches;
he began vain-glorious words;
he would not serve God;
he said he was his equal
in light and shining;
as white and as bright in hue.
Nor could he find it in his mind
to render obedience
to his God,
to his King.
He thought in himself
that he could have subjects
of more might and skill
than the Holy God.
Spake many words
this angel of pride.
He thought through his own craft
that he could make
a more strong-like seat,
higher in the heavens.

Satan is represented as uttering this soliloquy, which begins with doubting about his enterprise, but ends in a determination to pursue it:

"Why should I contend?
I cannot have
any creature for my superior!
I may with my hands
so many wonders work!
and I must have great power
to acquire a more godlike stool,
higher in the heavens!
Yet why should I
sue for his grace?
or bend to him
with any obedience?
I may be
a god, as he is.
Stand by me,
strong companions!
who will not deceive me
in this contention.
Warriors of hardy mind!
they have chosen me
for their superior;
illustrious soldiers!
with such, indeed,
one may take counsel!
with such folk
may seize a station!
My earnest friends they are,
faithful in the effusions of their mind.
I may, as their leader,
govern in this kingdom.
So I think it not right,
nor need I
flatter any one,
as if to any gods
a god inferior.
I will no longer
remain his subject."[d]

After narrating the consequent anger of the Deity, and the defeat and expulsion of Satan, the poet thus describes his abode in the infernal regions:

[d] *i. e.* his younger.

The fiend, with all his followers,
fell then out of heaven;
during the space
of three nights and days;
the angels from heaven
into hell; and them all
the Lord turned into devils:
because that they
his deed and word
would not reverence.
For this, into a worse light
under the earth beneath
the Almighty God
placed them, defeated;
in the black hell.
There have they for ever,
for an immeasurable length,
each of the fiends,
fire always renewed.
There comes at last
the eastern wind,
the cold frost
mingling with the fires.
Always fire or arrows,
some hard tortures,
they must have:
it was made for their punishment.
Their world was turned round.
Hell was filled
with execrations.—
They suffer the punishment
of their battle against their Ruler;
the fierce torrents of fire
in the midst of hell:
brands and broad flames;
so likewise bitter smoke,
vapour and darkness.—
They were all fallen
to the bottom of that fire
in the hot hell,
thro' their folly and pride.
Sought they other land,
it was all void of light,
and full of fire,
a great journey of fire.

Another of Satan's speeches may be cited:

Then spake the over-proud king,
that was before
of angels the most shining;
the whitest in heaven;
by his Master beloved,
to his Lord endeared;
till he turned to evil;—
Satan said,
with sorrowing speech—
"Is this the narrow place,
unlike, indeed, to the others
which we before knew,
high in heaven's kingdom,
that my master puts me in?
But those we must not have,
by the Omnipotent
deprived of our kingdom.
He hath not done us right,
that he hath filled us
with fire to the bottom
of this hot hell,
and taken away heaven's kingdom.
"He hath marked that
with mankind
to be settled.
This is to me the greatest sorrow,
that Adam shall,
he that was made of earth,
my stronglike stool possess.
He is to be thus happy,
while we suffer punishment;
misery in this hell!
Oh that I had free
the power of my hands,
and might for a time
be out;
for one winter's space,
I and my army!
but iron bonds
lay around me!
knots of chains press me down!
I am kingdomless!
hell's fetters
hold me so hard,
so fast encompass me!
Here are mighty flames
above and beneath;
I never saw
a more hateful landscape.
This fire never languishes;
hot over hell,
encircling rings,
biting manacles,
forbid my course.
My army is taken from me,
my feet are bound,
my hands imprisoned!—
Thus hath God confined me.
Hence I perceive
that he knows my mind.
The Lord of Hosts
likewise knows
that Adam should from us
suffer evil

about heaven's kingdom,
if I had the power of my hands.—
He hath now marked out
a middle region;
where he hath made man
after his likeness.
From him he will
again settle
the kingdom of heaven
with pure souls.
We should to this end
diligently labour,
that we on Adam,
if we ever may,
and on his offspring,
work some revenge."

After explaining his plan of seducing Adam to disobedience, he adds,

"If when king
to any of my thegns
I formerly gave treasures;
when we in that good kingdom
sat happy,
and had the power of our thrones;
when he to me,
in that beloved time,
could give no recompense,
to repay my favour;
let him now again,
some one of my thegns,
become my helper,
that he may escape hence
thro' these barriers;
that he with wings may fly,
may wind into the sky,
to where Adam and Eve
stand created on the earth.—
"If any of you
could by any means change them,
that they God's word,
his command, would neglect,
soon they to him
would become odious.
If Adam break thro'
his obedience,
then with them would the Supreme
become enraged,
and award their punishment.
"Strive ye all for this,
how ye may deceive them!
Then shall I repose softly,
even in these bonds.
To him that succeeds
a reward shall be ready—
I will set him
near to myself."

Cæd. 6–11.

From these poems, of Beowulf, Judith, and Cædmon, it is clear that the Anglo-Saxons had begun to compose long narrative poems, rising at times, both to fancy and feeling, and making some pretensions to the name of heroic poems. From whence did this taste originate?

The epic poems of antiquity seem to me to be the legitimate parents of all the narrative poetry of Europe, and the progress of the descent may be sufficiently traced.

The Romans derived this species of composition from the Greeks, and cultivated it with varying success. Their epic poetry established a taste for narrative poems, wherever their language spread. This appears from the poems of this sort which the writers of the various countries of Europe under their influence, attempted to compose, and some of which may be briefly enumerated.

In the fourth century we have a narrative poem, in Latin hexameter verse, written by VICTORINUS, an African rhetorician, on the slaughter of the Maccabees. It is not much above four hundred lines in length.[e]

[e] Bib. Mag. tom. viii. p. 625–628.

In the same century, Juvencus, a Spaniard, wrote a narrative poem, in hexameter verse, on the history of Christ, which contains four books, and above three thousand lines. The narration is carefully carried on, but the poetry is of an humble cast.[f]

One of the most remarkable poems of Aurelius Prudentius, a Spaniard of consular dignity, is the Psychomachia. This is an allegorical poem, in eight books, on the virtues and vices of the mind, in a sort of heroic narration. It is partly the same subject which our Spenser has combined with a chivalric story. In Prudentius, every virtue, and every vice come out as persons, armed or dressed appropriately to their different qualities, and harangue and fight. It consists of one thousand and twenty-two hexameter lines.[g]

In the fifth century, Sedulius, an Irishman, went to France, Italy, and Asia; and on his return from Achaia, settled at Rome. He has written a narrative poem on the miracles of Christ, which he calls his Paschale Opus. It is in five books, containing about two thousand hexameter lines. It is almost wholly narration and description, seldom enlivened by dialogue; but his style of verse is much superior to that of the preceding authors, and has somewhat of the air of Statius.[h]

Claudius Marius Victor, a rhetorician of Marseilles, lived in the same century. His poetical commentary on Genesis is a narrative poem on the creation, the fall of man, and the subsequent history, including that of Abraham. In the part of his poem which concerns "Paradise Lost," the most original incidents are these: while Adam is addressing the Deity in a long penitential speech, they see the serpent gliding before them. Eve counsels his destruction. She immediately pursues him with stones, in which Adam joins, till one of them, striking a flint, elicits a spark, which instantly kindles a flame and sets the woods in a blaze. The unexpected sight of this new element of fire terrifies our parents into a hasty flight. The poem contains about eighteen hundred lines.[i]

The poems of Sidonius on the emperor, his friend, contain a sort of heroic fable. In the panegyric on Avitus, the emperor speaks as do others; and Jupiter likewise harangues.[j] The life of St. Martin, by Paulinus, a senator of Aquitain, afterwards a bishop, in hexameter verse, must be also considered as a narrative poem of considerable length. It is in six books, and contains about three thousand seven hundred hexameter lines. Though it abounds with fiction it is very dull.[k]

In the sixth century Alcimus Avitus, the archbishop of Vienne,

[f] Bib. Mag. tom. viii. p. 629–657.
[g] Ib. p. 463–471.
[h] Ib. p. 658–678.
[i] Ib. p. 580–595.
[j] Sid. Apoll.
[k] Bib. Mag. tom. viii. p. 852–882.

composed a narrative poem on the Jewish history, from the creation to Exodus, in five books, comprising above two thousand lines. The first book is on the creation, the second on the fall, the third on the expulsion from Paradise, the fifth on the flood, and the sixth on the passage of the Red Sea. It is more remarkable for its antiquity than for its poetry. But it must be ranked much above the lowest in the list of the leaden goddess.[l]

Arator, a Roman sub-deacon, in the same century, wrote a narrative poem on the apostolic history, in two books, and about two thousand four hundred lines. It is more entitled to be enumerated than read. Its purpose is much better than its versification.[m]

Fortunatus, a loquacious poet, bishop of Poitou, devoted four books, and about two thousand lines, to a narrative poem of the life of St. Martin. As it is full of his miracles, it is full of invention; but as the poets whom he enumerates, in his proemium, as his models, are those whom we have just mentioned, it may be expected that the pupil has not obscured his tutors either by his taste or his genius.[n]

In the seventh century, we have the heroic poem of Petrus Apollonius, an Italian, on the destruction of Jerusalem, in above two thousand hexameters. It obviously emulates the style and the manner of the best models. It attempts epic machinery and dramatic effect, though the success of the effort is not always equal to its ambition. One part of its machinery is, the sending the angel Raphael to the Tartarian abodes, to command one of the demons to go and persuade the Jewish leaders to revolt from the Romans, that they may bring their punishment on themselves.[o]

In the eighth century, we have Bede's Life of Saint Cuthbert, of which a specimen will be given in the chapter on the Latin poetry of the Anglo-Saxons. It is, indeed, a romance in Latin verse. The incidents are fanciful tales of Cuthbert's miraculous adventures. They are narrated in a dramatic form, as the specimen hereafter given will show. It consists of nine hundred and seventy-nine lines.

All these poems are obviously the offspring of the Roman Epopeas; and show, that by them the taste for narrative poetry was excited in France, in Spain, Italy, and Britain. From the epic poems of antiquity, and their imitations, the Anglo-Saxons, as well as the Franks, and the Goths in Spain, learnt the art of constructing and carrying on an epic fable. The first imitations were in Latin, by those who knew the language and loved its poetry. But that men arose who cultivated poetry in their native tongue, as well as in the Latin language, we learn from the example of Aldhelm. His Latin poetry will be noticed in the

[l] Bib. Mag. tom. viii. p. 596–618.
[m] Ib. p. 682–700.
[n] Ib. p. 753–772.
[o] Bib. Mag. tom. viii. p. 731–752.

next chapter; and we have already remarked, from the information of Alfred, that he took great pains to compose poems for the instruction of his countrymen in their vernacular tongue.

The first narrative poems were probably composed by the ecclesiastics. The poems of Cædmon and on Judith are obviously religious; and some passages of Beowulf have that air. Such men, from their learning, would be best skilled in the art of narration; and from them it probably descended to the scop, or professional poet.

That the ecclesiastics of those ages greatly cultivated the art of narrative invention, and were successful in their efforts, we see from their legends. The miraculous stories in Gregory's dialogues, in Bede's history, and in other writers of that time, are in fact so many fanciful tales, much more poetical in their invention and narration than any of those works which then passed as poetry.

That the legends and lives of saints were translated from Latin into Anglo-Saxon, we know to be a fact. Alfred caused Gregory's dialogues to be translated, which are nothing but legends or tales of the miraculous actions of the Italian saints, but so numerous as to fill one hundred and sixteen folio pages. It is as complete a specimen of fictitious narration as any book of fairy tales which has been published. Every nation of Europe, after the fall of the Roman empire, had some such narratives of supernatural agency; and therefore we must consider the monks as the great inventors of narrative fiction. So numerous were their creations, that the lives of the saints, which have been collected and published, amount, in the last edition, to above a hundred thick folio volumes, written chiefly in the early and middle ages of Europe, and all abounding with tales of supernatural agency. Some display very striking imagery and rich invention, others are dull. The ancient lives of the Irish saints are so extravagant in their imputed miracles, that the editors, who believe the truth of all the others, have felt it decorous to caution the reader that the fancy of these biographers has been too ardent, and their credulity too indiscriminate.

The lives of the saints which still exist in the Anglo-Saxon language, show that they were diffused among the people; and the fact, that some ecclesiastics, like Aldhelm, chose to compose poems in their native language, to improve the people, makes it probable that many of the legends were put into Anglo-Saxon poetry.

For these reasons, we may consider the Roman epic poems as the parents of the narrative poetry of modern Europe, and the ecclesiastics who had a poetical taste, as the first composers of narrative poems in our vernacular languages, and more particularly in the Anglo-Saxon.

Of their lyric, or miscellaneous poetry, one of the oldest and best specimens is Alfred's poetical translation of the poetry in Boetius, which has been already noticed.

To the already copious specimens of the Anglo-Saxon poetry, we will add the following Ode, which is appended to the menology. It is a very singular and curious composition:

The King shall hold the Kingdom;
castles shall be seen afar,
the work of the mind of giants,
that are on this earth;
the wonderful work of wall-stones.
The wind is the swiftest in the sky;
thunder is the loudest of noises;
great is the majesty of Christ;
fortune is the strongest;
winter is the coldest;
spring has the most hoar-frost;
he is the longest cold:
summer sun is most beautiful;
the air is then hottest;
fierce harvest is the happiest:
it bringeth to men
the tribute-fruits,
that to them God sendeth.
Truth is most deserving;
treasures are most precious,
gold, to every man;
and age is the wisest,
sagacious from ancient days,
from having before endured much.
Wo is a wonderful burthen;
clouds roam about;
the young Etheling
good companions shall
animate to war,
and to the giving of bracelets.
Strength in the earl,
the sword with the helm
shall abide battle.
The hawk in the sea-cliff
shall live wild;
the wolf in the grove;
the eagle in the meadow;
the boar in the wood
powerful with the strength of his tusk.
The good man in his country
will do justice.
With the dart in the hand,
the spear adorned with gold
the gem in the ring
will stand pendent and curved.
The stream in the waves
will make a great flood.
The mast in the keel
will groan with the sail yards.
The sword will be in the bosom,
the lordly iron:
the dragon will rest on his hillock
crafty, proud with his ornaments;
the fish will in the water
produce a progeny.
The king will in the hall
distribute bracelets.
The bear will be on the heath
old and terrible,
The water will from the hill
bring down the gray earth.
The army will be together
strong with the bravest.
Fidelity in the earl;
wisdom in man!
The woods will on the ground
blow with fruit;
the mountains in the earth
will stand green.
God will be in heaven
the judge of deeds.
The door will be to the hall
the mouth of the roomy mansion.
The round will be on the shield,
the fast fortress of the fingers.
Fowl aloft
will sport in the air;
salmon in the whirlpool
will roll with the skate;
the shower in the heavens,
mingled with wind,
will come on the world.
The thief will go out
in dark weather.
The Thyrs[p] will remain in the fen,
alone in the land.
A maiden with secret arts,
a woman her friend will seek,
if she cannot
in public grow up
so that men may buy her with bracelets.

[p] A Thyrs was among the Northerns a giant, or wild mountain savage, a sort of evil being somewhat supernatural.

The salt ocean will rage;
the clouds of the supreme Ruler,
and the water floods
about every land,
will flow in expansive streams.
Cattle in the earth
will multiply and be reared.
Stars will in the heavens
shine brightly
as their Creator commanded them.
God against evil;
youth against age;
life against death;
light against darkness;
army against army;
enemy against enemies;
hate against hate;
shall everywhere contend:
sin will steal on.
Always will the prudent strive
about this world's labour
to hang the thief;
and compensate the more honest
for the crime committed
against mankind.
The Creator alone knows
whither the soul
shall afterwards roam,
and all the spirits
that depart in God.
After their death-day
they will abide their judgment
in their father's bosom.
Their future condition
is hidden and secret.
God alone knows it,
the preserving father!
None again return
hither to our houses,
that any truth
may reveal to man,
about the nature of the Creator,
or the people's habitations of glory
which he himself inhabits.[q]

There is a volume of miscellaneous Saxon poetry in the cathedral library at Exeter, the gift of its first bishop, Leofric, from which some interesting passages have been selected by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare. The curious student will find the original with a Latin translation, in the 17th volume of the Archæologia.[r] But as Mr. Conybeare's elegant paraphrase expresses faithfully the sense of the Saxon poet, it may not be unwelcome to extract two passages of it for the gratification of the English reader.

Befits it well that man should raise
To Heav'n the song of thanks and praise,
For all the gifts a bounteous God
From age to age hath still bestow'd.
The kindly seasons temper'd reign,
The plenteous store, the rich domain
Of this mid-earth's extended plain,
All that his creatures' wants could crave,
His boundless pow'r and mercy gave.
Noblest of yon bright train that sparkle high,
Beneath the vaulted sky,
The Sun by day, the silver'd Moon by night,
Twin fires of heav'n, dispense *for man* their useful light.
Where'er on earth his lot be sped,
For man the clouds their richness shed,
In gentler dews descend, or op'ning pour
Wide o'er the land their fertilizing shower.

"The conclusion of this poem will perhaps be found to possess sufficient merit to apologize for transcribing it at length. It

[q] See the Saxon ode in Hickes's Grammat. Anglo-Sax. p. 207, 208.

[r] Vol. xvii. p. 180–192. In the same MS. there are some fragments of Saxon historical poetry, or of verses alluding to historical events, partly real and partly fabulous.

will doubtless remind the classical reader of the exquisite choral song of Sophocles,[s] commencing Πολλα τα δεινα; and the fine moral reflection with which it terminates would not have disgraced the composition even of the most philosophic poet of antiquity."[t]

Thrice Holy He,
The Spirit Son of Deity!
He call'd from nothing into birth
Each fair production of the teeming earth;
He bids the faithful and the just aspire
To join in endless bliss Heaven's angel choir.
His love bestows on human kind
Each varied excellence of mind.
To some his Spirit-gift affords
The power and mastery of words:
So may the wiser sons of earth proclaim
In speech and measured song, the glories of his name.
Some the tuneful hand may ply,
And loud before the list'ning throng,
Wake the glad harp of harmony,
Or bid the trump of joy its swelling note prolong.
To these he gave Heaven's righteous laws to scan,
Or trace the courses of the starry host,
To these the writer's learned toil to plan,
To these the battle's pride and victor's boast;
Where in the well-fought field the war-troop pour
Full on the wall of shields the arrows flickering shower.
Some can speed the dart afar,
Some forge the steelly blade of war,
Some o'er Ocean's stormy tide
The swift-wing'd ship can fearless guide.
Some in sweet and solemn lays
The full-ton'd voice of melody can raise.
So heaven's high Lord each gift of strength or sense
Vouchsafes to man, impartial, to dispense.
And of the power that from his Spirit flows
On each a share, on none the whole bestows.
Lest favour'd thus beyond their mortal state,
Their pride involve them in the sinner's fate.

We are indebted to the same gentleman for bringing to notice a fragment of later Saxon poetry, from a MS. in the Bodleian. It occurs towards the conclusion of a MS. volume of homilies. It is a speech of Death on the last home of man—the grave. The turn of thought is singular, and is more connected with the imagination than Saxon poems usually are. I transcribe Mr. Conybeare's literal translation.[u]

DEATH SPEAKS.

For thee was a house built
Ere thou wert born,
For thee was a mould shapen
Ere thou of (*thy*) mother camest
Its height is not determined,
Nor its depth measured,

[s] Sophoclis Antigone. [t] Conyb. Arch.
[u] See the Saxon with a Latin translation, Arch. vol. xvii. p. 174.

Nor is it closed up
(However long it may be)
Until I thee bring
Where thou shalt remain;
Until I shall measure thee
And the sod of earth.
Thy house is not
Highly built (timbered),
It is unhigh and low;
When thou art in it
The heel-ways are low,
The side-ways unhigh.
The roof is built
Thy breast full nigh;
So thou shalt in earth
Dwell full cold,
Dim, and dark.
Doorless is that house,
And dark it is within;
There thou art fast detained,
And Death holds the key.
Loathly is that earth-house,
And grim to dwell in;
There thou shalt dwell
And worms shall share thee.
Thus thou art laid
And leavest thy friends;
Thou hast no friend,
That will come to thee,
Who will ever inquire
How that house liketh thee,
Who shall ever open
For thee the door
And seek thee,
For soon thou becomest loathly,
And hateful to look upon.

After these copious specimens of the Anglo-Saxon poetry, we will merely notice, from its peculiarity, one more of Saxon, intermingled with Latin and Greek. It occurs in a very ancient MS. of Aldhelm, and thus begins:

Thuſ me ȝeſette
Sanctus et justus
Beoſn boca ȝleaſ
Bonus auctor
Ealdem æthele ſceop
Etiam fuit ipse
On æthel Angel-Seaxtna
Bỳſcep en Bſetene.

Thus has settled me,
The holy and just one;
The man skilled in books;
The good author
Aldhelm, the noble poet,
He was also
In the country of the Anglo-Saxons,
A bishop in Britain.[v]

CHAPTER IV.

On the Anglo-Saxon Versification.

The best Saxon scholars have confessed that the versification of the vernacular poetry of our ancestors was modelled by rules which we have not explored. But the passage before quoted from Bede, shows that it had really no other rule than the poet's ear. To combine his words into a rhythmical cadence was all he aimed at. A few specimens will enable the reader to see what this cadence usually was.

[v] See the remainder, containing some Greek words, in Wanley's Catalogue, p. 110.

In Alfred's Boetius, part of the specimens before translated stand thus:

Ɛala thu ſcippend
Sciꝛꝛa tungla
Heꝼoneſ and eoꝛthan
Thu on heah ſetle
Ɛcum ꝛicſaſt
And thu ealne hꝛæthe
Heꝼon ẏmbhꝑeaꝛꝛeſt
And thuꝛh thine
Halige miht
Tunglu geneðeſt
Thæt he the to heꝛath
Sẏlce ſeo ſunne
Sꝑeaꝛtꝛa nihta
Thioſtꝛo aðꝑæſceth
Thuꝛh thine meht
Blacun leoht
Beoꝛhte ſteoꝛꝛan
Mona gemetgath
Thuꝛh thinꝛa meahta ſpeð
Hꝑilum eac tha ſunnan
Sineſ beꝛeaꝼath
Beoꝛhtan leohteſ.
Boet. 154.

The little poem which was cited from the Saxon Chronicle is the following:

Tha ꝑeaꝛth eac aðꝛæꝼeð
Ðeoꝛmoð hæleth
Oſlac oꝼ eaꝛðe
Oꝼa ẏtha geꝑealc
Oꝼeꝛ ganoteſ bæth
Lamol ꝼeax hæleth
Wiſ and ꝑoꝛð ſnottoꝛ
Oꝼeꝛ þæteꝛa gethꝛing
Oꝼeꝛ hꝑæleſ æthel
Hama beꝛeaꝼoð.

The next lines may be cited because of their rhyming tendency:

That ꝑeaꝛth ætẏꝑeð
Uppe on ꝛoðeꝛum
Steoꝛꝛa ou ſtathole
Thohe ſtith ꝼæꝛhthe
Hæleth hige gleaꝑe
Hatath ꝑiðe
Cometa be naman
Cꝛæꝼt gleaꝑe men
Wiſe ſothboꝛan.[a]

The versification of Cædmon's paraphrase has a similar cadence. It begins

Uſ iſ ꝛiht micel
Thæt ꝑe ꝛoðeꝛa ꝑeaꝛð
Weꝛeða ꝑuldoꝛ cẏning
Woꝛðum heꝛigen
Moðum luꝼien.
He iſ mægna ſpeð
Heaꝼoð calꝛa
Heah geſceaꝼta
Fꝛea Ælmightig.
Cæd. p. 1.

In Judith the versification is of the same species, which is taken from the description of the battle:

Tha ꝑeaꝛth ſnellꝛa ꝑeꝛoð
Snuðe gegeaꝛeꝑoð
Cenꝛa to campe
Stopon cẏneꝛoꝼe
Secgaſ and geſithaſ
Bæꝛon thuꝼaſ
Foꝛon to geꝼeohte
Foꝛth on geꝛihte

[a] Sax. Chron. 123.

Þæleth undeꝛ helmum
Oꝼ thæꝛe hahiȝan bẏꝛiȝ
On thæt dæȝꝛed
Sẏlꝼ dẏnedan ꝛcildaꝛ
Þlude hluinnon
Thæꝛ ꝛe hlanca ȝeꝼeah
Wulꝼ in ꝑalde
And ꝛe ꝑanna hꝛeꝼn
Wæl ȝiꝼꝛe ꝼuȝel
Weꝼtan beȝen
Tha him tha theod ȝuman
Tholiton tilian
Fẏlle on ꝼæȝum
Ac him ꝼleah on laꝛt
Eaꝛn æteꝛ ȝeoꝛn
Uꝛiȝ ꝼetheꝛa
Saloꝑiȝ pada
Sanȝ hilde leoth
Þẏꝛned nebba.
Jud. p. 24.

The description of Beowulf's sailing and landing is thus given:

Cꝑæth he Luthcẏninȝ
Oꝼeꝛ ꝛþan ꝛade
Se cean ꝑolde
Mæꝛne theoden
Tha him ꝑæꝛ manna theaꝛꝼ
Thone ꝛithꝼæt him
Snoteꝛe ceoꝛlaꝛ
Lẏt hꝑon loȝon
Thæm the him leoꝼ ꝑæꝛe.—
Secꝼ ꝼiꝛade
Laȝu cꝛæꝼtiȝ mon
Land ȝemẏꝛcu
Fẏꝛꝛt ꝼoꝛth ȝeꝑat ꝼlota
Wæꝛ on ẏthum
Bat undeꝛ beoꝛȝe
Beoꝛnaꝛ ȝeaꝛꝑe
On ꝛteꝼn ꝛtiȝon ꝛtꝛeamaꝛ.—
Leꝑat tha oꝼeꝛ ꝑæȝ holm
Wmde ȝeꝼẏꝛed
Flota ꝼann healꝛ
Fuȝle ȝelicoꝛt
Oth tha ẏmb an tid
Othꝛeꝛ doȝoꝛeꝛ
Wunden ꝛteꝼna
Leꝑada hæꝼde.
Tha tha lithende
Land ȝeꝛaꝑon
Bꝛim cliꝼu blican
Beoꝛȝaꝛ ꝛteape
Side ꝛæ næꝛꝛaꝛ.—
Thanon up hꝛathe
Wedeꝛa leode
On ꝑanȝ ꝛtiȝon
Sæ ꝑudu ꝛældon
Sẏꝛcon hꝛẏꝛedon
Luth ȝeꝑædo
Lode thancedon
Thæꝛ the him ẏthlade
Eathe ꝑuꝛdon.

It appears to me that the only rule of the Saxon versification which we can now discover is, that the words are placed in that peculiar rhythm or cadence which is observable in all the preceding extracts. This rhythm will be felt by every one who reads the following lines:

Thohton tilian
Fẏlle on ꝼætum—
Uꝛiȝ ꝼætheꝛa
Saloꝑiȝ pada—
Woꝛdum heꝛiȝen
Modum luꝼien—
Þeaꝼod ealꝛa
Þeah ȝeꝛceaꝼta
Fꝛea Ælmihtiȝ.—

To produce this rhythm seems to have been the perfection of their versification. But, happily for the strength of their poetry,

they extended their rhythm sometimes into a more dignified cadence, as

Weꞃeꝺa ƿulꝺoꞃ cẏnınᵹ—
Ymꞇhe heolꞅꞇeꞃ ꞅceaꝺo—
Thuꞃh ꞇhınꞃa meahꞇa ꞅƿeꝺ.

When their words would not fall easily into the desired rhythm, they were satisfied with an approach to it, and with this mixture of regular and irregular cadence all their poetry seems to have been composed.

By this rhythm, by their inversions of phrase, by their transitions, by their omissions of particles, by their contractions of phrase, and, above all, by their metaphors and perpetual periphrasis, their poetry seems to have been distinguished.

That they occasionally sought rhyme and alliteration cannot be doubted, for we have some few Anglo-Saxon poems in rhyme.[b] But neither of these formed its constituent character, nor was any marked attention given to the prosodical quantity of their syllables, as Hickes supposed.

[b] Mr. Conybeare remarks, that in the Exeter MS. there is one Anglo-Saxon poem, entirely written in rhyme, with alliteration, p. 195. The extract which he has cited from the poem, on the Day of Judgment, has also the following rhymed passage:

Thæꞇ nu manna ᵹehƿẏlc	That now every man
Cƿıc ꞇhenꝺen heꞃ ƿanaꞇh	Who dwells here alive,
Ᵹeceoꞅan moꞇ	May choose
Sƿa helle hıeꞃꞇhu	Either wounds of hell,
Sƿa heoꝼeneꞅ mæꞃꞇhu ;	Or the majesty of heaven ;
Sƿa leohꞇe leohꞇ,	Or the bright light,
Sƿa ꞇham laꞇham nıhꞇ ;	Or the hateful night ;
Sƿa ꞇhꞃẏmmeꞅ ꞇhꞃæce,	Or the power of glory,
Sƿa ꞇhꞃẏꞅꞇꞃa ƿꞃæce ;	Or the vengeance of darkness ;
Sƿa mıꝺ Ðꞃıhꞇen ꝺꞃeam,	Or joy with the Lord,
Sƿa mıꝺ ꝺeoꝼlecm hꞃem ;	Or mourning with devils ;
Sƿa ƿıꞇe mıꝺ ƿꞃaꞇhum,	Or punishment with wrath,
Sƿa ƿulꝺoꞃ mıꝺ aꞃum ,	Or glory with honours ;
Sƿa lıꝼe, ꞅƿa ꝺeath,	Or life, or death,
Sƿa hım leoꝼe bıꞇh. Ibid.	Which ever he loves most.

CHAPTER V.

Their Latin Poetry.

The Latin poetry of the Anglo-Saxons originated from the Roman poetry, and was composed according to the rules of Roman prosody. Its authors were all ecclesiastics, who had studied the classical writers and their imitators; and who followed as nearly as their genius would permit them, the style and manner of classical composition. Sometimes they added a few absurd peculiarities, dictated by bad taste, and sometimes they used rhyme. But in general the regular hexameter verse was the predominant characteristic of their poems.

The origin of their Latin poetry may be therefore easily explained. With the works of the classical writers we are all acquainted. As the Roman empire declined, the genius of poetry disappeared. Claudian emitted some of its departing rays. But after his death it would have sunk for ever in the utter night of the Gothic irruption, if the Christian clergy had not afforded it an asylum in their monasteries, and devoted their leisure to read and to imitate it.

The Romans had diffused their language as their conquests and colonies spread; but it would have also perished when the Gothic irruptions destroyed their empire, if the Christian hierarchy had not preserved it. The German tribes who raised new sovereignties in the imperial provinces were successively converted to Christianity; and as the new faith chiefly emanated from Rome, one religious system pervaded the western part of Europe. The public worship was everywhere performed in Latin. All the dignified clergy and many others were perpetually visiting Rome. The most accessible and popular works of the fathers of the church were in the Latin language. And this was the only tongue in which the ecclesiastics of Germany, France, Britain, Spain, Ireland, and Italy could compose or correspond in to be understood by each other. Hence every ecclesiastic in every part of Europe, who aspired to any intellectual cultivation or distinction, was obliged to learn the Latin language, and to write in it. From this circumstance, they nourished a necessary attachment to the Latin authors; and thus the Latin language and the classical writers were preserved by the Christian clergy from that destruction which has entirely swept from us both the language and the writings of Phœnicia, Carthage, Babylon, and Egypt.

Many of the clergy wrote homilies, or disputatious treatises; some aspired to history, and some were led to cultivate poetry. In the fourth century, Victorinus, Juvencus, and Prudentius, distinguished themselves by poems in Latin verse on devotional subjects. In the fifth century, Sedulius, Dracontius, and Sidonius, with others, cultivated Latin poetry. In the next age appeared Alcimus, Arator, Columbanus, and the prolific Venantius Fortunatus. Every subsequent century enumerated many ecclesiastical poets, who all alike fashioned both their genius and their works from the classical models, or their imitators. They chose, indeed, subjects more suited to their sacred profession; but they strove, according to their best abilities, to give their religious efforts all the style and the measures of the standard poetry of ancient Rome.

The Anglo-Saxons who wrote Latin poetry drank from the same Heliconian spring, and used the same prosody; and of course the Latin poetry originated from the Latin poetry of the ecclesiastics who had preceded them, and their classical models.

But though the prosody of the classical poetry furnished these writers with their metres, yet as they were in a ruder and less cultivated age, their taste was too unformed and irregular to keep to the chaste style of the Augustan bards. They undervalued the excellence with which they were familiar, and sometimes they strove to improve it by beauties of their own; beauties, however, often perceptible only to the eye or the ear of a barbaric taste.

Some of their grotesque ornaments are mentioned in the fifth century by Sidonius. He notices some verses which were so composed as to admit of being read either backward or forward. Thus:

Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.

and

Sole medere pede, ede perede melos.[a]

He has also given us a specimen of another fantastic effort in two verses, of which he asks his friend to admire the disposition of the syllables:

Præcipiti modo quod decurrit tramite flumen,
Tempore consumptum jam cito deficiet.

These, if read backward, will give

Deficiet cito jam consumptum tempore flumen
Tramite decurrit quod modo precipiti!

The poem of Proba Falconia, a poetess of the fourth century, was also constructed very whimsically. Her subjects were, the

[a] Sid. Ap. lib. ix. ep. 14.

history of the creation, the deluge, and Christ. She narrates these histories in centos from Virgil, who knew nothing about them. She has so curiously selected above seven hundred of his lines, and so placed them, that, with the aid of titles to the different portions, the principal events of these Scripture histories are described in the words of the Mantuan bard.[b]

Our Anglo-Saxons display occasional exertions of the same depraved taste in their Latin poetry; of which the most ancient that has descended to us consists of the compositions of Aldhelm, who died in 709; and will be noticed again in the chapter on their literature. His verses, from the study of better models, are preferable to this pompous prose. His poetical works which remain are entitled, De Laude Virginum, De Octo principalibus Vitiis, and Ænigmata.

Towards the close of his prose treatise on Virginity, he stated that he should write on the same subject in poetry. His preface to the poem is an acrostic address to the abbess Maxima, in hexameter verse. It consists of thirty-eight lines, so fantastically written that each line begins and ends with the successive letters of the words of the first line; and thus the first and last lines, and the initial and final letters of each line consist of the same words. In the last line the words occur backwards. The final letters are to be read upwards:

M etrica Tirones nunc promant carmina casto S
E t laudem capiat quadrato carmine virg O
T rinus in arce Deus, qui pollens secla creavi T
R egnator mundi, regnans in sedibus alti S
I ndigno conferre mihi dignetur in æthr A
C um sanctis requiem, quos laudo versibus isti C
A rbiter altithronus qui servat sceptra supern A
T radidit his cœli per ludum scandere lime N
I nter sanctorum cuneos qui laude perenn I
R ite glorificant moderantem regna tonante M
O mnitenens Dominus, mundi formator et aucto R
N obis pauperibus confer suffragia cert A
E t ne concedas trudendos hostibus istin C
S ed magis exiguos defendens dextera tanga T
N e prædo pellax cœlorum claudere lime N
V el sanctos valeat noxarum fallere scen A
N e fur strophosus foveam detrudat in atra M
C onditor a summo quos Christus servat Olymp O
P astor ovile tuens ne possit tabula rapto R
R egales vastans caulas bis dicere pup pu P
O mnia sed custos defendat ovilia jam nun C
M axima præcipuum quæ gestat numine nome N
A ddere præsidium mater dignare precat U
N am tu perpetuum promisisti lumine lume N
T itan quem clamant sacro spiramine vate S
C ujus per mundum jubar alto splendet ab ax E
A tque polos pariter replet vibramine fulmen N

[b] Bib. Mag. tom. viii. p. 708–716.

R ex regum et princeps populorum dictus ab æv O
M agnus de magno, de rerum regmine recto R
I llum nec mare nec possunt cingere coel I
N ec mare navigerum spumoso gurgite valla T
A ut zonæ mundi que stipant æthera cels A
C larorum vitam qui castis moribus isti C
A uxiliante Deo vernabant flore perenn I
S anctis aggrediar studiis dicere paupe R
T anta tamen digne si pauper præmia proda T
O mnia cum nullus verbis explanat apert E
S OTSAC ANIMRAO TNAMORP CNUN SENORIT ACIRTE M.[c]

Aldhelm calls this, quadratum carmen, a square verse. He was not the inventor of these idle fopperies of versification. Fortunatus and others had preceded Aldhelm in this tasteless path, in which authors endeavour to surprise us, not by the genius they display, but by the difficulties which they overcome.

The poem is not divided into books or chapters. It consists of two thousand four hundred and forty-three hexameter lines, the last eight of which are rhymed; the four first alternately; the others in couplets. We subjoin them:

Quis prius in spira morsum glomeravit inertem
Idcirco cursim festinat credere Christo
Agnoscens propriam tanta virtute salutem
Insuper et meritum cumulavit sanguinis ostro,
Præmia sumpturus cum cœli cœtibus almis.
Candida post sequitur cum binis martyra sertis,
Integritas nitidam, nec non et passio rubram
Plumabant pariter macta virtute coronam.[d]

The first twenty-two lines of the poem are an invocation of the Deity. The translations of the passages which we select, as specimens of his powers, are made as literal as possible.

Almighty Father! Sovereign of the world!
Whose word the lucid summits of the sky
With stars adorn'd, and earth's foundations fram'd;
Who ting'd with purple flowers the lonely heath;
And check'd the wandering billows of the main,
Lest o'er the lands the foamy waves should rage
(Hence rocks abrupt the swelling surge control:)
Thou cheer'st the cultured field with gelid streams;
And with thy dropping clouds the corn distends:
Thine orbs of light expel night's dreary shade;
Titan the day, and Cynthia tends the night:
From thee what tribes the fields of ocean roam,
What scaly hosts in the blue whirlpools play!
The limpid air with fluttering crowds abounds,
Whose prattling beaks their joyful carols pour,
And hail thee as the universal Lord:

[c] Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 3. [d] Ibid. p. 19.

Give, Merciful! thine aid, that I may learn
To sing the glorious actions of thy saints.[e]
* * * * *
I seek not rustic verse, nor court the Nine,[f]
Nor from Castalia's nymphs their metres ask,
Said erst to guard the Heliconian hill.
Nor, Phebus! need I thy loquacious tongue,
Whom fair Latona bore on Delos' isle—
I'll rather press the thunderer with my prayers,
Who gave to man the lessons of his word;
Words from the Word I ask, whom David sang,
Sole offspring of the Father; and by whom
Th' Almighty Sire created all we know;
So may their gracious inspiration deign
To aid their feeble servant in his lay.

He opens his subject by telling us that there are three descriptions of persons to whom the praise of chastity belongs: the married who live virtuously; the married who live as if they were single; and they who keep in the virgin state. After above an hundred lines in praise of virginity, he proceeds to describe forty-five characters who distinguished the state which he prefers; and this biographical panegyric forms the substance of his poem. Most of his applauded personages are only known in the

[e] Omnipotens genitor mundum ditione gubernans
Lucida stelligeri qui condis culmina cœli,
Nec non telluris formas fundamina verbo:
Pallida purpureo pingis qui flore virecta:
Sic quoque fluctivagi refrenas cærula ponti.
Mergere ne valeant terrarum littora lymphis,
Sed tumidos frangunt fluctus obstacula rupis:
Arvorum gelido qui cultus fonte rigabis,
Et segetum glumas nimbosis imbribus auges,
Qui latebras mundi geminato sidere demis;
Nempe diem Titan et noctem Cynthia comit.
Piscibus æquoreos qui campos pinguibus ornas,
Squamigeras formans in glauco gurgite turmas
Limpida præpetibus, sic comples aera catervis,
Garrula quæ rostris resonantes cantice pipant
Atque creatorem diversa voce fatentur.
Da prius auxilium, clemens, ut carmina possim
Indita Sanctorum modulari gesta priorum.
Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 3.

[f] Non rogo ruricolas versus, et commata musas
Non peto Castalidas metrorum cantica nymphas
Quas dicunt Helicona jugum servare supernum,
Nec precor, ut Phœbus linguam sermone loquacem
Dedat, quem Delo peperit Latona creatrix—
Sed potius nitar precibus pulsare Tonantem,
Qui nobis placidi confert oracula Verbi,
Verbum de verbo peto, hoc Psalmista canebat,
Corde patris genitum, quod proles unica constat,
Quo pater Omnipotens per mundum cuncta creavit.
Sic patris et prolis dignetur Spiritus almus
Auxilium fragili clementer dedere servo.

calendars of the Romish church. Some of his images, commonplaces, and examples, shall be quoted.

Amid his wild and diffuse panegyric on virginity, the following images occur:

Now let my verses cull the rarest flowers,
And weave the virgin crowns which grace the good;
What can more charm celestials in our conflict,
Than the pure breast by modest virtue ruled?[g]

* * * * * * *

The chaste who blameless keep unsullied fame
Transcend all other worth, all other praise;
The Spirit high-enthron'd has made their hearts
His sacred temple.[h]

* * * * * * *

For chastity is radiant as the gems
Which deck the crown of the Eternal King:
It tramples on the joys of vicious life,
And from the heart uproots the wish impure.
The yellow metal which adorns the world
Springs from the miry chambers of the earth:
So the pure soul, its image, takes its birth
From carnal passions of terrestrial love.
And as the rose excels the Tyrian dyes,
And all the gaudy colours work'd by art;
As the pale earth the lucid gem creates
In rustic soils beneath the dusty glebe;
As yellow flowers shoot gaily from the corn,
When spring revives the germinating earth:
So sacred chastity, the dear delight
Of all the colonies of heaven, is born
From the foul appetites of worldly life.[i]

[g] Nunc igitur raros decerpant carmina flores
E quis virgineas valeant fabricare coronas
Quid plus cælicolas juvat in certamine nostro
Quam integritatis amor regnans in pectore puro?

[h] Virginitas castum servans sine crimine carmen,
Cætera virtutum vincit præconia laude;
Spiritus altithroni templum sibi vindicat almus.

[i] Virginitas fulget lucens, ut gemma coronæ,
Quæ caput æterni præcingit stemmate regis:
Hæc calcat pedibus spurcæ consortia vitæ:
Funditus extirpans petulantis gaudia carnis.
Auri materiem fulvi, obrizumque metallum
Ex quibus ornatur præsentis machina mundi,
Glarea de gremio prodidit sordida terræ.
Sic casta integritas auri flaventis imago
Gignitur e spurca terreni carne parentis.
Ut rosa Puniceo tincturas murice cunctas
Coccineosque simul præcellit rubra colores.
Pallida purpureas ut gignit glarea gemmas,
Pulverulenta tegit quas spurci glebula ruris;
Ut flos flavescens scandit de cortice corni
Tempore vernali, dum promit germina tellus:
Sic sacra virginitas cœlorum grata colonis
Corpore de spurco sumit primordia vitæ.

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 4.

And as the vine, whose spreading branches, bent
With stores immense, the dresser's knife despoils,
Exists the glory of the fruitful fields;
And as the stars confess th' all-glorious ray,
When in his paths oblique the sun rolls round,
Transcending all the orbs which grace the poles:
So Chastity, companion of the bless'd,
Excelling, meekly, every saintly worth,
Is hail'd the queen of all the virtues here.[j]
* * * * * * *
The chastity which rules the virtuous frame,
A virgin flower which blooms unhurt in age,
Falls not to earth, nor sheds its changing leaves.
Behold the lilies waving in the fields,
The crimson rose, sweet blushing on the bank,
Which crowns the conquering wrestler, and becomes
The garland for the victor in the course:
So purity, subduing rebel nature,
Wins the fair diadem which Christ awards.[k]
* * * * * * *
The peacock's many-colour'd plumage waves,
And the soft circles glow with Tyrian dyes:
Its tawny beauties, and its graceful form
Surpass the proudest labours of our skill.[l]

We may add from the same poem his description of the destruction of paganism, as exhibiting the degree of his powers of poetical composition:

Not Mars, the lord of wounds, who scatters round
The seeds of war, and fills the rancorous heart
With Gorgon poisons, can assist his fanes;
Nor Venus can avail, nor her vile boy.
The golden statues of Minerva fall,
Tho' fools proclaim her goddess of the arts;

[j] Vinea frugiferis ut constat gloria campis,
Pampinus immensos dum gignit palmite botros,
Vinitor exspoliat frondentes falcibus antes:
Sidera præclaro cedunt ut lumina soli,
Lustrat dum terras obliquo tramite Titan,
Cuncta supernorum convincens astra polorum:
Sic quoque virginitas quæ sanctos indita comit,
Omnia sanctorum transcendans præmia supplex
Integritas quoque virtutum regina vocatur.
Maxima Bib. Vit. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 4.

[k] Integritas animæ regnans in corpore casto
Flos est virgineus, qui nescit damna senectæ.
Nec cadit in terram ceu fronde ligustra fatiscunt.
Cernite fecundis ut vernent lilia sulcis,
Et rosa sanguineo per dumos flore rubescat.
Ex quibus ornatus qui vincit forte paletris,
Accipit in circo victor certamine, serta.
Haud secus integritas devicta carne rebelli.
Pulchras gestabit Christo regnante coronas. Ibid.

[l] Quanquam versicolor flavescat penna pavonis
Et teretes rutilent plus rubro murice cycli,
Cujus formosa species et fulva venustas
Omnia fabrorum porro molimina vincit. Ibid.

Nor he for whom, as ancient fictions sing,
The leafy vines their precious branches spread,
Can prop the columns nodding with their gods.
The marbles tremble with terrific crash,
And the vast fabric rushes into dust.
Ev'n Neptune, rumour'd sovereign of the waves,
Who by his swelling billows rules the main,
He cannot save his sculptur'd effigies,
Whose marble brows the golden leaves surround,
Not ev'n Alcides, who the centaurs crush'd,
And dar'd the fiery breath of prowling Cacus,
When from his throat his words in flames were pour'd,
Tho' his right hand the dreadful club may grasp,
Can shield his temples when the Christian prays.[m]

One other example will be a sufficient specimen of his De Laude Virginum. Two sisters were condemned for refusing to sacrifice to idols. One was punished first in the presence of the other, with the hope that her constancy might be affected by her sister's suffering. Instead of this event, Secunda's speech is thus represented by Aldhelm:

Firmly she said, "Secunda ne'er will tremble;
Bring all your blood-stain'd tortures to oppress me,
Your fires, your swords, your scourges red with gore,
Your clubs, your cords, your stones that pour like hail;
Bring all your cruel instruments of pain;
Yet, conquering my tormentors, will I triumph.
As many means of death you fiercely frame,
So many crowns in heaven's bright plains will bless us."[n]

[m] Non Mars vulnificus qui belli semina spargit;
Rancida Gorgoneis inspirans corda venenis
Delubri statuis potuit succurrere parmis.
Nec Venus, aut Veneris prodest spurcissima proles.
Aurea sturnuntur fundo simulacra Minervæ,
Quamque deam stolidi dixerunt arte potentem:
Nec Bacchus valuit, cui frondent palmite vites,
Ut referunt falso veterum figmenta librorum,
Numine nutantes fani fulcire columnas.
Sed titubant templi tremebundis marmora crustis.
Et ruit in præceps tessellis fabrica fractis.
Neptunus fama dictus regnator aquarum;
Qui regit imperium ponti turgentibus undis,
Falsas effigies, quas glauco marmore sculpunt,
Aurea seu fulva quas ornant petala fronte,
Haud valuit veterum tunc sustentare decorum.
Alcides fertur Centauri victor opimus,
Flammea qui pressit latronis flamina Caci.
Quamvis fumosis ructaret flabra loquelis.
Herculis in crypta sed torquet dextera clavam
Nec tamen in templo rigida virtute resultat,
Quæ famulus Christi supplex oramina fudit.
Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 12.

[n] Nam constanter ait, "nunquam tremebunda Secunda:
Adfer cuncta simul nobis tormenta cruenta;
Ignes et macheras et rubras vibice virgas,
Restes et fustes et dura grandine saxa.

His poem "De Octo principalibus Vitiis," or on the eight principal vices, opens with an allusion to the preceding poem:

> Thus have I sung the praises of the saints,
> Whose fame re-echoes round the concave sky.
> Now must the verse the mighty battles paint,
> Waged by the vices; which from virgin tribes
> Withhold the kingdoms of celestial joy,
> And shut the portals of their lucid walls.[o]

This poem contains four hundred and fifty-eight Latin hexameters. After an introduction of some length, it treats of the eight vices in this order: gluttony, luxury, avarice, anger, despair, slothfulness, vain-glory, pride. It closes with a diffuse peroration.

His allegorical introduction begins with these lines:

> The crowding legions gather to the war,
> Justice' fair friends, and virtue's holy troops;
> 'Gainst these the vices fix their camps malign,
> And whirl their thickening spears of basest deeds.
> The rival combat glows, the banners float,
> And the loud clangour of the trumpet roars.[p]

On luxury he exclaims:

> Indecent words from this base monster spring,
> From him scurrility and folly's gibes;
> Love, frivolous deceiver! and excess.
> Oh what illustrious men! how great, how many!
> Has this fierce enemy thrust down to hell!
> Yet could he not, though mask'd in beauty's shape,
> From Joseph tear the excelling palm of virtue,
> When the voluptuous net the fair one wove,
> He spurn'd her charms, and from his garment fled;
> By this he well deserv'd the throne of Memphis.[q]

Quot tu pœnarum genera crudeliter infers,
Ast ego tanta feram victo tortore tropæa,
Quot tu concinnas crudi discrimina lethi
Tot nos in supera numerabimus arce coronas.
Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 18.

[o] Digestis igitur sanctorum laudibus almis,
Quorum rumores sub cœli culmine flagrant;
Restat, ut ingentes depromant carmina pugnas,
Ex vitiis procedentes, virtutibus atque
Virginibus Christi, quæ cœli regna negabunt,
Florida lucifluæ claudentes limina portæ. Ibid. p. 19.

[p] Ecce catervatim glomerant ad bella phalanges,
Justitiæ comites et virtutum agmina sancta,
His adversantur vitiorum castra maligna,
Spissa nefandarum quæ torquent spicula rerum,
Æmula ceu pugnat populorum pugna duorum,
Dum vexilla ferunt et clangit classica salpix. Ibid.

[q] Ex hoc nascuntur monstro turpissima verba,
Nec non scurrilitas et sævo ludicra gestu,
Frivolus, et fallax amor, ac petulantia luxus.
O quantos qualesve viros, et laude celebres,

His declaration on avarice is in these phrases:

Next avarice leads the war, and heads a band
Of dense array, conductress of the fight;
She not alone the public streets pervades
With blood-stain'd arms, and shafts in poison dipp'd.
Her base companions follow—frauds and thefts,
A thousand lies, and actions false and vile;
Base appetites of gain, and perjuries throng:
The hosts of rapine, stain'd with every crime,
Heedless of oaths, join in an ardent band.[r]

His first verses on anger are,—

Ferocious wrath the fourth battalion calls,
And, always raging, hurries to the fight;
He breaks the pious peace of brothers' love,
And goads their jarring minds to mutual war;
Hence impious slaughters—hence the shouts of rage—
And gnashing indignation clamours loud.[s]

On vain-glory he exclaims,[t]—

How the false thief his lying promise pours,
To darken all the solid bliss of life!
And can it not suffice that this fair world,
Which round the pole in devious motion glides,

Hæc Bellona ferox sub tristia Tartaria trusit!
Non sic egregium virtutis perdere palmam
Forma venustatis valuit compellere Joseph,
Qui dominam sprevit nectentem retia luxus,
Et stuprum fugiens pepli vclamina liquit:
Idcirco felix meruit Memphitica sceptra.
Maxima Bib. Vetr. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 20.

[r] Post Philargyria producit tertia bellum,—
Hæc ductrix pugnæ stipatur milite denso.
Non sola graditur per publica strata pedestris,
Arma cruenta ferens et spicula lita veneno.
Hæc comites pravos, itidem mendacia mille,
Fraudes et fures, ac falsis frivola gestis,
Appetitus turpis lucri et perjuria inepta,
Atque rapinarum maculatos crimine questus,
Conglobat in cuneum cum falsis testibus ardens.

[s] Ast vero quartam trux congregat ira catervam,
Quæ semper furibunda cupit discrimina belli:
Et ciet ad pugnam mentes discordia fratrum,
Dum copulata piæ disrumpit fœdera pacis,
Ex hoc nascuntur cædes cum strage nefandæ
Et clamor vocis, simul indignatio frendens.
Ibid. p. 20.

[t] O quam falsa latro spondebat frivola mendax,
Ut concessa rudis fuscaret munera vitæ,
Nonne satis foret, ut quadro cum cardine mundus,
Quem vertigo poli longis anfractibus ambit,
Usibus humanis serviret rite per ævum,
Infula terrenos ni cœli comat alumnos?
Heu scelus, heu facinus, miseris mortalibus ortum!
Et hoc ex vana presertim gloria fretus! Ibid. p. 21.

Exists to gratify all human needs?
Must heavenly honours earth's frail children grasp?
What crimes, what wrong, to wretched mortals spring
From the vain passion of transcendant fame!

His Ænigmata may be next considered. Its poetical prologue presents to us a curious instance of that fantastic and difficult versification which some men in former times pursued. Both the beginning and the final letters of the thirty-six hexameters which compose it present to us, in succession, one of this sentence: "Aldhelmus cecinit millenis versibus odas."

A rbiter, ætherio Jupiter qui regmine sceptr A
L ucifluum que simul cœli regale tribuna L
D isponis, moderans æternis legibus illu D
H orrida nam multans torsisti membra Behemot H
E x alto quondam rueret dum luridus arc E
L impida dictanti metrorum carmina præsu L
M unera nunc largire: rudis quo pandere reru M
V ersibus ænigmata queam clandestina fat U.
S i Deus indignis tua gratis dona rependi S
C astalidas nymphas non clamo cantibus istu C
E xamen neque spargebat mihi nectar in or E,
C inthi sic nunquam perlustro cacumina, sed ne C
I n Parnasso procubui, nec somnia vid I.
N am mihi versificum poterit Deus addere carme N
I nspirans stolidæ pia gratis munera ment I.
T angit si mentem, mox laudem corda rependun T
M etrica: nam Moysen declarant carmina vate M
J am dudum ceciuisse celebris vexilla tropæ I
L ate per populos inlustria, qua nitidus So L
L ustrat ab Oceani jam tollens gurgite... L
E t Psalmista canens metrorum carmina voc E
N atum divino promit generamine nume N
In cœlis prius exortum, quam Lucifer orb I
S plendida formatis fudisset lumina sæcli S.
V erum si fuerint bene hæc ænigmata vers U
E xplosis penitus nevis et rusticitat E
R itu dactilico recte decursa nec erro R
S eduxit vana specie molimina menti S;
I ncipiam potiora; seu Deus arida serv I,
B elligero quondam qui vires tradidit Jo B,
V iscera perpetui roris si repleat haust U.
S iccis nam laticis duxisti cautibus amne S
O lim, cum cuneus transgresso marmore rubr O
D esertum penetrat: cecinit quot carmine Davi D
A rce poli genitor servas qui secula cunct A
S olvere jam scelerum noxas dignare nefanda S.[u]

These ænigmata consist of twenty tetrastica, or stanzas of four lines, on various subjects; as the earth, the wind, clouds, nature, the rainbow, the moon, fortune, salt, the nettle, and such like—of fourteen pentasticha of five lines, of thirteen hexasticha

[u] Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 23.

of six lines each, nineteen stanzas of seven lines, ten of eight lines, eleven of nine lines, and thirteen of ten lines each.

In the collection of Boniface's letters, there is a singular Latin poem in rhyme, entitled the poem of Aldhelm, Carmen Aldhelmi.

As the rhymes of this composition are more remarkable than its poetry, I will cite the first few lines, with a prose translation in the notes:

Lector caste catholice
Atque obses athletice
Tuis pulsatus precibus
Obnixe flagitantibus
Hymnista carmen cecini
Atque responsa reddidi
Sicut pridem pepigeram
Quando profectus fueram
Usque diram Domnoniam
Per carentem Cornubiam
Florulentis cespitibus
Et fæcundis graminibus
Elementa inormia
Atque facta informia
Quassantur sub ætherea
Convexa cœli camera
Dum tremit mundi machina
Sub ventorum monarchia.
Ecce nocturno tempore
Orto brumali turbine
Quatiens terram tempestas
Turbabat atque vastitas
Cum fracti venti fœdere
Baccharentur in æthere
Et rupto retinaculo
Desæviren in sæculo.[v]

This poem contains two hundred and four lines in this measure.

But Aldhelm is also remarkable for having given us a direct testimony of the use of rhyme in England before the year 700. In his treatise "De Laudibus Virginitatis," he says—

"It may be expressed not unsuitably in rhymed verse (Carmine rythmico):

"Christus passus patibulo,
Atque læti latibulo;
Virginem virgo virgini[w]
Commendabat tutamini."

This clear and decisive testimony destroys the favourite system of our men of letters, that the use of rhyme in Europe came from the Arabs in Spain. Aldhelm used it before they entered Spain; and the ancient Welsh bards long before Aldhelm.

Our venerable BEDE attempted Latin poetry, but the Muses did not smile upon his efforts. His compositions comprise some hymns, some elegiac poetry, and the life of St. Cuthbert in hexameter verse.

[v] Chaste catholic reader, and strenuous friend; urged by your prayers, earnestly intreating me, I have composed a poem, and returned an answer, as I formerly agreed to do, when I went to dismal Devonshire, through Cornwall, void of flowering turfs and fruitful grass. The vast elements are shaken under the ethereal convex chamber of the sky, while the machine of the world trembles under the monarchy of the winds. Lo! in the night, when the wintry whirlwind has risen, the tempest shakes the earth, and desolation terrifies; when the bursting winds rage in the air, and, having broken through their confinement, madden on the earth.

[w] Aldhelm De Laud. s. 7, p. 297. Whart. ed. 1693. See further on this subject, the Essays on Rhyme in the Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 168–204.

This Life consists of a preface and forty-six chapters, which include nine hundred and seventy-nine lines. It has little other merit than that of an Anglo-Saxon labouring at Latin prosody in the dark period of the seventh century. It has not the vigour or the fancy which occasionally appear in Aldhelm's versification; and therefore a few passages only will be quoted.

He begins in this humble style:

That many lights should shine in every age,
T' illume the loathsome shades of human night
With his celestial flame, the Lord permits:
And tho' our light supreme is Christ divine,
Yet God has sent his saints with humbler rays
To burn within his church. With sacred fire,
Love fills their minds, and Zeal inflames their speech.
He spreads his numerous torches thro' the world,
That the new rays of burning faith, diffus'd
With starry virtues, every land may fill.[x]

His invocation is much inferior to Aldhelm's:

Aid me, Supreme! the Spirit's gifts proceed
From thee; and none can fitly sing thy grace
Without thy help. Oh, thou! who tongues of flame
Erst gave, now send the treasures of thy word
To him who sings thy gifts![y]

The following legend is selected as a specimen of the general style of the narration.

The youth now bent beneath a sudden pain,[z]
And led his languid footsteps with a pine.

[x] Multa suis Dominus fulgescere lumina seclis
Donavit, tetricas humanæ noctis ut umbras
Lustraret divina poli de culmine flamma.
Et licet ipse deo natus de lumine Christus
Lux sit summa, Deus sanctos quoque jure lucernæ
Ecclesiæ rutilare dedit, quibus igne magistro
Sensibus instet amor, sermonibus æstuat ardor,
Multifidos varium lychnos qui sparsit in orbem.
Ut cunctum nova lux fidei face fusa sub axem
Omnia sidereis virtutibus arva repleret.
Smith's Bede, p. 268.

[y] Tu, rogo, summe, juva, donorum spiritus auctor,
Te sine nam digne fari tua gratia nescit.
Flammivomisque soles dare qui nova famina linguis
Munera da verbi linguæ tua dona canenti.
Ibid.

[z] Parvulus interea subiti discrimine morbi
Plectitur, atque regit vestigia languida pino.
Cumque die quadam sub divo fessa locasset
Membra dolens solus mitis puer, ecce repente
Venit eques nivco venerandus tegmine, nec non
Gratia cornipedi similis, recubumque salutat,
Obsequium sibi ferre rogans. Cui talia reddit,
" Obsequiis nunc ipse tuis adsistere promptus

When on a day as in the air he plac'd
His weary limbs, and meek yet mourning lay,
A horseman cloth'd in snowy garments came,
And graceful as a courser:—He saluted
The youth reclin'd, who offered his obeisance.
"My prompt attentions should be gladly paid
To you—if grievous pains did not withhold me:
See, how my knee is swell'd—no leech's care
Thro' a long lapse of time has sooth'd the evil."
Straight leap'd the stranger from his horse, and strok'd
The part diseas'd, thus counselling: "The flour
Of wheat and milk boil quickly on the fire,
And spread the mixture warm upon the tumour."
Remounting then he took the road he came;
And Cuthbert us'd his medicine, and found
That his physician from th' exalted throne
Of the Supreme had come, and eas'd his pain,
As with the fish's gall he once restor'd
The light to poor Tobias.

There are some hymns of Bede remaining. The hymn on the year deserves our peculiar notice, as it shows that he also used rhyme, and gives additional support to that column of evidence which enabled me to trace the use of rhyme into the fourth century.

The first part of the hymn on the year consists of a few hexameters, some of which seem to have been meant to rhyme. These are succeeded by fifty-eight lines, which correctly rhyme in couplets, and which are not hexameters. They are not worth a translation, being only curious for their rhymes. I add the first twelve.

Annus solis continetur quatuor temporibus,
Ac deinde adimpletur duodecim mensibus.
Quinquaginta et duabus currit hebdomadibus
Trecentenis sexaginta atque quinque diebus.
Sed excepta quarta parte noctis atque diei
Quæ dierum superesse cernitur serie.
De quadrante post annorum bis binorum terminum,
Calculantes colligendum decreverunt bissextum.
Hinc annorum diversantur longe latitudines
Quorum quidam embolismi, quidam fiunt communes,

Vellem, in diro premeretur compede gressus.
Nam tumet cccc genu, nullis quod cura medentum
Tempore jam multo valuit mollire lagonis."
Desilit hospes equo, palpat genu sedulus ægrum,
Sic fatus: "Similæ nitidam cum lacte farinam
Olla coquat pariter fervcntis in igne culinæ.
Hacque istum calida sanandus inunge tumorem."
Hæc memorans conscendit equum, quo venerat, illo
Calle domum remeans. Monitus medicina secuta est,
Agnovitque sacer medicum venisse superni
Judicis a solio summo, qui munere clausos
Restituit visus piscis de felle Tobiæ.

Smith's Bede, p. 269, 270.

Brevis quippe qui vocant communis lunaribus
Solis semper duodenis terminatur mensibus.
Longus autem qui omnino embolismus dicitur
Lunæ tribus atque decem cursibus colligitur
Brevioris anni totus terminatur circulus
Trecentenis quinquaginta ac quatuor diebus,
Longus vero lunæ annus in dierum termino
Continetur trecenteno, octogeno, quaterno.[a]

In the same poem he frequently makes his hexameters rhyme.

In another part of the same poem he introduces a series of middle rhymes; as,

Adventum domini, non est celebrare Decembri,
Post ternas nonas, neque quintas ante calendas,
Pascha nec undenas, Aprilis ante calendas,
Nec post septenas, Maias valet esse calendas,
Virgo puerperio, dedit anno signa secundo,
Illius magni cycli, modo bis revolvit . . . .
Triginta que duos, quingentos qui tenet annos,
Illius angelici, dantes paschalia cycli,
Qui constat denis, annis simul atque novenis.[b]

The comma marks the position of the middle rhyme. He adds thirty-six more lines of this sort.

We have also of Bede's a long poem on the martyr Justin. The beginning may be given to show its form.

Quando Christus Deus noster,
Natus est ex virgine
Edictum imperiale
Per mundum insonuit,
Quatenus totius orbis
Fieret descriptio.
Nimirum quia in carne
Tunc ille apparuit.[c]

Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon who went a self-devoted missionary to Germany, and, after converting one hundred thousand from their idolatry, was murdered in 755, attempted poetry. Some of the verses which he subjoined to his epistolary correspondence yet remain to us. In the following, the middle lines represent an acrostic of the name of the friend to whom he writes. It is in Latin *rhymes*. The acrostic begins when he mentions his friend's name:

Vale frater, florentibus
Juventutis cum viribus:
Ut floreas cum Domino
In sempiterno solio
Qua martyres in cuneo
Regem canunt æthereo
Prophetæ apostolicis
Consonabunt et laudibus

[a] Bedæ Opera, tom. i. p. 476. That Bede had observed the middle, or what have been called Leonine rhymes, is clear from his adducing one as a specimen how poets use the figure Homæoteleuton:

"Poetæ hoc modo;
Pervia divisi, patuerunt cærula ponti."
Tom. i. Op. p. 62.

[b] Bedæ Opera, tom. i. p. 485. Simeon Dun., p. 96, quotes a long poem of Bede, on the day of judgment, in hexameter Latin verse.

[c] Bede, tom. iii. p. 367.

*N*itharde nunc nigerrima
*I*mi cosmi contagia
*T*emne fauste Tartarea
*H*æc contra hunc supplicia
A lta que super æthera
R imari petens agmina
D ominum quæ semper choris
V erum comunt angelicis.
Qua rex regum perpetuo
Cives ditat in sæculo
Iconisma sic cherubin
Ut et gestes cum seraphin
Editus apostolorum
Filius prophetarum
Summa sede et gaudeas
Unaque simul fulgeas
Excelsi regni prœmia
Lucidus captes aurea
In que throno æthereo
Christum laudes preconia.[d]

On another occasion he closes a letter to Pope Gregory with six complimentary hexameters.[e] Boniface is once called by a contemporary the client of Aldhelm.[f]

Among the correspondents of Boniface we find some poets. Leobgitha, an Anglo-Saxon lady, closes a letter to him with these four verses, which are curious, from being *rhymed* hexameters:

Arbiter omnipotens, solus qui cuncta creavit
In regno patris, semper qui lumine fulget.
Quia jugiter flagrans, sic regnet gloria Christi
Illæsum servet semper te jure perenni.[g]

Th' Almighty Judge, who in his Father's realms
Created all, and shines with endless light,
May he in glory reign, and thee preserve
In everlasting safety and delight.

She introduces these verses with a letter, of which a few paragraphs may be selected. "I ask your clemency to condescend to recollect the friendship which some time ago you had for my father. His name was Tinne: he lived in the western parts, and died about eight years ago. I beg you not to refuse to offer up prayers to God for his soul. My mother desires also to be remembered to you. Her name is Ebbe. She is related to you, and lives now very laboriously, and has been long oppressed with great infirmity. I am the only daughter of my parents, and I wish, though I am unworthy, that I may deserve to have you for my brother; because in none of the human race have I so much confidence as in you. I have endeavoured to compose these under-written verses according to the discipline of poetical tradition, not confident with boldness, but desiring to excite the rudiments of your elegant mind, and wanting your help. I learnt this art from the tuition of Eadburga, who did not cease to meditate the sacred law."

Cæna, an Anglo-Saxon archbishop, another of the correspondents of the German missionary, annexes to a letter which he wrote to Lullus, six lines, which are hexameters, but *rhyme* in the middle of each line:

[d] Maxima Bib. Patrum, xiii. p. 70. They contain nothing worth translating.
[e] Ibid. p. 126. [f] Ibid. p. 93. [g] Ibid. p. 83.

Vivendo felix Christi laurate triumphis
Vita tuis, seclo specimen, charissime cœlo,
Justitiæ cultor, verus pietatis amator,
Defendens vigili sanctas tutamine mandras
Pascua florigeris pandens prædulcia campis
Judice centenos portans venienti maniplos.[h]

There is no more of his poetry extant.

Ethilwald, the friend and pupil of Aldhelm, was also a poet in this period. There is a letter from Aldhelm to his beloved son and pupil Æthelwald yet extant. There is another from the disciple to his master, conceived in terms of great affection and respect, in which he says that he has sent three poems in two different species of poetry; one in heroic verse, the hexameter and pentameter, in seventy verses; another not formed on quantity, but consisting of eight syllables in every line, and one and the same letter, adapted to similar cross paths of lines; the third made in similar lines of verses and syllables, on the transmarine journey of Boniface.[i]

There are no poems immediately subjoined to the letter, but within three pages some poems follow which seem to be some of those described by Ethilwald. We infer this, because the last purports to be written by Ethilwald,[j] and the one preceding it speaks of Aldhelm,[k] as if it were addressed to him. Both are in the singular sort of verse above described.

This singular versification seems to be a peculiar alliteration, which these passages illustrate:

Summum satorem solia
Sedet qui per æthralia—
Cuncta cernens cacumine
Cœlorum summo lumine—
Sacro sancta sublimiter
Suffragans manus fortiter.—
Caput candescens crinibus
Cingunt capilli nitidis:—

Curvato colli cervicem
Capitis atque verticem,
Titubanti tutamina
Tribuat per solamina
Neque nocet nitoribus
Nemerosis cespitibus
Ruris rigati rivulo
Roscidi roris sedulo—

[h] Maxima Bib. Pat. p. 111.

[i] Ibid. 13, 93.

[j] Vale, vale, fidissime,
Phile Christi charissime
Quem in cordis cubiculo
Cingo amoris vinculo—
Salutatis supplicibus
Æthelwaldi cum vocibus.

Farewell, farewell, most faithful friend, most dear to Christ; whom in the chamber of my heart I surround with the bond of love—the humble voice of Ethilwald having saluted thee. Maxima Bib. Pat. p. 98.

[k] Althelmum nam altissimum
Cano atque clarissimum.

For I sing Aldhelm, the most lofty and most illustrious. Ibid. p. 98.

These poems are more remarkable for these syllabic difficulties of versification than for any other quality, except the absence of the true poetical genius.

The rhymed poems which we have cited from Aldhelm, Bede, Boniface, Leobgitha, Cæna, and Ethilwald, all Anglo-Saxons who wrote before and between 700 and 750, show that the use of rhyme was a favourite amusement among the Anglo-Saxons, at this period, in their Latin poetry.

Alcuin was another poet who contributed to adorn the eighth century. Some of his poems have been printed among those of Walafrid Strabo, which his editor, Du Chesne, has noticed. He has left many poetical compositions, among which his verses to Charlemagne, and his religious and moral poetry, form the principal part. He sometimes rhymes, as in this poem, of which the loose measure reminds us of Swift's petition:

Quam imprimis speciosa quadriga: homo, leo, vitulus et aquila.
Septuaginta unum per capitula colloquuntur de domino paria.
In secunda subsequuntur protinus homo, leo loquitur et vitulus
Quibus inest ordinate positus decimus atque novem numerus.[l]

Sixteen more lines follow, rhyming in the same manner.

The following poem we may call a religious sonnet. I quote it because two rhyme together at different distances, I think it an early specimen of that sort of *rhyme* which afterwards became improved into the sonnet:

Qui cœli cupit portas intrare patentes,
Sæpius hunc pedibus intret et ipse suis.
Hæc est perpetuæ venienti porta salutis,
Hoc est lucis iter et via jam veniæ.
Hæc domus alma Dei, hic sunt thesaura tonantis,
Sanctorum multæ reliquiæ que patrum.
Idcirco ingrediens devota mente viator,
Sterne solo membra, pectore carpe polum.
Hic Deus, hic sancti tibi spes, hic terra salutis.
Sit conjuncta tuo pectore firma fides.[m]

Who seeks to enter heaven's expanded gates,
Must oft within these sacred walls attend;
Here is the gate of ever-during bliss,
The path of light, of pardon, and of peace,
The house of God, the treasures of his power,
And numerous relics of the holiest men.
With mind devoted, traveller, enter here,
Here spread your limbs, and fill your heart with heav'n!
Here sacred hopes, Here God himself awaits thee,
If steadfast faith thy humble mind control.

In another poem, on a lady building a temple, who was one of the correspondents of Boniface, he mentions Ina, the Saxon king, in his way:

[l] Alb. Opera. ed. Du Ch. p. 1686. [m] Ibid. 1697.

A third ruler received the supreme sceptre,
Whom the nations call In with uncertain cognomen,
Who now governs by right the kingdom of the Saxons.

There is another, which seems to have been meant to rhyme at different distances:

O mortalis homo mortis reminiscere casus
Nil pecude distas si tantum prospera captas.
Omnia quæ cernis variarum gaudia rerum
Umbra velut tenuis veloci fine recedunt.
Præcave non felix ne te dum nescis et audis
Quassans præcipiti dissolvat turbine finis.
Porrige poscenti victum, vel contege nudum
Et te post obitum sic talia facta beabunt.[n]

Mortal! the casualties of death remember!
If wealth alone we seek, we are but cattle.
Know! all the various joys which charm below,
Like a light-flying shade will soon depart.
Beware! lest in the hour of careless mirth
The final whirlwind shake thee into ruin.
Go, feed the hungry and the naked clothe!
Such deeds will bless thee in the grave we loathe.

Some of his poetry is pleasing. The following is his address to his cell, when he quitted it for the world:[o]

O my lov'd cell, sweet dwelling of my soul,
Must I for ever say, Dear spot, farewell!
Round thee their shades the sounding branches spread,
A little wood, with flowering honours gay;

[n] Alb. Opera. ed. Du. Ch. p. 1721.

[o] O mea cella mihi habitatio dulcis amata
Semper in æternum, O mea cella, vale.
Undique te cingit ramis resonantibus arbos
Silvula florigeris semper onusta comis.
Prata salutiferis florebunt omnia et herbis
Quas medici quærit dextra salutis ope.
Flumina te cingunt florentibus undique ripis,
Retia piscator qua sua tendit ovans.
Pomiferis redolent ramis tua claustra per hortos,
Lilia cum rosulis candida mixta rubris.
Omne genus volucrum matutinas personat odas
Atque Creatorum laudat in ore deum.
In te personuit quondam vox alma magistri,
Quæ sacrosophiæ tradidit ore libros.
In te temporibus certis laus sancta tonantis
Pacificos sonuit vocibus atque animis.
Te mea cella modo lacrymosis plango camœnis,
Atque gemens casus pectore plango tuos.
Tu subito quoniam fugisti carmina satum
Atque ignota manus te modo tota tenet.
Te modo nec Flaccus nec fatis Homerus habebit
Nec pueri Musas per tua tecta canunt.
Vertitur omne decus sceli sic namque repente,
Omnia mutantur ordinibus variis,

The blooming meadows wave their healthful herbs,
Which hands experienc'd cull to serve mankind;
By thee, mid flowery banks, the waters glide
Where the glad fishermen their nets extend;
Thy gardens shine with apple-bending boughs,
Where the white lilies mingle with the rose;
Their morning hymns the feather'd tribes resound,
And warble sweet their great Creator's praise.
Dear cell! in thee my tutor's gentle voice
The lore of sacred wisdom often urg'd;
In thee at stated times the Thunderer's praise
My heart and voice with eager tribute paid.
Lov'd cell! with tearful songs I shall lament thee,
With groaning breast I shall regret thy charms;
No more thy poet's lay thy shades will cheer,
No more will Homer or thy Flaccus hail thee;
No more my boys beneath thy roof will sing,
But unknown hands thy solitudes possess.
Thus sudden fades the glory of the age,
Thus all things vanish in perpetual change.
Naught rests eternal or immutable:
The gloomy night obscures the sacred day;
The chilling winter plucks fair autumn's flowers;
The mournful storm the placid sea confounds;
Youth chases wild the palpitating stag,
While age incumbent totters on its staff.
Ah! wretched we! who love thee, fickle world!
Thou fliest our grasp and hurriest us to ruin.

One of Alcuin's fancies in versification was to close his second line with half of the first:

Præsul amate precor, hac tu diverte viator
Sis memor Albini ut, præsul amate precor.[p]

There are several poems, some short, others longer, in this kind of composition.

Many of Alcuin's poems are worthy of a perusal. Some exhibit the flowers of poetry, and some attempt tenderness and sensibility with effect. They are all distinguished by an easy and flowing versification. Several poems are addressed to his pupil Charlemagne, and mention him under the name of David, with a degree of affection which seldom approaches the throne. The adulation of a courtly poet, however, sometimes appears very gross, as in these lines, in which, alluding to Charlemagne's love

Nil manet æternum, nil immutabile vere est,
  Obscurat sacrum nox tenebrosa diem.
Decutit et flores subito hyems frigida pulcros
  Perturbat placidum et tristior aura mare.
Quæ campis cervos agitabat sacra juventus
  Incumbit fessos nunc baculo senior.
Nos miseri cur te fugitivum mundus amamus?
  Tu fugis a nobis semper ubique ruens.
Alb. Opera. ed. Du Ch. p. 1731.

[p] Ibid. p. 1740.

of poetry, he ventures to address him by the venerable name of the Chian bard:

> Dulcis Homere vale, valeat tua vita per ævum,
> Semper in æternum dulcis Homere vale.

This appears in the same poem with two other childish lines:

> Semper ubique vale, dic, dic, dulcissime David,
> David amor Flacci, semper ubique vale.[q]

One of his poems consists of six stanzas, each of six lines. The two first are quoted, because this poem is very like one of the most common modes of versifying in the Anglo-Saxon poetry:

> Te homo laudet,
> Alme Creator,
> Pectore mente,
> Pacis amore,
> Non modo parva,
> Pars quia mundi est.
> Sed tibi sancte
> Solus imago,
> Magna Creator,
> Mentis in arce
> Pectore puro
> Dum pie vivit.[r]

Of the other Latin poetry of the Anglo-Saxons, little need be said. We have a few fragments of some authors, but they deserve a small degree of consideration. Malmsbury has preserved to us part of a poem made on Athelstan, probably by a contemporary, of which the only curiosity is, that it is a mixture of final rhymes and middle rhymes. Where the poet ceases to rhyme at the end of his lines, he proceeds to rhyme in the middle; and where he desists from middle rhymes, he inserts his final ones.[s]

There is some poetry on Edgar preserved by Ethelwerd;[t] and the Vedastne MS. of the life of Dunstan contains some rhyming lines.[u]

[q] Alb. Opera. ed. Du Ch. p. 1742, 1743.

[r] Ibid. p. 780.

[s] The twelve first lines may be quoted as a specimen:

> Regia progenies produxit nobile stemma
> Cum tenebris nostris illuxit splendida gemma,
> Magnus Æthelstanus patriæ decus, orbita recti,
> Illustris probitas de vero nescia flecti.
> Ad patris edictum datus in documenta scholarum,
> Extimuit rigidos ferula crepitante magistros:
> Et potans avidis doctrinæ mella medullis
> Decurrit teneros, sed non pueriliter annos
> Mox adolescentis vestitus flore juventæ
> Armorum studium tractabat, patre jubente.
> Sed nec in hoc segnem senserunt bellica jura
> Idquoque posterius juravit publica cura.
>
> Malms. lib. ii. p. 49.

[t] Ethelw. lib. iv. c. 9.

[u] Acta Sanct. May.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the general Literature of the Anglo-Saxons.

That every nation improves as fast as the means and causes of the improvement within it, and the external agencies that are operating upon it can effect or allow, all anterior history proves; but the modes and paths of the progress of each country will be as different as its circumstances are dissimilar: in one age or state some directions will be taken peculiar to itself, and distinct from those of its predecessors or contemporaries. In their paths of excellence, it may be pausing, but it will be found to be forcing other channels of its own. The movement is always either preparation for advance, or a diffusion of attained improvements, or clear and steady progression. If its career seems on some points to be questionable, or retrograde, it will, on a more scrutinizing examination, be found to be decided and prosperous in others.

The Anglo-Saxon nation is an instance that may be adduced in verification of these principles. It did not attain a general or striking eminence in literature. But society wants other blessings besides these. The agencies that affected our ancestry took a different course: they impelled them towards that of political melioration, the great fountain of human improvement; and during the period of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, laid firmly the foundations of that political constitution, and began the erection of that great social fabric, which Danes and Normans afterwards did not overthrow but contributed to consolidate and complete.

There were no causes in action of sufficient energy at that time to make the Anglo-Saxons a literary people. They had not, like the Gauls or Britons, the benefit of Roman instruction, to educate them; for both the Roman legions and settlers had quitted the island before they came. From the Britons they could gain nothing, because assailing them as invaders, and enslaving or exterminating them, there was no chance of any sympathy of mental cultivation. Nor were the Britons much qualified to have been their intellectual teachers. Luxury, civil factions, merciless wars with each other, and the Scotch and Irish depredations, were fast barbarizing the island, while the Saxons were fighting for its occupation. The songs of the British bards were engrossed by encomiums on martial slaughter, drunken carousals, or the mystical traditions of expiring Druidism, in which but a few

gleams of intelligent thought were at any time intermixed. Their historical events were twisted into the strange form of unnatural triads; and though they possessed many adages of moral wisdom and acute and satirical observation of life and manners, yet aphorisms without reasoning are but the sentences of a dictator, which impress the memory without cultivating the understanding; and even these could rarely benefit the Saxons, from the extreme dissimilarity to their own, of the language in which they were preserved. Hence, till Gregory planted Christianity in England, there was no means or causes of intellectual improvement to our fierce and active ancestors.

But Christianity was necessarily taught at first as a system of belief of certain doctrines, and of practice of certain rites and duties. The length of time requisite to inculcate and imbibe these left no opportunity for the diffusion of literature. The monks from Rome introduced some; but they had not only to bring it into the island, but to raise among the Anglo-Saxons the state of mind and capacity requisite to understand it, as well as the desire to attain it. No effects can take place without adequate causes. It was only among the monasteries that the new taste could be at first introduced, and among that part of the nation which devoted itself to religion. The rest neither felt the want of it, nor the value, nor had the leisure or the means of attending to it. The great majority of the population was in the working or servile state; and husbandry being imperfectly understood or practised, too much labour was required to raise the produce they needed, and too little was obtained, with all their efforts, to give that leisure and comfort without which no nation or individual will study. The higher classes being all independent, and either assailing or depredating on others, or watching and defending themselves, or pursuing their vindictive feuds, or attending their kings and chiefs in expeditions, witena-gemots, and festivities, or employing their time in learning the use of arms, or in pilgrimages, penances, and superstitions, or attending county or baronial courts, performing suit of service, and transacting that frequent civil business of life which their free institutions were always creating, had as little surplus leisure for the cultivation of literature as the vassal, peasant, or the interior domestic. Their dependent jurisdiction and franchises furnished also their thegns, or barons with continual employment. The clergy only were accessible to it; and these were, as a body, too poor to have books from which to learn it, and in their parochial villages had neither inducement nor opportunities to gain it. It was into the monasteries only that, under the circumstances of the day, the liberal studies could make any entrance. Nor at first even here. The monks were long occupied in building their churches and cloisters, and putting their ground in a state of cultivation, and of

raising from it the means of subsistence. Most of them for some time could scarcely do this. It was only as some became gradually affluent that they could afford to purchase manuscripts, or were at leisure to study them. Literature was not then generally wanted for preferment, business, distinction, occupation, or amusement in the world. There was too much for all classes to do and suffer. But as the more favoured monasteries acquired wealth, libraries, and leisure, some few individuals began to derive enjoyment from literature; and as fast as the means of obtaining it accrued, the taste and pursuit of it arose and was diffused. The neglect of it did not proceed from the barbarism or incapacity of the Anglo-Saxon mind, but from its energies being necessarily absorbed by more indispensable occupations.[a] Our ancestors were clever and active men in all the transactions and habits of their day, and were exerting in all their concerns as much awakened intellect as their gross system of feeding and habits of drinking permitted to be developed. We have estimated them too low, because we have too highly appreciated the general condition of Roman society, and too much compared our forefathers with ourselves. Absence of literature has been too often mistaken for absence of intellect. It is usually forgotten that illiteracy has been the general character of the mass of all people, whether Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, or Roman, as much as of the Goths or Anglo-Saxons. In the most celebrated countries of antiquity it was a portion only, and that but a small one, of their population which possessed either books or literature. It is only in our own times that these are becoming the property of nations at large. When our Anglo-Saxons applied to literature they showed the strength of their intellectual powers, and a rapidity of progress that has never been surpassed. Bede, Alcuin, and Erigena may be compared with any of the Roman or Greek authors who appeared after the third century. But that within a hundred years after knowledge, for the first time, dawned upon the Anglo-Saxons, such a man as Bede should have arisen, writing so soundly on every branch of study that had been pursued by the Romans, and forming in his works a kind of cyclopedia of almost all that was then known, is a phenomenon which it is easier to praise than to parallel.

The natural direction of the Anglo-Saxon mind, when first led

[a] I observe a passage in Bede which shows that even the Anglo-Saxon clergy made their literature subservient to their business. He says, "I have known *many clerici* placed in school, for this chiefly, that they might acquire a knowledge of secular letters, which teach their auditors most studiously to seek earnal things; to contend for obtaining the glory of the world; and to learn the subtleties of syllogisms and arguments, that they may triumph over the unlearned, who are circumvented with a verbosity of this sort." Again, "As many scholars exercise themselves in *secular letters* for the love of *secular* life, so I shall exercise myself in sacred letters." Bed. Op. vol. viii. p. 1063, 1064.

to study, was necessarily to religious literature, because its tuition and its tutors were of this description. To attain knowledge, it was requisite that our ancestors should become acquainted with the Latin language; and this was the first state of their intellectual progress.

When St. Augustin had entered England teaching Christianity, the pope sent to him many books, some of which are now extant in our public libraries. This missionary, and the monks who accompanied him, occasioned a desire of knowledge to spread among the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century. In a short time afterwards, Sigebert, one of the princes of East Anglia, imbibed this feeling during his residence in France, to which he had fled from his brother Redwald. When he attained the crown of East Anglia, he established a school in his dominions for the instruction of youth, in imitation of those which he had seen among the Franks. He was assisted in this happy effort of civilization by Bishop Felix, who came to him out of Kent, and who supplied him with teachers from that part of the octarchy which Christianity and literature had first enlightened.[b]

At this period Ireland was distinguished for its religious literature; and many of the Anglo-Saxons, both of the higher and lower ranks, retired into it to pursue their studies or their devotions. While some assumed the monastic life, others, seeking variety of knowledge, went from one master's cell to another. The hospitable Irish received them all, supplied them with daily food, with books, and gratuitous instruction.[c]

Many persons in England are mentioned at this time by Bede as reading and studying the Holy Scriptures. To the Anglo-Saxons, as to all nations, the Jewish and Christian Scriptures must have been invaluable accessions. From these we learn the most rational chronology of the earth, the most correct history of the early states of the East, the most intelligent piety, the wisest morality, and every style of literary composition. Perhaps no other collection of human writings can be selected, which, in so moderate a compass, presents so much intellectual benefit to mankind. We shall feel all their value and importance to our ancestors, if we compare them with the Edda, in which the happiest efforts of the Northern genius are deposited.[d]

It has been mentioned, that Alfred lamented very impressively the happy times which England had known before his reign, and the wisdom, knowledge, and books which then abounded.

The period of intellectual cultivation to which he alluded began to dawn when Christianity was first planted; but was advanced

[b] Bede, iii. 18. [c] Bede, iii. c. 28.

[d] No one who has read them can put the Koran, the Vedas, the Puranas, or the Zendavesta, in competition with the Scriptures, unless he has that unfortunate taste for comparative nonsense which we should lament rather than censure.

to its meridian lustre towards the end of the seventh century, by two ecclesiastics, whom the pope sent into England.

About the year 668, the English archbishop, who went to Rome for the papal sanction, happening to die there, the pope resolved to supply his dignity by a person of his own choice. He selected for this purpose Adrian, an abbot of a monastery near Naples, and an African; the unambitious Adrian declined the honour, and recommended Theodore, a monk of Rome, but a native of Tarsus, the Grecian city illustrious by the birth of St. Paul. The pope approved his choice, and at the age of sixty-six Theodore was ordained archbishop of Canterbury. His friend Adrian accompanied him to England.

Nothing could be more fortunate for the Anglo-Saxon literature than the settlement of these men in England. Both were well versed in sacred and profane literature, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek and Latin languages. Their conversation and exhortations excited among the Anglo-Saxons a great emulation for literary studies. A crowd of pupils soon gathered round them, and, besides the Scriptures and divinity, they taught the Greek and Latin languages, astronomy, arithmetic, and the art of Latin poetry;[e] a remarkable instance of the natural affinity of the human mind for knowledge, and of the contagious sympathy with which it always spreads when neither the civil nor ecclesiastical powers oppose it.

Theodore held his archiepiscopal station twenty-one years. He appointed Adrian to the monastery of St. Peter at Canterbury, who lived there thirty-nine years; and their presence made Kent the fountain of knowledge to all the rest of England. Bede extols the happy times which the island enjoyed under their tuition, and mentions that some of their scholars were alive in his time, as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own.[f]

[e] Bede, iv. c. 1.—We have a curious specimen how the Anglo-Saxons pronounced Greek, in their manner of repeating the Lord's prayer in that language. In the Cotton Library a MS. has preserved this prayer in the Greek language, written in Saxon characters. It is probably a correct example of the pronunciation of Greek as introduced into England by Adrian and Theodore in the seventh century; but it certainly shows, in the division of the words, how little the writer understood of the language. I will transcribe it, placing the original by its side:

Pater imon oynys uranis agiastituto onomansu. elthetu ebasilias genithito to theli mansu. os senu uranu Keptasgis tonartonimon. tonepiussion. dos simin simero Keaffi simin. to offilemata imon oskeimis affiomen. tus ophiletas imon Kemies ininkis imas. ispcras mon. ala ryse imas aptou poniru.—Ms. Cott. Lib. Galba, A. 18. The character which I express by the K seems placed for Καὶ.

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ονωμα σου. Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημα σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπι τῆς γῆς. Τὸν αρτον ἡμῶν, τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σημερον. Καὶ αφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειληματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεις ἀφίεμεν τοις ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν. Καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ημᾶς εἰς πειρασμον, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ημᾶς ἀπο τοῦ πονηρου.

[f] Bede, iv. c. 2.

Among the men to whom Anglo-Saxon literature was greatly indebted, Benedict, who founded the abbey at Weremouth, must be mentioned with applause. He went several times from England to Rome, and brought back with him an innumerable quantity of books of every description, given to him by his friends, or purchased at no small expense. One of his last instructions was to keep with care the library that he had collected, and not to let it be spoilt or scattered by negligence.[g] The importance of his attention to the arts is also noticed.

Egbert, who was archbishop of York in 712, had celebrity in his day. He was descended from the royal family of Northumbria, and is highly extolled by Malmsbury as an armoury of all the liberal arts. He founded a very noble library at York. Alcuin speaks with gratitude of this circumstance: "Give me (says he, in a letter to Charlemagne) those exquisite books of erudition which I had in my own country by the good and devout industry of my master Egbert, the archbishop." To this Egbert our Bede addresses a long letter, which remains.[h] We have one treatise of Egbert remaining: it is a series of answers to some ecclesiastical questions.

Wilfrid was another benefactor to Anglo-Saxon literature, by favouring the collection of books; he also ordered the four Evangelists to be written, of purest gold, on purple-coloured parchments, for the benefit of his soul, and he had a case made for them of gold, adorned with precious stones.[i]

We have a catalogue of the books in the library at York, collected chiefly by Egbert. They consisted of the following:

Ancient fathers:

Jerom,	Fulgentius,
Hilarius,	Basil,
Ambrosius,	Chrysostom,
Austin,	Lactantius,
Athanasius,	Eutychius,
Gregory,	Clemens,
Leo,	Paulinus,

Ancient classics:

Aristotle,	Lucan,
Pliny,	Boetius,
Cicero,	Cassiodorus,
Virgil,	Orosius,
Statius,	Pompeius.

Ancient grammarians and scholiasts:

Probus,	Servius,
Donatus,	Pompeius,
Priscian,	Comminianus.

[g] Bede, Hist. Abb. 293–295. [h] Bede, 305. [i] Eddius, Vita Wilf.

Other poets:

Victorinus,	Fortunatus,[j]
Sedulius,	Prosper,
Juvencus,	Arator.

This was the library which Alcuin calls the treasures of wisdom which his beloved master Egbert left, and of which he says to Charlemagne, "If it shall please your wisdom, I will send some of our boys, who may copy from thence whatever is necessary, and carry back into France the flowers of Britain; that the garden may not be shut up in York, but the fruits of it may be placed in the Paradise of Tours."[k]

The studies which were pursued at York may be also stated, as those which they who cultivated literature generally attended to.

They were,

Grammar,	Astronomy,
Rhetoric,	and
Poetry,	Natural Philosophy;

which are thus described:

"The harmony of the sky, the labour of the sun and moon, the five zones, the seven wandering planets. The laws, risings, and setting of the stars, and the aerial motions of the sea; earthquakes; the natures of man, cattle, birds, and wild beasts; their various species and figures. The sacred Scriptures."[l]

These were the subjects of the scholastic education at York in the eighth century.

But though literature in the seventh and eighth centuries was striking its roots into every part of England, yet, from the causes already noticed, it was principally in the monasteries. The illiteracy of the secular part of society continued: even some of our kings were unable to write. Wihtred, king of Kent, about the year 700, says at the end of a charter, "I have put the sign of the holy cross, pro ignorantia litterarum,[m] on account of my ignorance of writing." Among the kings of the seventh and eighth century, however, some exceptions appear: there are several letters extant from the Anglo-Saxon kings at this period,[n] which show some mental cultivation. Of these sovereigns, none were more distinguished than Alfred, of Northumbria, whose voluntary exile in Ireland for the sake of study, and whose literary attainments and celebrity, we have already recorded.[o] But the improvements of those who sought ecclesiastical duties must have operated with considerable effect on all who were within

[j] 3 Gale, p. 730.
[k] Malmsb. i. 24–26.
[l] 3 Gale, 728.
[m] Astle's Charters, No. 1.
[n] See Mag. Bib. Pat. xvi. 64, 82, 83, 88.
[o] See our first vol. p. 257.

the circle of their influence; they mingled with every order of society; they were everywhere respected, and often emulated.

From among the Anglo-Saxon students in the century preceding Alfred the Great, we may select for our peculiar notice, as best illustrating the literary progress of the nation, Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin.

Aldhelmus, as he calls himself in his Latin poems, or, as Alfred spells it, Ealdhelm,[p] Old Helmet, whose poems we have noticed before, was of princely extraction; a kinsman of Ina was his father. He received his first tuition from the Adrian already noticed, and he continued his studies at Malmsbury, where Maildulf, an Irishman, had founded a monastery. He became thoroughly versed in Greek and Latin under this tutor, who, charmed by the sylvan beauties of the place, led a hermit's life there, and supported himself by teaching scholars. He returned to Kent, and resumed his studies under Adrian, till his feverish state of health compelled him to relinquish them. He mentions some of these circumstances in a kind letter to his old preceptor.[q]

"I confess, my dearest, whom I embrace with the tenderness of pure affection, that when, about three years ago, I left your social intercourse and withdrew from Kent, my littleness still was inflamed with an ardent desire for your society. I should have thought of it again, as it is my wish to be with you, if the course of things and the change of time would have suffered me; and if divers obstacles had not prevented me. The same weakness of my corporeal infirmity boiling within my emaciating limbs, which formerly compelled me to return home, when, after the first elements, I had rejoined you again, still delays me."

In another letter he expresses his love of study, and mentions the objects to which his attention was directed. These were the Roman jurisprudence, the metres of Latin poetry, arithmetic, astronomy, and its superstitious child, astrology.[r]

He became abbot of Malmsbury, and his government was distinguished by the numerous and splendid donations of land with which the great men of his time endowed his monastery. In 705 he was made bishop of Sherborn, and in 709 he died.

It is amusing to read the miracles that were ascribed to him. A beam of wood was once lengthened by his prayers; the ruins of the church he built, though open to the skies, were never wet with rain during the worst weather; one of his garments, when at Rome, once raised itself high in the air, and was kept there a while, self-suspended; a child, nine days old, at his command, once spake to clear the calumniated pope from the imputation of

[p] Alfred's Bede, v. c. 18.

[q] Alfred's Bede, v. c. 18. Malms. de Pont. 3 Gale, 338.

[r] 3 Gale, 338. Henry has given almost the whole of it in his history, vol. iv. p. 14.

being its father.[s] Such were the effusions of monastic fancy; which our ancestors were once enamoured to read, and eager to believe.

We will now pass on to his literary character.

He, while abbot, addressed a letter to Geraint, king of Cornwall, whom he styles "the most glorious lord governing the sceptre of the western kingdom," on the subject of the proper day of celebrating Easter, which yet exists;[t] but which has nothing in it to deserve further notice. He addressed a learned book to Alfred, the intelligent king of Northumbria, on the dignity of the number 7, on paternal charity, on the nature of insensible things which are used in metaphors, on the rules of prosody, on the metres of poetry.[u]

Aldhelm was highly estimated by Malmsbury, in the twelfth century, who places him above both Bede and Alcuin. Bede, his contemporary, describes him as a man in every respect most learned; neat in his style, and wonderfully skilled in secular and ecclesiastical literature. Alfred translates Bede's "nitidus in sermone" into "on wordum hluttor and scinende," clear and shining in his words.[v] Malmsbury closes his panegyric on his style with asserting, that from its acumen you would think it to be Greek; from its splendour Roman; and from its pomp, English.[w] After these lavish commendations, it will be necessary to consider their applicability.

His letter to Eahfrid contains a most elaborate specimen of Latin alliteration. Fifteen words begin with the same letter in the first paragraph.

"Primitus (pantorum procerum pretorumque pio potissimum paternoque præsertim privilegio) panegyricum poemata que passim prosatori sub polo promulgantes stridula vocum symphonia ac melodiæ cantilenæque carmine modulaturi hymnizenus."

In the same letter we have afterwards, "torrenda tetræ tortionis in tartara trusit." The whole epistle exhibits a series of bombastic amplification.[x]

His treatise in praise of virginity is his principal prose work, and is praised by Malmsbury for its rhetorico lepore. It is unfortunate for human genius, that the taste and judgment of mankind vary in every age, and that so defective are our criterions of literary merit, that even in the same age, there are nearly as many critical opinions as there are individuals who assume a right to judge. Some things, however, please more permanently and more universally than others; and some kinds of merit, like that of Aldhelm, are only adapted to flourish at a particular period.

[s] 3 Gale, 351. [t] 16 Mag. Bib. Pat. p. 65. [u] 3 Gale, 339.
[v] Alfred's Bede, v. 18. [w] 3 Gale, 342. [x] Usher Syll. Hib. Ep. p. 37.

This singular treatise contains a profusion of epithets, new-created words, paraphrases, and repetitions, conveyed in long and intricate periods. He clouds his meaning by his gorgeous rhetoric:[y] never content with illustrating his sentiment by an adapted simile, he is perpetually abandoning his subject to pursue his imagery. He illustrates his illustrations till he has forgotten both their meaning and applicability. Hence his style is an endless tissue of figures, which he never leaves till he has converted every metaphor into a simile, and every simile into a wearisome episode. In an age of general ignorance, in which the art of criticism was unknown, his diction pleased and informed by its magnificent exuberance. His imagery was valued for its minuteness, because, although usually unnecessary to its subject, and to us disgusting, as a mere mob of rhetorical figures, yet, as these long details contained considerable information for an uncultivated mind, and sometimes presented pictures which, in a poem, might not have been uninteresting,[z] it was read with curiosity and praised with enthusiasm.

That the style of Aldhelm's prose work is the injudicious adoption of the violent metaphors and figures of northern poetry so like the swollen style of modern Persia, the following instances, but a sample of several pages of the book, will show; we have not only,

"The golden necklace of the virtues; the white jewels of merit; the purple flowers of modesty; the transparent eyeballs of virginal bashfulness; the grapes of iniquity; the swan-like hoariness of age; the shrubbery of pride; the torrid cautery of the dogmas; the phlebotomy of the Divine Word; unbarring the folding doors of dumb taciturnity; the helmet of grammar; the tenacious knot of memory; the importunate dragon of gluttony; the shining lamps of chastity burning with the oil of modesty; the plenteous plantations of the apple-tree fecundating the mind with flourishing leaf; and the fetid sink of impurity lamentably overwhelming the ships of the soul"—

But we have also long paragraphs of confused figures—

"O illustrious grace of virginity, which as a rose rises from twigs of briars, reddens with a purple flower, and never putrifies in the dire decay of mortality, although it is tied to the weary frailness of death, and grows old with down-bending and crooked age—"

"The leaky bark of our feeble ingenuity, shaken by the whirlwind of a dire tempest, may attain late its port of silence by laborious rowing of the arms; yet we trust that the sails of our yards, swelling with the blasts of every wind, will, notwithstanding their broken cables, navigate happily between the

[y] Yet its editor, Henry Wharton, in 1693, praises its eximiam elegantiam. Aldhelm addresses it to several religious ladies, his friends; as Hildelitha, Justina, Cuthberga, Osburga, Aldgida, Hidburga, Burrigida, Eulalia, Scholastica, and Tecla. S. 1.

[z] It frequently digresses into such descriptions as this:—"The various-coloured glory of the peacock excels in the perfect rotundity of its circles. Beauty in its feathers at one time assumes a saffron tinge, at another glows with purple grace; it now shines in cerulean blue, and now radiates like the yellow gold."

Scyllas of solecism and the gulf of barbarism, dreading the rocky collisions of vain-glory and the incautious whirlpools of self-love."

"Resembling the industry of the most sagacious bees which, when the dewy dawn appears, and the beams of the most limpid sun arise, pour the thick armies of their dancing crowds from the temple over the open fields; now lying in the honey-bearing leaves of the marigolds, or in the purple flowers of the mallows, they suck the nectar, drop by drop, with their beaks; now flying round the yellowing willows and purplish tops of the broom, they carry their plunder on numerous thighs and burthened legs, from which they make their waxen castles; now crowding about the round berries of the ivy, and the light springs of the flourishing linden tree, they construct the multiform machine of their honeycombs with angular and open cells, whose artificial structure the excellent poet with natural eloquence has sung in catalectic verse; so, unless I mistake, your memorizing ingenuity of mind, in like manner wandering through the flourishing fields of letters, runs with a bibulous curiosity."[a]

Every page exhibits some strong effusions of fancy and high poetical feeling, but overloading their subjects; frequently inapplicable; never placed with taste, nor limited by judgment, nor singly and distinctly used. The whole is a confused medley of great and exuberant genius, wasting and burlesqueing uncommon powers.[b]

The celebrated Bede, surnamed the Venerable,[c] was a priest in the monastery at Weremouth, in the kingdom of Northumbria. His simple life will be best told in his own unaffected narration. He was born in 673.

"Born in the territory of the same monastery, when I was seven years of age, I was, by the care of my relation, committed to the reverend abbot Benedict to be educated, and then to Ceolfrid. I passed all the time of my life in the residence of this monastery, and gave all my labours to the meditation of the Scriptures, and to the observance of regular discipline, and the daily care of singing in the church. It was always sweet to me to learn to teach and to write.

[a] Dr. Parr has condescended, in our days, to mention "the battering ram of political controversies;" but Aldhelm preceded him with the figure: "the bulwark of the Catholic faith, shaken by the balistæ of secular argument, and overthrown by the battering rams of atrocious ingenuity." S. 36.

[b] His encomiastical periphrasis on the Virgin, though placed as prose, seems meant to rhyme. It is in the same rhetorical style. He says, that she,

Beata Maria
Virgo perpetua;
Hortus conclusus,
Fons signatus:
Virgula radicis:
Gerula floris:
Aurora solis:
Nurus patris.
Genetrix et Germana
Filii simul que sponsa;
Sanctarum socrus animarum,
Supernorum regina civium—
—Obsidem seculi,
Monarcham mundi,
Rectorem poli,
Redemptorem soli;
Archangelo promentrante,
Paracleto adumbrante;
S. 40.

deserved to be expatiated upon.

[c] They who desire to know when the name Venerable was applied to Bede, may consult the Appendix to Smith's Bede, p. 106.

"In my 19th year I was made deacon; in my 30th, a priest; both by the ministry of the most reverend bishop John, by the direction of the abbot Ceolfrid.

"From the time of my receiving the order of priesthood, to the 59th year of my life, I have employed myself in briefly noting from the works of the venerable fathers these things on the Holy Scriptures for the necessities of me and mine, and in adding something to the form of their sense and interpretation."

The works which he then enumerates are,

"Commentaries on most of the books of the Old and New Testament, and the Apocrypha.
Two books of Homilies.
A book of Letters to different persons; one on the Six Ages—on the Tabernacles of the Children of Israel—on a passage in Isaiah—on the Bissextile—on the Equinox according to Anatolius.
The Life and Passion of St. Felix the Confessor, translated into prose from the metrical work of Paulinus.
The Life and Passion of St. Anastasius, corrected from a bad translation of the Greek.
The Life of St. Cuthbert, in verse and prose.
The History of the Abbots, Benedict, Ceolfrid, and Huaetberct.
The Ecclesiastical History of England.
A Martyrology.
A book of Hymns in various metre or rhythm.
A book of Epigrams in heroic or elegiac metre.
Book on the Nature of Things and Times.
Another book on Times.
A book on Orthography.
A book on the Metrical Art.
And a book on the Tropes and Figures used in Scripture."[d]

Besides these works, Bede wrote others, on Grammar, Arithmetic, Music, Astronomy, and Astrology.

His theological works occupy nearly six folio volumes out of eight. He has commented on every book of the Scriptures, from Genesis to the Revelations; and he introduces on each as much learning and knowledge as any one individual could then, by the most patient research, accumulate.

His treatise on the Trinity is a commentary on the tract of Boethius on that subject. His homilies and sermons occupy the seventh volume. His meditations on the last words of our Saviour display great devotional sensibility.

All his remarks show a calm and clear good sense, a straightforward mind, occasionally misled to imitate or adopt many of the allegorical interpretations of the Greek fathers, but usually judging soundly. They evince a most extensive reading, and presented his age with the best selections from the best authors on the passages which he expounds.

His moral taste and wisdom appears in his excellent selection of moral sentences from the works of the ancients. He has col-

[d] Smith's Bede, p. 222.

lected all that was known of the theory and practice of chronology, of natural philosophy, of the popular part of astronomy, and of the theory and practice of music; the laws of Latin prosody, the chief topics of grammar, rhetoric, and arithmetic;[e] and the main facts and dates of general history.[f] His calculations for the calendar are very elaborate; his treatise on blood-letting displays some of the universal superstitions of his countrymen, as to proper days and times;[g] and in another work, he tells us that trees ought to be cut in the third week of the moon, or they will be corroded with worms;[h] but it is St. Ambrose, not himself, who is responsible for this fancy. He states of the tides, that they followed the moon; and that, as the moon rises and sets every day four-fourths or four-fifths of an hour later than the preceding, so do the tides ebb and flow with a similar retardation.[i]

The style of Bede in all his works is plain and unaffected. Attentive only to his matter, he had little solicitude for the phrase in which he dressed it. But though seldom eloquent, and often homely, it is clear, precise, and useful. His treatise on the Six Ages gives a regular series of Jewish chronology, and then of general chronology, carried down to the year 729. His History of England is the only contemporary document we have of the transactions of the Anglo-Saxon octarchy, and it furnishes us with many particulars not to be found elsewhere. His Lives of Religious Persons are disfigured with those legends which degrade his history; but as they were the object of general admiration and belief in his day, his credulity was the credulity of his age. His works poured a useful flood of matter for the exercise and improvement of the Anglo-Saxon mind, and collected into one focus all that was known to the ancient world, excepting the Greek mathematicians, and some of their literature and philosophy which he had not much studied. To have written them in such a period of ignorance, with means so imperfect, displays an ardent intellect, unwearied in its exertions; and by their popularity among the clergy, contributed to diffuse a taste for literature, which other causes in due time matured. His life was of great importance to his age, in his scholars; for he educated four men, who greatly promoted literature in France in the following age: Alcuin, Claudius, Rabanus, and Erigena.

He died in the year 735, and his death is thus described by his pupil Cuthbert:

[e] In his tract on arithmetic, p. 104, he gives the Mensa Pythagorica, which is, in fact, the multiplication table, invested with so proud a title. His notation is the Roman. He says, that what the Latins called numerus, and the Hebrews nonna, the Macedonians named calculus, from the little stones which they held in their hands when they reckoned, p. 113. Hence our calculation.

[f] Bede also teaches the indigitatio, or the manner of telling and computing with the fingers, p. 167.

[g] Op. vol. i. p. 472. [h] Ib. vol. ii. p. 115. [i] Ib. vol. ii. p. 116.

"He was attacked with a severe infirmity of frequent short breathing, yet without pain, about two weeks before Easter day; and so he continued, joyful and glad, and giving thanks to Almighty God day and night, indeed hourly, till the day of Ascension. He gave lessons to us his disciples every day, and he employed what remained of the day in singing of psalms. The nights he passed without sleep, yet rejoicing and giving thanks, unless when a little slumber intervened. When he waked, he resumed his accustomed devotions, and with expanded hands never ceased returning thanks to God. Indeed I never saw with my eyes, nor heard with my ears, any one so diligent in his grateful devotions. O truly blessed man! he sang the passage in St. Paul, 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God;' and many other things from the Scripture, in which he admonished us to arouse ourselves from the sleep of the mind. He also recited something in our English language; for he was very learned in our songs; and, putting his thoughts into English verse, he spoke it with compunction. 'For this necessary journey no one can be more prudent than he ought to be, to think before his going hence what of good or evil his spirit after death will be judged worthy of.' He sang the Antiphonæ according to our custom and his own, of which one is, 'O King of Glory, Lord of virtues, leave us not orphans, but send the promise of the Father, the Spirit of Truth, upon us. Alleluia.' When he came to the words Spirit of Truth, he burst into tears, and wept much; and we with him. We read and wept again; indeed we always read in tears." After mentioning that he was occupied in translating St. John's Gospel into Saxon, his pupil adds—"When he came to the third festival before the Ascension day, his breathing began to be very strongly affected, and a little swelling appeared in his feet. All that day he dictated cheerfully, and sometimes said, among other things, 'Make haste—I know not how long I shall last. My Maker may take me away very soon.' It seemed to us that he knew well he was near his end. He passed the night watching and giving thanks. When the morning dawned he commanded us to write diligently what we had begun. This being done, we walked till the third hour with the relics of the saints, as the custom of the day required. One of us was with him, who said, 'There is yet, beloved master, one chapter wanting; will it not be unpleasant to you to be asked any more questions?' He answered, 'Not at all; take your pen, prepare it, and write with speed.' He did so. At the ninth hour he said to me, 'I have some valuables in my little chest. But run quickly and bring the presbyters of our monastery to me, that I may distribute my small presents.'—He addressed each, and exhorted them to attend to their masses and prayers. They wept when he told them they would see him no more; but he said it was time that he should return to the Being who had formed him out of nothing. He conversed in this manner cheerfully till the evening, when the boy said, 'Dear master, one sentence is still wanting.' 'Write it quick,' exclaimed Bede. When it was finished, he said take my head in your hands, for I shall delight to sit opposite the holy place where I have been accustomed to pray, and where I can invoke my Father. When he was placed on the pavement, he repeated the Gloria Patri, and expired in the effort."[j]

Bede was very highly respected in his day. Boniface, whose life we shall next detail, asks for his works, and speaks of him as a man enriched by the divine grace with a spiritual intellect, and as irradiating his country. Pope Sergius wished his presence in Rome, for the benefit of his counsel.

Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary, whose Latin poems have been before alluded to, and who, in the eighth century

[j] Smith's Bede, 793.

founded the principal bishoprics, and the abbey of Fulda, and several monasteries in Germany, was born in Devonshire. His name was Winfrith.[k] He calls himself German Legate of the Apostolic See,[l] and mentions that, "born and nourished in the nation of the English, we wander here by the precept of the Apostolic Seat."[m] From another letter, we find that he had visited Rome, to give an account of his mission, and that the pope had exhorted him to return and persevere in his efforts.[n] He was in the archiepiscopal dignity from 745 to 754. His activity was exerted with the greatest success between the Weser and the Rhine. He anointed Pepin king of the Francs in 752. During his absence abroad he kept up an extensive correspondence in England. We have several of his letters to the kings of the Anglo-Saxon octarchy. He wrote to Ethelbald, king of Mercia, begging his assistance to the friend who carried his letter, and sending him some presents. To the same king he addressed a longer letter of moral rebuke and religious exhortation. Ethelbert, the king of Kent, sent to him a complimentary letter, mentioning his rumoured successes in the conversion of the Germans, and presenting him with a bowl of silver gilt. Sigebald, a king of the octarchy, wrote to him to request that he would be one of his bishops; and Æbuald, king of East Anglia, also addressed him in a very kind and respectful manner.[o]

His letters to Nothelm, archbishop of Canterbury, to the Anglo-Saxon bishops, Daniel and Ecberth, and to several abbots and abbesses, are yet preserved. His correspondence with the son of Charles Martel, with Pepin, king of France, and with the popes Gregory II. and III., and Zachary, also exists. He appears to have been a man of considerable attainments, of earnest piety, and the most active benevolence. His last Christian labours were in East Friesland, where he was killed with fifty companions.[p]

Eddius, surnamed Stephanus, is described by Bede,[q] as the first singing-master in the churches of Northumbria, and as having been invited from Kent by Wilfrid. He flourished about 720, and wrote the life of Bishop Wilfrid: he addresses his work to Bishop Acca and the abbot Tatbert. Eddius begins it with a ridiculous prodigy. While the mother of Wilfrid was in labour with him, the house where she lay seemed to those without to be in flames. The neighbours hastened with water to extinguish

[k] Bon. Ep. 16 Mag. Bib. p. 71. [l] Ibid. 51. [m] Ibid. 52.
[n] Ibid. 60. [o] See these letters, 16 Mag. Bib. Pat.
[p] Three of the books that he had then with him are still preserved in the monastery of Fulda. The Gospels in his own handwriting; a harmony of the New Testament; and a volume stained with his blood, containing a letter of Pope Leo, St. Ambrose, on the Holy Ghost, with his treatise de bono mortis, "on the advantage of death." Alb. Butler's Lives, vol. vi. p. 88.
[q] Bede, lib. iv. c. 2.

them. But the fire was not real; it was only a type of Wilfrid's future sanctity and honour. The miracles of his mature age were of course not less extraordinary. To restore a dead child to life, and to heal another with his arms and thighs broken by a fall from a scaffold; a dark dungeon supernaturally illuminated; St. Michael coming from heaven to cure him of a malady; a withered hand restored by touching the cloth in which his corpse had been laid; an angel appearing with a golden cross to hinder his chamber from being burnt; are some of the effusions of Eddius's fancy, with which he feebly attempts to adorn his composition and its object.[r]

The style is not so plain as Bede, nor so affected as Aldhelm; but is seldom above mediocrity.

One of the pupils formed by Bede, and who became the literary friend and preceptor of Charlemagne, Alcuin, called also Albinus, is entitled to the most honourable notice among the Saxon literati of the eighth century. He was born in Northumbria, and studied at York under Egbert. He says of himself, that he was nourished and educated at York,[s] and that he went in his youth to Rome, and heard Peter of Pisa dispute on Christianity with a Jew.

He was sent on an embassy from Offa to Charlemagne, and after this period the emperor was so highly attached to him, that in 790 he went to France, and settled there. Here he composed many works on the sciences and arts, which were valued in that day for the use and instruction of Charlemagne. These still exist, and a number of letters and poems also appear in his works, addressed to Charlemagne, on a variety of topics, under the name of David, and written in the most affectionate language. He was indefatigable in exciting the emperor to the love and encouragement of learning, and in the collection of MSS. for its dissemination. His efforts spread it through France, and his reputation contributed much to establish it in Europe. After the enjoyment of imperial affection and confidence to a degree which literature has never experienced in any other instance, he retired to the abbey of Saint Martin, at Tours, where he died in 804.[t]

He attained great affluence from the favour of his imperial friend. He remarks that a Spanish ecclesiastic, whose erring opinions he had censured, blamed him for the multitude of his riches, and for the number of his servi or bondsmen, being 20,000. Alcuin does not contradict the fact, but denies that it had corrupted his mind: "It is one thing to possess the world; it is another to be possessed by it."[u]

He seems to have been much afflicted with illness, for he often

[r] See his life of Wilfrid, in 3 Gale Scrip. p. 40.
[s] Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. p. 24.
[t] See his works, published by Du Chesne, at Paris, in 1617. [u] Alb. Op. p. 927.

mentions his headachs, the daily pains of his weak body, and a species of continual fever.[v]

The merit of Alcuin's poetry we have already exhibited. His prose is entitled to the praise of learning, eloquence, and more judgment than any of his contemporaries exhibited. He had a correct and high feeling of morals and piety; his taste was of an improved kind, and his mind was clear and acute. But it must be recollected of him, as of all the writers of the Anglo-Saxon period, that their greatest merit consisted in acquiring, preserving, and teaching the knowledge which other countries and times had accumulated. They added little to the stock themselves. They left it as they found it. But they separated its best parts from the words and lumber with which these were connected, and thus prepared the ground for further improvement; and their efforts, examples, and tuition contributed to excite the taste, and to diffuse the acquisition. Unless such men had existed, the knowledge, which the talents of mankind had been for ages slowly acquiring, would have gradually mouldered away with the few perishing MSS. which contained it. Europe would have become what Turkey is, and mankind would have been now slowly emerging into the infancy of literature and science, instead of rejoicing in that noble manhood which we have attained. Several Irish ecclesiastics at this time attained eminence, and assisted to instruct both France and Italy. Of these Claudius, also a disciple of Bede, and friend of Albinus, Dungal, and Duncan, were the most conspicuous. All these were patronized by Charlemagne.

Another disciple of Bede, and one of the literary companions of Alfred, Johannes Erigena, or John the Irishman, was distinguished by the acumen of his intellect and the expanse of his knowledge. Though a native of the west of Europe, he was well skilled in Grecian literature,[w] for he translated from the Greek language a work of Dionysius, called the Areopagite,[x] and the Scholia of Maximus, on Gregory the theologian.[y] He

[v] Op. p. 1505–1511; and "the wicked fever scarcely suffers me to live on earth. It seeks to open for me the road to heaven. Health leads me to seek its precious treasures amid the fields and hills, and verdant meadows." P. 1509.

[w] Bouquet, in his recueil of the ancient French chronicles, says, that after Charlemagne had obtained the Empire of the West, and an epistolary intercourse had taken place between the Franks and Greeks, "Cepit occidentalibus nosci et in usu esse lingua Græca." T. viii. p. 107.

[x] That the works ascribed to Dionysius, the Areopagite, are supposititious, and were written after the fourth century, see Dupin, vol. i. p. 100–111. ed. Paris, 1688. They suited the genius of Erigena, for their "principal but est de parler des mystères d'une manière curieuse et recherchée, de les expliquer suivant les principes de la philosophie de Platon et en des termes platoniciens," p. 104.

[y] This was Gregory Nazianzen. Maximus, opposing some theological opinions which the imperial court approved, perished 662. Dupin, t. vi. John's translation was published by Dr. Gale, at the end of his treatise De Divisione Naturæ, ed. Ox. 1681.

dedicated this last work to Charles, the French king, at whose command he had undertaken both.[z] At the request of Hincmar, the archbishop, and another, he wrote on predestination against Gotheschalcus;[a] he composed also a book De Visione Dei;[b] and another, De Corpore et Sanguine Domini.[c] This last was written at the request of Charles the Bald, who was a great patron of letters.[d] This book was peculiarly unfortunate. It was assailed by several ecclesiastics, and adjudged to the flames.[e]

His principal work was, his Treatise De Divisione Naturæ, a dialogue which is distinguished for its Aristotelian acuteness, and extensive information. In his discussions on the nature of the Deity, and in considering how far his usual attributes describe his nature, or but metaphorically allude to it, he manifests great subtlety.[f] On the applicability of the categories of Aristotle, to the same Being, he is also very acute and metaphysical; and he concludes that none of the categories are in this case applicable, except perhaps that of relation, and even this but figuratively.[g] In his consideration, whether the category place be a substance or an accident, he takes occasion to give concise and able definitions of the seven liberal arts, and to express his opinion on the composition of things.[h] In another part, he inserts a very elaborate discussion on arithmetic, which, he says, he had learnt from his infancy.[i] He also details a curious conversation on the elements of things, on the motions of the heavenly bodies, and other topics of astronomy and physiology. Among these, he even gives the means of calculating the diameters of the lunar and solar circles.[j] Besides the fathers, Austin, the two Gregorys, Chrysostom, Basil, Epiphanius, Origen, Jerome, and Ambrosius, of whose works, with the Platonizing Dionysius, and Maximus, he gives large extracts: he also quotes Virgil, Cicero, Aristotle, Pliny, Plato, and Boetius; he details the opinions

[z] So he declares in his dedication. He tells the king, "Difficillimum prorsus (orthodoxissime regum) servulo vestro imbecilli valde etiam in Latinis quanto magis in Græcis, laborem injunxistis." He states, that what he found in Dionysius obscure and incomprehensible, Maximus had very lucidly explained. He particularizes instances which are certainly among the most recondite, and happily most useless topics of theological logic.

[a] Fab. Bib. Med. l. ix. c. 401. This brought upon John, besides Prudentius Tricassimus, Florus of Lyons, who attacked him in the name of the Church at Lyons. Fab. l. iv. c. 194; and Cave, Hist. Lit. 447.

[b] Mabillon found this in MS. It begins, "Omnes sensus corporei ex conjunctione nascuntur animæ et corporis." Fab. Med. l. ix. p. 401.

[c] Fab. p. 404.

[d] Heric, the bishop of Austin, says, in his letter to Charles in 876, "Quidquid igitur literæ possunt, quidquid assequuntur ingenia vobis debent." Bouquet. vii. p. 563. The editor quotes a monk of Saint Denys, in the same age, who says, "Karolus—disciplinas adeo excoluit ut earum ipse quarundam munere sagacissime fungeretur," ibid. A passage of Heric's letter deserves quotation, because what he hints of the emigration of Irish literature may account for Erigena's being in France: "Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam cum grege philosophorum ad littora nostra migrantem—quorum quisque peritior est, ultro sibi indicit exilium ut Solomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad votum." Bouq. vii. p. 563.

[e] In 1050 and in 1059, an old Chronicler speaks apparently of this book, when he says of Berengarius, "Joannem Scotum igni comburens, cujus lectione ad hanc nefariam devolutus fuerat sectam." Fab. p. 404.

[f] De Divisione Naturæ, p. 6–11.

[g] Ibid. p. 13.

[h] Ibid. p. 18, 19.

[i] Ibid. p. 111.

[j] Ibid. p. 144–149.

of Eratosthenes,[k] and of Pythagoras on some astronomical topics;[l] he also cites Martianus Capella.[m] His knowledge of Greek appears almost in every page.

The *Divisione Naturæ* certainly indicates great curiosity and research of mind, though it rather exercises ingenuity than conveys information. In a future age, when such disquisitions were offensive to that anti-christian despotism which was spreading its clouds over the European hemisphere, a pope, Honorius III. issued a bull to declare, that it "abounded with the worms of heretical depravity." He complains, that it was received into monasteries, and that "scholastic men, more fond of novelty than was expedient, occupied themselves studiously in reading it." He therefore commands, that they "solicitously seek for it everywhere; and, if they safely could, that they send it to him to be burnt, or to burn it themselves. He excommunicates all such as should keep a copy fifteen days after notice of this order.[n] As all inquiries of the human mind must be accompanied by many errors, it is a lamentable abuse of power to pursue the speculative to death or infamy for efforts of thinking, which, if wrong, the next critic or literary opponent is best fitted to detect and overthrow. No error, if left to itself, will be a perennial plant. No power can prevent, though it may retard, the growth of truth.

Erigena was in great favour with Charles. The king, one day when they were feasting opposite to each other, took occasion to give him a gentle rebuke for some irregularity, by asking him, "What separates a Scot from a sot?" The philosopher, with ready wit, retorted, "The table."[o] The king had the good sense and friendship to smile at the turn.

At another time, when he was at table, the servants brought in a dish containing two large fishes, and a very small one. John was a thin little man, and was sitting near two ecclesiastics of

[k] De Divisione Naturæ, p. 146, 147, 149. [l] Ibid. p. 145–149.

[m] Ibid. p. 147, 148. This ancient author, whose era is not ascertained, (though he must have preceded Gregory of Tours, who mentions him), left nine books, two de Nuptiis Philologiæ, the other seven on the seven liberal arts. His work was twice printed with innumerable mistakes. Grotius, in his fourteenth year, astonished the world, by correcting justly almost all the errors. The recollection of this induced Vossius to say, "Quo Batavo—nihil nunc undique eruditius, vel sol videt, vel solum sustinet." Hist. Lat. 713. How highly Capella was once esteemed, may be inferred from the panegyric of Gregory of Tours, lib. x. c. 31, p. 243. Barthius, one of those great scholars whose race is now extinct, says of him, "Jam ante ipsos mille annos tanta Capellæ hujus auctoritas, ut qui eum teneret, videretur omnium artium arcana nosse." Adversaria, c. 23, p. 409. Barthius describes his work thus: "Tota fere ibi Cyclopædia novem chartis absoluta est, cum innumeris interioris sapientiæ mysteriis versu atque prosa oratione indicatis et propositis," ib. p. 960. For what is known of Capella, see Fab. Bib. Lat. iii. p. 213–224.

[n] See this bull at length in Fab. Bib. Med. lib. ix. 402. It is dated 10 Kal. Feb. 1225.

[o] Matt. West. 336. Malmsb. 3 Gale, 360. The Latin words which John so readily converted into a pun that retorted the king's sarcasm on himself, are, "Quid distat inter sottum et Scottum?"

vast size. The king bade him divide the dish with them. John, whose cheerful mind was always alive to pleasantry, conveyed the two large fishes into his own plate, and divided the little one between the ecclesiastics. The king accused him of an unfair partition. "Not so," says John. "Here are two large fishes," pointing to his plate, "with a small one," alluding to himself. "There are also two large ones," looking at the divines, "and a little one," pointing to their plates.[p]

After Charles's death, he was invited to England by Alfred, whose munificence rewarded his talents; he placed him at Malmsbury,[q] and also at Ethelingey.

The life of John ended unfortunately; he was stabbed by the boys he taught.[r] That he died violently, will not be questioned; but a controversy accompanies the catastrophe.[s]

The proficiency and examples of Bede and Alcuin, and their pupils and friends, seemed to promise an age of literary cultivation; and the prosperity of Egbert's reign, which immediately followed, was favourable to the realization of this hope. But the fierce invasions of the Northmen now began. Their desolating bands spread fire and sword over the most cultivated parts of the country. Monasteries and their libraries were burnt. The stu-

[p] Malmsb. 3 Gale, 361. That John was an inmate in Charles's palace, we also learn from his contemporary, Pardulus, who says, "Scotum illum qui est in palatio regis Johanem nomine." Testim. prefixed.

[q] Venitque ad regem Elfredom cujus munificentia illectus et magisterio ejus, ut ex scriptis regis intellexi, sublimis Melduni resedit. Malmsb. 361.

[r] So Malmsb. 361. The same words are in Matt. West. 334; and Hoveden, 419; and Fordun, 670.

[s] The question is, whether Erigena, whom William kills at Malmsbury, is the same of whom Asser says, that he was placed by Alfred over his new monastery at Ethelingey, and that some malicious monks hired two lads to kill him at midnight, when he came to pray alone at the altar, p. 61. My own opinion is, that they are not two persons; 1st. Asser, in page 47, talks of a John, who by the traits he gives, was Erigena. He there styles him merely "Johannem presbyterum et monachum," and he has the same phrases of the John killed at Ethelingey, in p. 61. 2d. Ingulf expressly places Erigena at Ethelingey, p. 27. 3d. Asser says the John of Ethelingey was stabbed by two French lads, "duos servulos," 62; and it is rather improbable that another John should at the same time be killed in the same place by lads. 4th. The ancient epitaph quoted by Malmsbury says he was *martyred*, which is an expression very suitable to Asser's account of his being stabbed at the altar when praying, and of the assassins intending to drag his body to a prostitute's door. 5th. Asser's account agrees with Malmsbury's, as to his assassins being lads, *whom he taught;* for Asser says, that Alfred placed in that monastery French children to be taught. 6th. The mode of the assassination is the same in both. Malmsbury says, 361, "Animam exuit tormento gravi et acerbo ut dum iniquitas valida et manus infirma sæpe frustaretur et sæpe impeteret, amaram mortem obiret." I understand this to imply many wounds, and not immediate death. Asser says, "Et crudelibus afficiunt vulneribus," p. 63, and that the monks found him not dead, and brought him home so, "semivivum colligentis cum gemitu et merore domum reportaverunt," p. 64. I think it is improbable that two persons of the same name and station should at the same time have experienced the same singular catastrophe. I would rather suppose that Erigena had been abbot of both places, and therefore the memory of the crime was preserved at both. Asser had the property of two monasteries given to him by Alfred, p. 50.

dious were dispersed or destroyed. The nation was plundered and impoverished; and warfare, avenging or defensive, became the habit of the better conditioned. One man, our Alfred, made the efforts already noticed to revive literature in the island, in the midst of these destructive storms; but even he could not obtain a sufficient interval of peace for its diffusion. The attack of Hastings in the latter part of his life, when he could have done most for letters, again renewed through his kingdom, the necessity of great martial exertions; and his earls, thanes, and knights, as well as their dependents, were, for their own preservation, compelled to make warlike education and exercises the great business of life. The occupation of one-third of England by the Northmen colonizers of Northumbria and East Anglia; their hostile movements, and the attempts of similar adventurers, kept the country in the same state of martial efficiency and employment, which precluded that enjoyment of peaceful leisure in which letters flourish, and they accordingly declined. The monastic friends of Edgar endeavoured to revive them; but scarcely had Edgar acquired and transmitted a full and prosperous sovereignty, in which the Anglo-Danes and Anglo-Saxons had become melted into one nation; and Dunstan, and his friends Ethelwald and Oswald, were exerting themselves to revive literature, and to multiply its best asylums, the monastic establishments, when, under his second son, the calamities of desolating invasions of Danes and Norwegians again overspread the country, and ended in the establishment of a Danish dynasty on the throne of Alfred. This event spread a race of Danish lords over the English soil, and the mutual jealousy and bickerings between them and the old Saxon proprietary body kept all the country in an armed state, which made warlike accomplishment and exercises still the first necessity and occupation of all. The reign of Edward the Confessor began a new era of peace and harmony, and literature would have again raised her head among the Anglo-Saxons; but, in the next succession, their dynasty was destroyed. Thus, though important political benefits resulted from the invading fanaticism of the North, yet their continued attacks, and the consequences that attended them, intercepted and diverted, for above a century and a half, the intellectual cultivation of the Anglo-Saxon nation.

Hence the historian has no progressive developement to display in the farther contemplation of the Anglo-Saxon mind. The sufferings of the nation carried the thinking students of the day strongly towards religious literature: and little else than sermons and homilies,[t] penitentiaries and confessions,[u] lives of saints,[v] and

[t] The Anglo-Saxon MSS. of these are enumerated by Wanley in his Catalogue, pp. 1–48, 52–63, 69, 72, 81, 86–88, 90, 92, 97, 111, 116, 122, 131–144, 154–176, 186–211, &c. &c. &c. Their number exceeds by far all the other topics.

[u] As p. 50, 112, 145, and the Rule of Benedict, 91, 122.

[v] Wanley's MSS. p. 79. Martyrologies, &c. 106, 185.

translations and expositions of the Scriptures,[w] with some authentic but plain and meagre chronicles,[x] formularies of superstitions,[y] and medicinal tracts,[z] were produced in the century preceding the Norman conquest. The only individuals who are entitled to be selected from the general inferiority and uniformity are the two Elfrics; Elfric Bata, and his scholar Elfric, the abbot and bishop, of whom the latter only deserves notice here; for whose works, chiefly grammars, translations from the Scriptures, homilies, and lives of saints, we refer the reader to Wanley's Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon MSS. But his exhortations to his fellow-clergymen to study and to diligence in their duties, ought to be remembered to his honour. To the archbishop Wulstan he writes:

"It becomes us bishops that we should unclose that book-learning which our canons teach, and also the book of Christ to you, priests! in English speech, because all of you do not understand Latin."[a]

To bishop Wulfsin he wrote:

"You ought often to address your clergy, and reprove their negligence, because by their perversity the statutes of the canons and the religious knowledge of the holy church is almost destroyed."[b]

His translations from the Heptateuch into Anglo-Saxon he addressed to the ealdorman Ethelwerd.[c] His letter, with other religious treatises, to Wulfget, and another to Sigwerd, show that the Anglo-Saxon language had acquired the name of English in his time:

"I, Elfric, abbot, by this *English* writing, friendlily greet Wulfget, at Ylmandune, in this, that we now here speak of those English writings which I lend thee. The meaning of those writings pleased thee well, and I said that I would yet send thee more."[d]

"Ælfric, abbot, greets friendlily Sigwerd at East Heolon. I say to thee truly that he is very wise who speaketh in works: and I turned these into *English*, and advise you, if you will, to read them yourself."[e]

"I, Elfric, would turn this little book (his grammar) to the *English* phrase from that ꝼtæꝼ-cꝼæꝼte (art of letters) which is called grammatica, because ꝼtæꝼ-cꝼæꝼte is the key that unlocks the meaning of books."[f]

[w] As MSS. of the Gospels, p. 64, 76, 211; the Heptateuch, 67; Psalter, 76, 152; Paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Gloria Patri, p. 48, 51, 81, 147, 148; Prayers, 64, 147, 202; Jubilate, 76, 168, 182, 183; Hymns, 98, 99, 243; Judith, 98; and the Pseudo-Gospel of Nicodemus, 96.

[x] As the MS. Chronicles mentioned, p. 64, 84, 95, 130, &c.

[y] Their expositions of dreams, prognostications, charms, exorcisms, and predictions on the moon, thunder, birth, health, &c. abound. See p. 40, 44, 88, 89, 90, 98, 110, 114, 194, &c.

[z] As the MS. in p. 72–75, and 176–180. See also Apuleius de Herbis, p. 92. This latter is very valuable from the English or Saxon names of the plants which are given to the Latin ones of the original.

[a] Elfric MSS. Wanley, p. 22.

[b] Ibid. p. 58.

[c] This was printed by Thwaite.

[d] Elfric MSS. Wanley, p. 69.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Ibid. p. 84.

His anxiety for the good and correct writing of his books is thus expressed:

"Look! you who write this book; write it by this example; and for God's love make it that it be less to the writer's credit for beauty than for reproach to me.[g]

"I pray now if any one will write this book, that he make it well from this example, because I would not yet bring into it any error through false writers. It will be then his fault, not mine. The un-writer doth much evil if he will not rectify his mistake."[h]

Among the Anglo-Saxon MSS. that remain may be remarked the History, or rather Romance of Apollonius, King of Tyre, which yet exists in our ancient language.[i]

CHAPTER VII.

The Sciences of the Anglo-Saxons.

THE most enlightened nations of antiquity had not made much progress in any of the sciences but the mathematical. During the Anglo-Saxon period, the general mind of Europe turned from their cultivation, to other pursuits more necessary and congenial to their new political situation. Happily for mankind, they were attended to during this period more efficiently in the Mahomedan kingdoms. The Arabian mind being completely settled in fertile countries and mild climates, enjoyed all the leisure that was wanted for the cultivation of natural knowledge; its acuteness and activity took this direction, and began preparing that intel-

[g] Elfric MSS. Wanley, p. 69.

[h] Elfric MSS. Wanley, p. 85. He begins his letter prefixed to his translation of Genesis, thus: "Elfric monk humbly greets Æthelwærd ealdorman. You bade me, dear, that I should turn from Latin into English the book Genesis. I thought it would be a heavy thing to grant this, and you said that I need not translate more of the book than to Isaac, the son of Abraham, because some other man had translated this book from Isaac to the end," &c. Of his translations from the first seven books of the Old Testament, he says, "Moses wrote five books by wonderful appointment. We have turned them truly into English. The book that Joshua made I turned also into English some time since, for Ethelwerd ealdorman. The hook of Judges men may read in the English writing, into which I translated it." He adds of Job, "I turned formerly some sayings from this into English." Elfric de Vet. Testam. MS. and cited by Thwaites.

[i] It is among the MSS. at Cambridge. It is mentioned by Wanley, p. 147, and is there said to have been first written in Greek, and then turned into Latin during the time of the emperors. A Greek MS. of it is said to be at Vienna, with a version in modern Greek.

lectual feast which we are now lavishly enjoying, and perpetually enlarging.

The history of the sciences among the Anglo-Saxons can contain little more information than that some individuals successively arose, as Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Joannes Scotus, and a few more, who endeavoured to learn what former ages had known, and who freely disseminated what they had acquired. Besides the rules of Latin poetry and rhetoric, they studied arithmetic and astronomy as laborious sciences.

In their arithmetic, before the introduction of the Arabian figures, they followed the path of the ancients, and chiefly studied the metaphysical distinctions of numbers. They divided the even numbers into the useless arrangement of equally equal, equally unequal, and unequally equal; and the odd numbers into the simple, the composite, and the mean. They considered them again, as even or odd, superfluous, defective, or perfect, and under a variety of other distinctions, still more unnecessary for any practical application, which may be seen in the little tracts of Cassiodorus and Bede. Puzzled and perplexed with all this mazy jargon, Aldhelm might well say, that the labour of all his other acquisitions was small in the comparison with that which he endured in studying arithmetic. But that they attained great practical skill in calculation, the elaborate works of Bede sufficiently testify.

As all human ideas occur to the mind in some natural order of succession, and always connected with some previous remembrances and associations, the Anglo-Saxons could not become attached to the investigations of natural science, before preceding agencies had led them to attend to it. But all the impulses which were acting on their minds, were operating in very different directions; and no general current in the world around them led them to anticipate the Arabs in the rich and unexplored country of experimental knowledge.

Yet our venerable Bede made some attempts to enter this new region; and his treatise on the nature of things[a] shows that he endeavoured to introduce the study of natural philosophy among the Anglo-Saxons.

This work has two great merits. It assembles into one focus the wisest opinions of the ancients on the subjects he discusses, and it continually refers the phenomena of nature to natural causes. The imperfect state of knowledge prevented him from discerning the true natural causes of many things, but the principle of referring the events and appearances of nature to its own laws and agencies, displays a mind of a sound philosophical tendency, and was calculated to lead his countrymen to a just mode of thinking on these subjects. Although to teach that thunder and lightning

[a] This is printed in the second volume of his works, p. 1., with the glosses of Bridferth of Ramsey, Joannes Noviomagus, and another.

were the collisions of the clouds, and that earthquakes were the effect of winds rushing through the spongy caverns of the earth were erroneous deductions, yet they were light itself compared with the superstitions which other nations have attached to these phenomena. Such theories, directed the mind into the right path of reasoning, though the correct series of the connected events and the operating laws had not then become known. The work of Bede is evidence that the establishment of the Teutonic nations in the Roman empire did not barbarize knowledge. He collected and taught more natural truths with fewer errors than any Roman book on the same subjects had accomplished. Thus his work displays an advance, not a retrogradation of human knowledge; and from its judicious selection and concentration of the best natural philosophy of the Roman empire, it does high credit to the Anglo-Saxon good sense. The following selections will convey a general idea of the substance of its contents.

Expressing the ancient opinion, that the heavens turned daily round, while the planets opposed them by a contrary course:[b] he taught that the stars borrowed their light from the sun; that the sun was eclipsed by the intervention of the moon, and the moon by that of the earth; that comets were stars with hairy flames, and that the wind was moved and agitated air.[c] He said that the rainbow is formed in clouds of four colours, from the sun being opposite, whose rays being darted into the cloud is repelled back to the sun. The rain is the cloud compressed by the air into heavier drops than it can support, and that these frozen make the hail. Pestilence is produced from the air, either by excess of dryness, or of heat, or of wet.[d] The tides of the ocean follow the moon, as if they were drawn backwards by its aspiration, and poured back on its impulse being withdrawn. The earth is surrounded by the waters; it is a globe. Hence we see the northern stars but not the southern, because the globous figure of the earth intercepts them.[e] The volcano of Etna was the effect of fire and wind acting in the hollow sulphureous and bituminous earth of Sicily, and the barking dogs of Scylla were but the roaring of the waves in the whirlpools, which seamen hear.[f] He had remarked the sparkling of the sea on a night upon the oars, and thought it was followed by a tempest. So the frequent leaping of porpoises from the water had caught his notice, and he connected it with the rise of wind, and the clearing of the sky.[g] He remarks, in another work, that sailors poured oil on the sea to make it more transparent.[h] He describes fully his ideas on the influence of the moon on the tides, and intimates that it also affects the air.[i] He speaks again of the roundness of the earth like a ball, and ascribes the inequality of days and nights to this globular

[b] De Rer. Nat. p. 6. [c] Ibid. p. 28, 30, 31. [d] Ibid. p. 38.
[e] Ibid. p. 39, 40, 43. [f] Ibid. p. 49.
[g] Ibid. p. 37. He adds his presages on the weather. "If the sun arise spotted or shrouded with a cloud, it will be a rainy day; if red, a clear one; if pale, tempestuous; if it seem concave, so that, shining in the centre, it emits rays to the south and north, there will be wet and windy weather; if it fall pale into black clouds, the north wind is advancing; if the sky be red in the evening, the next day will be fine; if red in the morning, the weather will be stormy; lightning from the north, and thunder in the east, imply storm; and breezes from the south, announce heat; if the moon in her last quarter look like gold, there will be wind; if on the top of her crescent black spots appear, it will be a rainy month; if in the middle, her full moon will be serene." De Nat. p. 37.
[h] De Temporum Ratione, p. 56. [i] Ibid. p. 110, 115

rotundity.[j] He thinks the Antipodes a fable; but from no superstition, but because the ancients had taught that the torrid zone was uninhabitable and impassable. Yet he seems to admit, that between this and the parts about the south pole, which he thought was a mass of congelation, there was some habitable land.[k] It was the probability of human existence in such circumstances, not such a local part of the earth, which Bede discredited.[l]

For the credit both of Bede and the Anglo-Saxons, I should have been glad to have been convinced that the four books De Elementis Philosophiæ, printed as his in his works, were actually his composition; for they display a spirit of investigation, a soundness of philosophical mind, and a quantity of just opinions on natural philosophy, that would do credit to any age before that of Friar Bacon. But its merit compels us to suspect the possibility of its belonging to the eighth century.[m]

Their astronomy was such as they could comprehend in the Greek and Latin treatises which fell into their hands on this subject. Bede was indefatigable in studying it, and his treatises were translated into the Anglo-Saxon, of which some MSS. exist in the Cotton Library. He appropriated all the practical results and reasonings of the Roman world, but did not cultivate the mathematical investigations of the Alexandrian Greeks. All the studious men applied to it more or less, though many used it for astrological superstitions. It was indeed then studied by all men of science in two divisions, and that which we call astrology, the legacy of the Chaldeans, was for a long time the most popular. It was perhaps on this account, rather than from a love of the nobler directions of the science, that our ancient chroniclers are usually minute in noticing the eclipses which occurred, and the comets and meteors which occasionally appeared.[n]

Their geographical knowledge must have been much improved by Adamnan's account of his visit to the Holy Land, which Bede abridged; and by the sketch given of general geography in Orosius, which Alfred made the property of all his

[j] De Temporum Ratione, p. 125.

[k] Ibid. p. 132. St. Austin had also denied the Antipodes, or persons with their feet below us, and their heads in the sky, as an incredible thing. He thought that this part of the globe was either covered with sea, or if dry land, was not inhabited. De Civ. Dei. L. 16. c. 9.

[l] There are some tracts printed as Bede's, which would seem not to be his. As the Mundi Constitutio, in which he is himself quoted "Secundam Bedam de temporibus," vi. p. 375. And in the Argumenta Lunæ, the calculation is made for the year 936, or two hundred years after he lived, p. 197. The Astrolabium, p. 468, contains Arabic names, and the Prognostica foretells battles and pestilence at Corduba, p. 463.

[m] The author speaks of England, p. 333, as if he belonged to it; but he also mentions the Antipodes as if he believed their existence, p. 336. He also says that a comet is not a star, p. 333: both these opinions are different from Bede's. I have since observed that Fabricius ascribes it to Guilielmus de Conchis, Bib. Med. p. 502, a Norman who lived in the reign of Henry II.

[n] Even Bede says, the comet portends "change of kingdoms, or pestilence, or wars, or tempest, or drought." De Nat. Rer. p. 30.

countrymen, by his translation and masterly additions. The eight hides of land given by his namesake for a MS. of cosmographical treatises,[o] of wonderful workmanship, may have been conceded rather to the beauty of the MS. than to its contents. But, notwithstanding these helps, the most incorrect and absurd notions seem to have prevailed among our ancestors concerning the other parts of the globe, if we may judge from the MS. treatises on this subject which they took the trouble to adorn with drawings, and sometimes to translate. Two of these are in the Cotton Library, and a short notice of their contents may not be uninteresting as a specimen of their geographical and physical knowledge.

The MS. Tib. B. 5, contains a topographical description of some eastern regions, in Latin and Saxon. From this we learn there is a place in the way to the Red Sea, which contains red hens, and that if any man touches them, his hand and all his body are burnt immediately: also, that pepper is guarded by serpents, which are driven away by fire, and this makes the pepper black. We read of people with dogs' heads, boars' tusks, and horses' manes, and breathing flames. Also of ants as big as dogs, with feet like grashoppers, red and black. These creatures dig gold for fifteen days. Men go with female camels, and their young ones, to fetch it, which the ants permit, on having the liberty to eat the young camels.[p]

The same learned work informed our ancestors that there was a white human race fifteen feet high, with two faces on one head, long nose, and black hair, who in the time of parturition, went to India to lie in. Other men had thighs twelve feet long, and breasts seven feet high. They were cannibals. There was another sort of mankind with no heads, who had eyes and mouths in their breasts. They were eight feet tall and eight feet broad. Other men had eyes which shone like a lamp in a dark night. In the ocean there was a soft-voiced race, who were human to the navel, but all below were the limbs of an ass. These fables even came so near as Gaul; for it tells us that in Liconia, in Gaul, there were men of three colours, with heads like lions, and mouths like the sails of a windmill. They were twenty feet tall. They run away, and sweat blood, but were thought to be men. Let us however, in justice to our ancestors, recollect that most of these fables are gravely recorded by Pliny. The Anglo-Saxons were, therefore, not more credulous or uninformed than the Roman population.

The descriptions of foreign ladies were not very gallant. It is stated that near Babylon there were women with beards to their breasts. They were clothed in horses' hides, and were great hunters, but they used tigers and leopards instead of dogs. Other women had boars' tushes, hair to their heels, and a cow's tail. They were thirteen feet high. They had a beautiful body, as white as marble, but they had camels' feet. Black men living on burning mountains; trees bearing precious stones; and a golden vineyard which had berries one hundred and fifty feet long, which produced jewels; gryphons, phœnixes, and beasts with asses' ears, sheeps' wool, and birds' feet, are among the other wonders which instructed our ancestors. The accounts in the MS. Vitellius, A. 15, rival the phenomena just recited, with others as credible, and are also illustrated with drawings.

[o] Bede, 299.

[p] This was probably a popular notion; for it is said, among their prognostics, that if the sun shine on the fourth day, the camels will bring much gold from the ants, who keep the gold hoards. MSS. CCC. Cant. Wanl. 110.

We cannot now get at the national opinions of the Anglo-Saxons on physical subjects in any other way than by observing what things they thought worthy to be committed to writing. They who could write were among the most informed part of the Saxon society, and as their parchment materials were scanty, it seems reasonable to suppose that what they employed themselves in writing stood high in their estimation. We will add a few things which are in Anglo-Saxon in a MS. in the Cotton Library.

"Istorius said that this world's length is twelve thousand miles, and its breadth six thousand three hundred, besides the islands. There are thirty-four kinds of snakes on the earth; thirty-six kinds of fish, and fifty-two kinds of flying fowls. The name of the city to which the sun goes up is called Jaiaca; the city where it sets is Jainta. Asguges, the magician, said that the sun was of burning stone. The sun is red in the first part of the morning, because he comes out of the sea; he is red in the evening, because he looks over hell. The sun is bigger than the earth, and hence he is hot in every country. The sun shines at night in three places; first in Leviathan the whale's inside. He shines next in hell, and afterwards on the islands named Glith, and there the souls of holy men remain till doomsday. Neither the sun nor the moon shines on the Red Sea, nor does the wind blow upon it." Some excellent moral and prudential maxims follow in the MS.[q]

The Anglo-Saxon scholars, though defective in actual knowledge, had just conceptions of the objects of philosophy. Thus Alcuin defines it to be the research into natural things, and the knowledge of divine and human affairs. He distinguishes it into knowledge and opinion. He describes it to be knowledge, when a thing is perceived with certainty, as that an eclipse of the sun is caused by the intervention of the moon; but that it is only opinion when it is uncertain, as the magnitude of heaven or the depth of the earth.[r]

He divides philosophy in three branches; physics, ethics, and logic. But in his further considerations he exhibits not so much the deficiencies of the Anglo-Saxon mind, as the imperfect state of the knowledge which former times had handed down to it; for all the subjects which he comprises in physics are: arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. That extensive field of science to which we now almost exclusively apply the name of physics, natural philosophy, had not been discovered or attended to by the Greeks and Romans; and still less chemistry, mineralogy, and the analogous sciences. The Anglo-Saxon scholars formed themselves chiefly on the Roman writers, and in general did not go beyond them. Alcuin gives us another train of definitions in physics.

"Physic is nature; physica is natural: it discusses the nature and contemplation of all things. From physica proceed arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, mechanics, medicine, geometry, and music.

[q] MS. Cot. Lib. Julius, A. 2.

[r] Alc. Dialectica, p. 1356.

Arithmetic is the science of numbers.
Astronomy is the law of the stars, by which they rise and set.
Astrology is the reason, and nature, and power of the stars, and the conversion of the heavens.
Mechanics is the first skilfulness of the art of working in metals, wood, and stones.
Medicine is the knowledge of remedies discovered for the temperament and health of the body.
Geometry is the science of measuring spaces, and the magnitude of bodies.
Music is the division of sounds, the varieties of the voice, and the modulation of singing."[s]

It is amusing to observe, in the absence of solid knowledge, on what elaborate trifling the Anglo-Saxons sometimes employed themselves. The following is a dialogue of Alcuin, with prince Pepin, the son of Charlemagne. It is the scholar who questions.

"What is a letter?—The keeper of history.
What is a word?—The betrayer of the mind.
What produces words?—The tongue.
What is the tongue?—The scourge of the air.
What is air?—The preserver of life.
What is life?—The gladness of the blessed; the sorrow of the wretched; the expectation of death.
What is death?—The inevitable event; the uncertain pilgrimage; the tears of the living; the confirmation of our testament; the thief of man.
What is man?—The slave of death; a transient traveller; a local guest.
What is man like?—An apple.
How is man placed?—As a lamp in the wind.
Where is he placed?—Between six walls.
What?—Above, below, before, behind, on the right, and on the left.
How many companions has he?—Four.
Whom?—Heat, cold, dryness, wet.
In how many ways is he changeable?—Six.
Which are they?—Hunger, fulness; rest, labour; watchings and sleep.
What is sleep?—The image of death.
What is man's liberty?—Innocence.
What is the head?—The crown of the body.
What is the body?—The home of the mind.
What are the hairs?—The garments of the head.
What is the beard?—The discrimination of sex; the honour of age.
What is the brain?—The preserver of the memory.
What are the eyes?—The leaders of the body; vessels of light; the index of the mind.
What are the ears?—The collators of sounds.
What is the forehead?—The image of the mind.
What is the mouth?—The nourisher of the body.
What are the teeth?—The millstones of our food.
What are the lips?—The doors of the mouth.
What is the throat?—The devourer of the food.
What are the hands?—The workmen of the body.
What is the heart?—The receptacle of life.
What is the liver?—The keeper of our heat.
What is the spleen?—The source of laughter and mirth.
What are the bones?—The strength of the body.

[s] Alb. Op. p. 1353.

What are the thighs?—The capitals of our pillars.
What are the legs?—The pillars of the body.
What are the feet?—Our movable foundation.
What is blood?—The moisture of the veins; the aliment of life.
What are the veins?—The fountains of flesh.
What is heaven?—A rotatory sphere.
What is light?—The face of all things.
What is day?—The incitement of labour.
What is the sun?—The splendour of the world; the beauty of heaven; the grace of nature; the honour of day; the distributor of the hours.
What is the moon?—The eye of night; the giver of dew; the prophetess of the weather.
What are the stars?—The paintings of the summit of nature; the seaman's pilots; the ornaments of night.
What is rain?—The earth's conception; the mother of corn.
What is a cloud?—The night of day; the labour of the eyes.
What is wind?—The perturbation of air; the moving principle of water; the dryer of earth.
What is the earth?—The mother of the growing; the nurse of the living; the storehouse of life; the devourer of all things.
What is the sea?—The path of audacity; the boundary of the earth; the divider of regions; the receptacle of the rivers; the fountain of showers; the refuge in danger; the favourer of pleasures.
What are rivers?—Motion never ceasing; the refection of the sun; the irrigators of the earth.
What is water?—The ally of life; the washer of filth.
What is fire?—Excess of heat; the nourisher of the new-born; the maturer of fruits.
What is cold?—The ague of the limbs.
What is frost?—The persecutor of herbs; the destroyer of leaves; the fetter of the earth; the source of the waters.
What is snow?—Dry water.
What is winter?—The banishment of summer.
What is spring?—The painter of the earth.
What is summer?—The re-clothing of earth; the ripener of corn.
What is autumn?—The granary of the year.
What is the year?—The chariot of the world.
What does it carry?—Night and day; cold and heat.
Who are its drivers?—The sun and moon.
How many are its palaces?—Twelve.
What is a ship?—A wandering house; a perpetual inn; a traveller without footsteps; the neighbour of the sands.
What is the sand?—The wall of the earth.
What makes bitter things sweet?—Hunger.
What makes men never weary?—Gain.
What gives sleep to the watching?—Hope.
What is a wonder?—I saw a man standing; a dead man walking who never existed.
How could this be?—An image in water.
An unknown person, without tongue or voice, spoke to me, who never existed before, nor has existed since, nor ever will be again: and whom I neither heard nor knew?—It was your dream.
I saw the dead produce the living, and by the breath of the living the dead were consumed?—From the friction of trees fire was produced, which consumed.
I saw fire pause in the water unextinguished?—From flint.
Who is that whom you cannot see unless you shut your eyes?—He who sneezes will show him to you.

I saw a man with eight in his hand, he took away seven, and six remained? —School-boys know this.

Who is he that will rise higher if you take away his head?—Look at your bed and you will find him there.

I saw a flying woman with an iron beak, a wooden body, and a feathered tail, carrying death?—She is a companion of soldiers.

What is that which is, and is not?—Nothing.

How can a thing be, yet not exist?—In name and not in fact.

What is a silent messenger?—That which I hold in my hand.

What is that?—My letter."[t]

The astronomical opinions which they had imbibed from their classical masters were probably as good as their books could supply, or their scholars understand. Elfric has transmitted to us, out of Alcuin, their acquired opinions on the motions of the heavens, which may be thus translated:

"The earth consists of four creatures, or elements; fire, air, water, and earth. The nature of fire is hot and dry; of air, warm and wet; of water, cold and wet; of earth, cold and dry. Heaven is of the nature of fire, and it is always turning the stars. Foreign writers have said that it would fall, on account of its swiftness, if the seven wandering stars (dweligendan steorran) did not resist its course. The stars of heaven are always turning round the earth from east to west, and strive against the seven wandering stars. These are called erring or wandering stars, (dweligende or worigende,) not because of any error, but because each of them goeth on its own course, sometimes above, sometimes below, and are not fast in the firmament of heaven, as the other stars are. The farthest the heathen calls Saturnus; he fulfilleth his course in thirty years. The one beneath Saturn they call Jove, and he fulfilleth his course in twelve years. The third, that goeth beneath Jove, they call Mars; and he fulfilleth his course in two years. The fourth is the Sun; she fulfilleth her course in twelve months; that is, three hundred and sixty-five days. The fifth is called Venus; he fulfilleth his course in three hundred and sixty-eight days. The sixth is Mercury, great and bright; he fulfilleth his course in three hundred and twenty-nine days. The seventh is the Moon, the lowest of all the stars: he fulfilleth his course in twenty-seven days and eight hours. These seven stars move to the east, in opposition to the heavens, and are stronger than they are."[u]

It would be absurd to talk about their chemistry, as they had none; but their methods of preparing gold for their gold writing may be mentioned, as they were in fact so many chemical experiments.

One method. "File gold very finely, put it in a mortar, and add the sharpest vinegar; rub it till it becomes black, and then pour it out. Put to it some salt or nitre, and so it will dissolve. So you may write with it, and thus all the metals may be dissolved."

The gold letters of the Anglo-Saxon MSS. are on a white embossment, which is probably a calcareous preparation. Modern gilding is made on an oil size of yellow ochre, or on a water size of gypsum, or white oxide of lead, or on similar substances. For

[t] Alb. Op. p. 1385–1392.

[u] Elfric's Lives of the Saints, MS. Cott. Julius, E. 7.

gilding on paper or parchment, gold powder is now used as much as leaf gold. Our ancestors used both occasionally.

Another method of ancient chrysography: "Melt some lead, and frequently immerge it in cold water. Melt gold, and pour that into the same water, and it will become brittle. Then rub the gold filings carefully with quicksilver, and purge it carefully while it is liquid. Before you write, dip the pen in liquid alum, which is best purified by salt and vinegar."

Another method:

"Take thin plates of gold and silver, rub them in a mortar with Greek salt or nitre till it disappears. Pour on water and repeat it. Then add salt, and so wash it. When the gold remains even, add a moderate portion of the flowers of copper and bullock's gall; rub them together, and write and burnish the letters."

Other methods are mentioned, by which even marble and glass might be gilt. These descriptions are taken by Muratori from a MS. of the ninth century, which contains many other curious receipts on this subject.[v]

They had the art of secret writing, by substituting other letters for the five vowels: thus,

b	f	k	p	x
a	e	i	o	u

The MS. in the Cotton Library gives several examples of this;[w]

nẏꞅ chkꞅ ꞅꞃꝼꝣꝼn ꞅyllkc chknc co ꞃæꝺꞅnnꝼ
pmnkxm knkmkcprxm sxprxm dpmknbktxr
kn npmknf dk sxmmk

Which are,

nẏꞅ chıꞅ ꝼꞃeꝣen ꞅẏllıc chınc co ꞃæꝺꝼnne
omnium inimicorum suorum dominabitur.
In nomine Di summi.

Among the disorders which afflicted the Anglo-Saxons, we find instances of the scrofula, the gout, or foot adl; fever, or gedrif; paralysis, hemiplegia, ague, dysentery; consumption, or lungs adl; convulsions, madness, blindness, diseased head, the headach (heafod-ece), and tumours in various parts.[x] But if we consider the charms which they had against diseases as evidence of the existence of those diseases, then the melancholy catalogue may be increased by the addition of the poccas (pustules), sore eyes and ears, blegen and blacan blegene (blains and boils), elfsidenne (the nightmare), cyrnla (indurated glands), tooth-ece, aneurisms

[v] Tom. ii. p. 375–383. [w] Vitellius, E. 18.
[x] Malmsb. 285. Bonif. Lett. 16. M. B. 115. Bede, 86, 509. 3 Gale, 470. Eddius, 44. Bede, 372, iv. 23, 31, iii. 12, iv. 6; 224, 236, 256. Ingulf, 11. Bede, 297, iii. 11; iv. 3; 10, v. 2: 246; 235 iv. 19.

(wennas et mannes, heortan), and some others.[y] The king's evil is mentioned in a letter from Pope Zachary to Boniface.[z]

Nations in every age and climate have considered diseases to be the inflictions of evil beings, whose power exceeded that of man. Adapting their practice to their theory, many have met the calamity by methods which were the best adapted, according to their system, to remove them; that is, they attacked spells by spells. They opposed charms and exorcisms to what they believed to be the work of demoniacal incantations. The Anglo-Saxons had the same superstitions: their pagan ancestors had referred diseases to such causes; and, believing the principle, they resorted to the same remedies. Hence we have in their MSS. a great variety of incantations and exorcisms, against the disorders which distressed them.

When some of their stronger intellects had attained to discredit these superstitions, and especially after Christianity opened to them a new train of associations, this system of diseases originating from evil spirits, and of their being curable by magical phrases, received a fatal blow. It had begun to decline before they were enlightened by any just medical knowledge; and the consequence was, that they had nothing to substitute in the stead of charms, but the fancies and pretended experience of those who arrogated knowledge on the subject. Before men began to take up medicine as a profession, the domestic practice of it would of course fall on females, who, in every stage of society, assume the kind task of nursing sickness; and of these, the aged, as the most experienced, would be preferred.

But the Anglo-Saxons, so early as the seventh century, had men who made the science of medicine a study, and who practised it as a profession. It is probable that they owed this invaluable improvement to the Christian clergy, who not only introduced books from Rome, but who, in almost every monastery, had one brother who was consulted as the physician of the place. We find physicians frequently mentioned in Bede; and among the letters of Boniface there is one from an Anglo-Saxon, desiring some books de medicinalibus. He says they had plenty of such books in England, but that the foreign drawings in them were unknown to his countrymen, and difficult to acquire.[a]

We have a splendid instance of the attention they gave to medical knowledge, in the Anglo-Saxon medical treatise described by Wanley, which he states to have been written about the time of Alfred. The first part of it contains eighty-eight remedies against various diseases; the second part adds sixty-seven more, and in the third part is seventy-six. Some lines between the second and third part state it to have been possessed by one Bald, and to have been written at his command by Cild. It is probably

[y] Cal. A. 15. CCC. Cant Wanley, 115. Tit. D. 26. Wanley, Cat. 304, 305.
[z] Mag. Bib. Pat. vol. xvi. p. 115. [a] 16 Mag. Bib. Pat. 82.

a compilation from the Latin medical writers. Wanley presumes that Bald wrote it; but the words imply rather possession than authorship.[b] Their construction is ambiguous.

We find several Saxon MSS. of medical botany. There is one, a translation of the Herbarium of Apuleius, with some good drawings of herbs and flowers, in the Cotton Library. Their remedies were usually vegetable medicines.[c]

We have a few hints of their surgical attentions, but they seem not to have exceeded those common operations which every people, a little removed from barbarism, cannot fail to know and to use.

We read of a skull fractured by a fall from a horse, which the surgeon closed and bound up;[d] of a man whose legs and arms were broken by a fall, which the surgeons cured by tight ligatures;[e] and of a diseased head, in the treatment of which the medical attendants were successful.[f] But we find many cases in which their efforts were unavailing: thus in an instance of a great swelling on the eyelid, which grew daily, and threatened the loss of the sight, the surgeons exhausted their skill to no purpose, and declared that it must be cut off.[g] In a case of a great swelling, with burning heat, on the neck, where the necklace came, it was laid open to let out the noxious matter; this treatment gave the patient ease for two days, but on the third the pains returned, and she died.[h] Another person had his knee swelled, and the muscles of his leg drawn up till it became a contracted limb. Medical aid is said to have been in vain, till an angel advised wheat flour to be boiled in milk, and the limb to be poulticed with it, applied while warm.[i] To recover his frozen feet, a person put them into the bowels of a horse.[j]

Venesection was in use. We read of a man bled in the arm. The operation seems to have been done unskilfully, for a great pain came on while bleeding, and the arm swelled very much.[k] Their lancet was called æder-seax, or vein-knife. But their practice of phlebotomy was governed by the most mischievous superstition; it was not used when expediency required, but when their superstitions permitted. They marked the seasons and the days on which they believed that bleeding would be fatal. Even Theodore, the monk, to whom they owed so much of their literature, added to their follies on this subject, by imparting the notion that it was dangerous to bleed when the light of the moon and the tides were increasing.[l] According to the rules laid down in an Anglo-Saxon MS., the second, third, fifth, sixth, ninth, eleventh, fifteenth, seventeenth, and twentieth days of the month were bad

[b] Bald habet hunc librum Cild quem conscribere jussit. Wanl. Cat. 180.
[c] MS. Cott. Vitel. c. 3.
[d] Bede, v. c. 6.
[e] Eddius, p. 63.
[f] Bede, v. 2.
[g] Ibid. iv. 32.
[h] Ibid. p. 19.
[i] Ibid. p. 230.
[j] Malmsb. 201.
[k] Bede, v. 2.
[l] Ibid. v. 3.

days for bleeding. On the tenth, thirteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-eighth days, it was hurtful to bleed, except during certain hours of the days. The rest of the month was proper for phlebotomy.[m] They had their tales to support their credulity. Thus we read of "sum læce, or a physician, who let his horse blood on one of these days, and it lay soon dead."[n]

We will add, as a specimen of their medical charms, their incantation to cure a fever.

"In nomine dni nri Ihu Xpi tera tera tera testis contera taberna gise ges mande leis bois eis andies mandies moab leb lebes Dns ds adjutor sit illi ill eax filiax artifex am."[o]

Two of their medicines may be added, one for the cure of consumption, the other for the gout.

With lungen adle.—"Take hwite hare hunan (white horehound) and ysypo (hyssop) and rudan (rue) and galluc (sowbread,) and brysewyrt, and brunwyrt (brown wort,) and wude merce (parsley,) and grundeswylian (groundsel,) of each twenty pennyweights, and take one sester[p] full of old ale, and seethe the herbs till the liquor be half boiled away. Drink every day fasting a neap-full cold, and in the evening as much warm."

With fot adle (the gout).—"Take the herb datulus or titulosa, which we call greata crauleac (tuberose isis.) Take the heads of it, and dry them very much, and take thereof a pennyweight and a half, and the pear-tree and roman bark, and cummin, and a fourth part of laurel-berries, and of the other herbs half a pennyweight of each, and six pepper-corns, and grind all to dust, and put two egg-shells full of wine. This is true leechcraft. Give it to the man to drink till he be well."[q]

[m] MS. Cott. Lib. Tiber. A. 3. [n] Ibid. 126. [o] Ibid. 125.

[p] The quantity of a sester appears, from the following curious list of Anglo-Saxon weights and measures, to have been fifteen pints:

Punð eleſ ʒeþıhtħ xii peneʒum læſſe tħonne punð þætɲeſ.

Punð ealoth ʒeþıhtħ vi peneʒum maɲe tħoñ punð þætɲeſ.

Punð þıneſ ʒeþıhtħ xv peneʒum moɲe tħoñ l punð þætɲeſ.

Punð hunıʒeſ ʒeþıhtħ xxxiv peneʒum moɲe tħoñ punð þætɲeſ.

Punð butеɲan ʒeþıhtħ lxxx peneʒum læſſe tħoñ punð þætɲeſ.

Punð beoɲeſ ʒeþıhtħ xxii peneʒum læſſe tħoñ punð þætɲeſ.

Punð meloþeſ ʒeþıhtħ cxv peneʒum æſſe tħoñ punð þætɲeſ.

Punð beana ʒeþıhtħ lv peneʒum læſſe tħoñ punð þætɲeſ.

Anð xv punð þætɲeſ ʒatħ to Seſtɲe.

Saxon MS. ap. Wanley Cat. p. 179.

[q] MS. Cott. Lib. Vitell. c. 3.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Anglo-Saxon Metaphysics.

The three men of letters among the Anglo-Saxons who handled any branch of the metaphysical subjects, besides Alfred, were Bede, Alcuin, and Joannes Erigena.

It is in the tract on substances that Bede's metaphysical tendencies appear.

He compares the three inseparable essences of the Trinity to the circularity, light, and heat of the sun. The globular body of the sun never leaves the heavens; but its light, which he compares to the Filial Personality, and its heat, which he applies to the Spiritual Essence, descend to earth, and diffuse themselves everywhere, animating the mind, and pervading and softening the heart. Yet, although universally present, light seems never to quit the sun, for there we always behold it; and heat is its unceasing companion. As circles have neither beginning nor end, such is the Deity. Nothing is above; nothing is below; nothing is beyond him; no term concludes him; no time confines him.[a]

He pursues the same analogies in other parts of nature. In water he traces the spring; its flowing river, and terminating lake. They differ in form, but are one in substance, and are always inseparable. No river can flow without its spring, and must issue into some collecting locality.[b]

In his treatise on the soul, Alcuin, in a short but rational essay, discusses its faculties and nature. A few selections may interest:

He distinguishes in it a threefold nature: the appetitive; the rational, and the irascible. Two of these we have in common with animals; but man alone reasons, counsels, and excels in intelligence. The rational faculty should govern the others: its virtues are, prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude; and if these be made perfect by benevolence, they bring the soul near to the Divine nature.[c]

"The memory, the will, and the intelligence, are all distinct, yet one. Though each be separate, they are perfectly united. I perceive that I perceive, will, and remember; I will to remember, perceive, and will; and I remember that I have willed, perceived, and recollected.[d]

[a] Bede de Subst. vol. ii. p. 304–306.

[b] Ibid. p. 307. His view of nature is not unpleasing. "Observe how all things are made to suit, and are governed: heat by cold; cold by heat; day by night; and winter by summer. See how the heavens and the earth are respectively adorned: the heavens by the sun, the moon, and stars; the earth by its beautiful flowers, and its herbs, trees, and fruits. From these mankind derive all their food; their lovely jewels; the various pictures so delectably woven in their hangings and valuable cloths; their variegated colours; the sweet melody of strings and organs; the splendour of gold and silver, and the other metals; the pleasant streams of water, so necessary to bring ships, and agitate our mills; the fragrant aroma of myrrh; and, lastly, the interesting countenance peculiar to the human form." Bede de Subst. vol. ii. p. 308.

[c] Albini Opera, p. 770.

[d] Ibid. p. 773.

"We may remark the wonderful swiftness of the soul in forming things which it has perceived by the senses. From these, as from certain messengers, it forms figures in itself, with inexpressible celerity, of whatever it has perceived of sensible things; and it lays up these forms in the treasury of its memory.

"Thus, he who has seen Rome figures Rome in his mind, and its form; and when he shall hear the name of Rome, or remember it, immediately the animus of it will occur to the memory, where its form lies concealed. The soul there recognises it, where it had hidden it.

"It is yet more wonderful, that if unknown things be read or heard of by the ears of the soul, it immediately forms a figure of the unknown thing; as of Jerusalem. When seen it may be very different from the figure of our fancy: but whatever the soul has seen in other cities that are known to it, it imagines may be in Jerusalem. From known species it images the unknown. It does not fancy walls, houses, and streets in a man; nor the limbs of a man in a city, but buildings, as are usual in cities. So in every thing. The mind from the known forms the unknown.

"While I think of Jerusalem, I cannot, at that moment, think of Rome; or when I think of any other single thing, I cannot then think of many; but that thing only is present to my mind which I deliberate upon, till, sooner or later, this departs and another occurs.

"This lively and heavenly faculty, which is called mens, or animus, is of such great mobility that it does not even rest in sleep. In a moment, if it chooses, it surveys heaven; it flies over the sea, and wanders through regions and cities. It places in its sight, by thinking, all things that it likes, however far removed.[e]

"The mind or soul, is the intellectual spirit, always in motion, always living, and capable of willing both good and evil. By the benignity of its Creator it is ennobled with freewill. Created to rule the movements of the flesh, it is invisible, incorporeal; without weight or colour; circumscribed, yet entire in every member of its flesh. It is now afflicted with the cares, and grieved with the pains of the body; now it sports with joy; now thinks of known things; and now seeks to explore those which are unknown. It wills some things; it does not will others. Love is natural to it.

"It is called by various names: the soul, while it vivifies; the spirit, when it contemplates; sensibility, while it feels; the mind, when it knows; the intellect, when it understands; the reason, while it discriminates; the will, when it consents; the memory, when it remembers; but these are not as distinct in substance as in names: they are but one soul. Virtue is its beauty; vice its deformity. It is often so affected by some object of knowledge, that, though its eyes be open, it sees not the things before it, nor hears a sounding voice; nor feels a touching body.

"As to what the soul is, nothing better occurs to us to say than that it is the spirit of life; but not of that kind of life which is in cattle, which is without a rational mind. The beauty and ornament of the human soul is the study of wisdom. What is more blessed to the soul than to love the Supreme Good, which is God? What is happier to it than to prepare itself to be worthy of everlasting beatitude, knowing itself most truly to be immortal?"[f]

But the most metaphysical treatise that appeared among the Anglo-Saxons was the elaborate work, or dialogue, of Joannes Scotus, or Erigena, the friend of Alfred and Charlemagne, on nature and its distinctions. It emulates the sublimest researches of the Grecians. It is too long to be analyzed; but a few extracts

[e] Albini Opera, p. 773–775.

[f] Ibid. p. 776–778.

from its commencement may be acceptable, to show his style of thought and expression:

"Nature may be divided into that which creates, and is not created: that which is created, and creates; that which is created, and does not create; and that which neither creates nor is created.[g]

"The essences (or what, from Aristotle, in those days they called the substance) of all visible or invisible creatures cannot be comprehended by the intellect; but whatever is perceived in every thing, or by the corporeal sense, is nothing else but an accident, which is known either by its quality or quantity, form, matter, or differences, or by its place or time. Not what it is, but how it is.

"The first order of being is the Deity: He is the essence of all things.

"The second begins from the most exalted, intellectual virtue nearest about the Deity, and descends from the sublimest angel to the lowest part of the rational and irrational creation. The three superior orders are, 1st, The Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones. The 2d, The Virtues, Powers, and Dominations. The 3d, The Principalities, Archangels, and Angels.

"The cause of all things is far removed from those which have been created by it. Hence the reasons of created things, that are eternally and unchangeably in it, must be also wholly removed from their subjects.

"In the angelic intellects there are certain theophanies of these reasons; that is, certain comprehensible, divine apparitions of the intellectual nature. The divine essence is fully comprehensible by no intelligent creature.

"Angels see not the causes themselves of things which subsist in the Divine essence; but certain divine apparitions, or theophanies, of the eternal causes whose images they are. In this manner angels always behold God. So the just in this life, while in the extremity of death, and in the future, will see him as the angels do.

"We do not see him by Himself, because angels do not. This is not possible to any creature. But we shall contemplate the theophanies which he shall make upon us, each according to the height of his sanctity and wisdom."[h]

CHAPTER IX.

The Arts of the Anglo-Saxons.

The art of music has been as universal as poetry; but, like poetry, has everywhere existed in different degrees of refinement. Among rude nations, it is in a rude and noisy state; among the more civilized, it has attained all the excellence which science, taste, feeling, and delicate organization can give.

We derive the greatest portion of our most interesting music from harmony of parts; and we attain all the variety of expression and scientific combination which are familiar to us, by the happy use of our musical notation. The ancients were deficient

[g] Joan. Erig. de Divisione Naturæ, p. 1.

[h] Ibid. p. 1–4.

in both these respects: it has not been ascertained that they had harmony of parts, and therefore all their instruments and voices were in unison; and so miserable was their notation, that it has been contended by the learned, with every appearance of truth, that they had no other method of marking time than by the quantity of the syllables of the words placed over the notes. Saint Jerome might therefore well say on music, "Unless they are retained by the memory, sounds perish, because they cannot be written."[a]

The ancients, so late as the days of Cassiodorus, or the sixth century, used three sorts of musical instruments, which he calls the percussionalia, the tensibilia, and the inflatila. The percussionalia were silver or brazen dishes, or such things as, when struck with some force, yielded a sweet ringing. The tensibilia he describes to have consisted of chords, tied with art, which, on being struck with a plectrum, soothed the ear with a delightful sound, as the various kinds of cytharæ. The inflatila were wind-instruments, as tubæ, calami, organa, panduria, and such like.[b]

The Anglo-Saxons had the instruments of chords, and wind-instruments.

In the drawings on their MSS. we see the horn, trumpet, flute, and harp, and a kind of lyre of four strings, struck by a plectrum.

In one MS. we see a musician striking the four-stringed lyre, while another is accompanying him with two flutes, into which he is blowing at the same time.[c]

In the MSS. which exhibit David and three musicians playing together, David has a harp of eleven strings, which he holds with his left hand while he plays with his right fingers; another is playing on a violin or guitar of four strings with a bow; another blows a short trumpet, supported in the middle by a pole, while another blows a curved horn.[d] This was probably the representation of an Anglo-Saxon concert.

The chord-instrument like a violin was perhaps that to which a disciple of Bede alludes, when he expresses how delighted he should be to have "a player who could play on the cythara, which we call rotæ."[e]

Of the harp, Bede mentions, that in all festive companies it was handed round, that every one might sing in turn.[f] It must have therefore been in very common use.

Dunstan is also described by his biographer to have carried

[a] Jerom. ad Dard. de Mus. Instr.—Guido, by his invention of our musical notation, removed this complaint.

[b] Cassiod. Op. ii. p. 507.

[c] MS. Cot. Cleop. C. 8.

[d] MS. Cott. Tib. C. 6.

[e] 16 Mag. Bib. p. 88. Snorre calls the musicians in the court of an ancient king of Sweden "Leckara, Harpara, Gigiara, Fidlara." Yng. Saga, c. xxv. p. 30.

[f] Bede, lib. iv. c. 24.

to a house his cythara with him, "which in our language we call hearpan."[g] He hung it against the wall, and one of the strings happening to sound untouched, it was esteemed a miracle.

The organ was in use among the Anglo-Saxons. Cassiodorus and Fortunatus mention the word organ as a musical instrument but it has been thought to have been a collection of tubes blowed into by the human breath. Muratori has contended, that the art of making organs like ours was known in the eighth century only to the Greeks; that the first organ in Europe was the one sent to Pepin from Greece in 756; and that it was in 826 that a Venetian priest, who had discovered the secret, brought it into France.[h]

A passage which I have observed in Aldhelm's poem, De Laude Virginum, entirely overthrows these theories; for he, who died in 709, and who never went to Greece, describes them in a manner which shows that he was acquainted with great organs made on the same principle as our own:

> Maxima millenis auscultans organa flabris
> Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste
> Quamlibet auratis fulgescant cætera capsis.[i]

This is, literally,

"Listening to the greatest organs with a thousand blasts, the ear is soothed by the windy bellows, while the rest shines in the gilt chests."

Another evidence of the antiquity of organs among the Anglo-Saxons has occurred to my observation in the works of Bede, a contemporary and survivor of Aldhelm. The passage is express, and also shows how they were made:

"An organum is a kind of tower made with various pipes, from which, by the blowing of bellows, a most copious sound is issued; and that a becoming modulation may accompany this, it is furnished with certain wooden tongues from the interior part, which the master's fingers skilfully repressing, produce a grand and also a most sweet melody."[j]

He also describes the drum, cymbals, and harp:

"The DRUM is a tense leather, stretched on two cones, (metas) joined together by their acute part, which resounds on being struck."

"The CYMBALS are very small vessels composed from mixed metals, which, struck together on the concave side, with skilful modulation, give a most acute sound, with delectable coincidence."[k]

"A skilful HARPER, stretching many chords on his harp, tempers them with such sharpness and gravity, that the upper suit the lower in melody. Some having the difference of a semi-tone, some of one tone, some of two tones. Some yield the consonancy diatessaron, others the diapente, others the diapason.

[g] MS. Cleop.
[h] Murat. de Art. Ital. ii. p. 357.
[i] 13 Max. Bib. Pat. 3.
[j] Bede, Op. vol. viii. p. 1062.
[k] Ibid. p. 1061, 1062.

"Having the harp in his hand, arranged with suitable strings (chordis), he urges some to an acute sound, and others he governs to a graver one. Thus he disposes them by the application of his fingers. He strikes them in what manner he pleases, so that each adapted to the others yield the consonancy diapason, which consists of eight strings (chordis). The diapente consists of five chordis, and the diatessaron of four."[l]

Bede also mentions "the minor intervals of the voices, which sound two tones as one, or a semi-tone; and that the semi-tone was used in the high-sounding as well as the grand-sounding chords."[m] He mentions the organ in another place, with the viola[n] and harp,[o] and reasons much on the action of a bow on a tense string; and he adds these remarks on the effects of music:

"Among all the sciences this is more commendable, courtly, pleasing, mirthful and lovely. It makes a man liberal, cheerful, courteous, glad, amiable; it rouses him to battle; it exhorts him to bear fatigue; it comforts him under labour; it refreshes the disturbed mind; it takes away headaches and sorrow, and dispels the depraved humours and the desponding spirit."[p]

Dunstan, great in all the knowledge of his day, as well as in his ambition, is described to have made an organ of brass pipes, elaborated by musical measures, and filled with air from the bellows.[q] The bells he made have been mentioned before. About the same time we have the description of an organ made in the church at Ramsey:

"The earl devoted thirty pounds to make the copper pipes of organs, which, resting with their openings in thick order on the spiral winding in the inside, and being struck on feast-days with the strong blast of bellows, emit a sweet melody and a far-resounding peal."[r]

In 669, Theodore and Adrian, who planted learning among the Anglo-Saxons, also introduced into Kent the ecclesiastical chanting, which Gregory the Great had much improved. From Kent it was carried into the other English churches. In 678, one John came also from Rome, and taught in his monastery the Roman mode of singing, and was directed by the pope to diffuse it amongst the rest of the clergy, and left written directions to perpetuate it. Under his auspices it became a popular study in the Saxon monasteries.[s]

We have a pleasing proof of the impressive effect of the sacred music of the monks, in the little poem which Canute the Great made upon it. As the monarch, with his queen and courtiers, were approaching Ely, the monks were at their devotions. The king, attracted by the melody, ordered his rowers to approach it, and to move gently while he listened to the sounds which came floating through the air from the church on the high rock before him. He was so delighted by the effect, that he made a poem

[l] Bede, Op. vol. viii. p. 1070.
[m] Ibid.
[n] Ibid. p. 417.
[o] Ibid. p. 408.
[p] Ibid. p. 417, 418.
[q] 3 Gale, 366.
[r] Ibid. 420.
[s] See Bede, iv. 2, 18; v. 22.

on the occasion, of which the first stanza only has come down to us.[t]

There are many ancient MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon times, which contain musical notes.

The musical talents of Alfred and Anlaf have been noticed in this history.

The progress of the Anglo-Saxons in the art of design and painting was not very considerable. The talents of their artists varied. The numerous coloured drawings of plants to the Herbarium of Apuleius have merit for the time; but the animals in the same MS. are indifferent.[u] There are also coloured drawings of the things fabled to be in the East, in two MSS.[v] The drawings to Cædmon show little skill.[w] Many MSS. have the decorations of figures; as the Saxon Calendar, the Gospels, Psalters, and others.[x] The account of the stars, from Cicero's translation of Aratus, contains some very elegant images.[y] A portrait of Dunstan is attempted in one MS.[z] They all exhibit hard outlines.

Rome, the great fountain of literature, art, and science, to all the west of Europe, in these barbaric ages, furnished England with her productions in this art. Augustin brought with him from Rome a picture of Christ; and Benedict, in 678, imported from Rome pictures of the Virgin, and of the twelve Apostles, some of the histories in the Evangelists, and some from the subjects in the Apocalypse. These were placed in different parts of the church. In 685 he obtained new supplies of the graphic art. Bede calls them pictures from the Old and New Testament, "executed with wonderful art and wisdom." He mentions four of these, which were believed to have a typical concordance. The picture of Isaac carrying the wood on which he was to be sacrificed, was placed near the representation of Christ carrying his cross. So the Serpent exalted by Moses was approximated to the Crucifixion.[a]

Dunstan excelled in this as in the other arts. He is stated to have diligently cultivated the art of painting, and to have painted for a lady a robe, which she afterwards embroidered.[b] There is a drawing of Christ, with himself kneeling at his feet, of his own performance, in the Bodleian Library.[c]

The Anglo-Saxons were fond of beautifying their MS. with drawings with ink of various colours, coloured parchment, and sometimes with gilt letters. The Gospels, Nero, D. 4, exhibit a splendid instance of these ornaments. The Francotheotisc Gos-

[t] See before, p. 348.
[u] Cott. Lib. MSS. Vitel. C. 3.
[v] MS. Tib. B. 5.
[w] Cott. MSS. Nero, D. 4.
[x] Ibid.
[y] MS. Cal. A. 7. Tib. B. 5.
[z] MS. Claud. A. 3.
[a] Bede Abb. Wer. 295, 297.
[b] MS. Cleop. B. 13.
[c] Hickes, p. 144.

pels, Calig. A. 7, are also highly decorated. Many Saxon MSS. in the Cotton Library exhibit very expensive, and what in those days were thought beautiful illuminations. The art of doing these ornaments has been long in disuse; but some of the recipes for the materials have been preserved.

They prepared their parchment by this rule:

"Put it under lime, and let it lie for three days: then stretch it, scrape it well on both sides, and dry it, and then stain it with the colours you wish."[d]

To gild their skins, we have these directions:

"Take the red skin and carefully pumice it, and temper it in tepid water, and pour the water on it till it runs off limpid. Stretch it afterwards, and smooth it diligently with clean wood. When it is dry, take the white of eggs, and smear it therewith thoroughly; when it is dry, sponge it with water, press it, dry it again, and polish it; then rub it with a clean skin, and polish it again, and gild it."[e]

The receipts for their gold writing have been mentioned in the chapter on their sciences.

Of their sculpture and engraving we know little. Their rings and ornamented horns, and the jewel of Alfred, found in the isle of Athelney,[f] show that they had the art of engraving on metals and other substances with much neatness of mechanical execution, though with little taste or design.

That the Anglo-Saxons had some sort of architecture in use before they invaded Britain cannot be doubted, if we recollect that every other circumstance about them attests that they were by no means in the state of absolute barbarism. They lived in edifices, and worshipped in temples raised by their own skill. The temple which Charlemagne destroyed at Eresberg, in the 8th century, is described in terms which imply, at least, greatness; and if we consult their language, we shall find that they had indigenous expressions concerning their buildings, which is evidence that the things which they designate were in familiar use.[g]

The verb, which they commonly used when they spoke of building, satisfactorily shows us that their ancient erections were of wood. It is getymbrian, "to make of wood." Where Bede says of any one that he built a monastery or a church, Alfred translates it getimbrade. So appropriated was the word to building, that even when they became accustomed to stone edifices, they still retained it, though, when considered as to its original

[d] Muratori, t. ii. p. 370.
[e] Ibid. ii. p. 376.
[f] See Hickes's Thesaurus.

[g] Their term for window is rather curious; it is eh-ƿyrl, literally an eye-hole. Dr. Clarke says of the poorer sort of Russian towns, "A window in such places is a mark of distinction, and seldom seen. The houses in general have only small holes, through which, as you drive by, you see a head stuck as in a pillory." This description may explain the Saxon "eh-ƿyrl."

meaning, it then expressed an absurdity; for the Saxon Chronicle says of a person, that he promised to getembrian a church of stone,[h] which literally would imply that he made of wood a stone church. Alfred uses it in the same manner.

The first Saxon churches of our island were all built of wood.[i] The first church in Northumbria was built of wood.[j] So the one of Holy Island.[j] The church at Durham was built of split oak, and covered with reeds like those of the Scots.[k] In Greensted church in Essex, the most ancient part, the nave or body of this church, was entirely composed of the trunks of large oaks split, and rough-hewed on both sides. They were set upright and close to each other, being let into a sill at the bottom, and a plate at the top, where they were fastened with wooden pins. "This," says Ducarel, "was the whole of the original church, which yet remains entire, though much corroded and worn by length of time. It is 29 feet 9 inches long, and 5 feet 6 inches high on the sides, which supported the primitive roof."[l]

Remains of Roman architecture have been found in various parts of England. In Mr. Carter's Ancient Architecture of England, and in the publications of Mr. Lysons, may be seen several fragments of a Roman temple and other buildings lately dug up at Bath and elsewhere; which show that our ancestors, when they settled in England, had very striking specimens of Roman architecture before them, which must have taught them to despise their own rude performances, and to wish to imitate nobler models.

The circles of stones which are found in Cornwall, Oxfordshire, and Derbyshire, as well as the similar ones in Westphalia, Brunswick, and Alsatia, which Keysler mentions,[m] show rather the absence than the knowledge of architectural science. They are placed by mere strength, without skill; they prove labour and caprice, but no art.

Stonehenge is certainly a performance which exhibits more workmanship and contrivance. The stones of the first and third circles have tenons which fit to mortises in the stones incumbent. They are also shaped, though into mere simple upright stones, and the circles they describe have considerable regularity. But as it is far more probable that they were raised by the ancient Britons than by Anglo-Saxons, they need not be argued upon here.

If the Roman buildings extant in Britain had been insufficient to improve the taste, and excite the emulation of the Saxons, yet the arrival of the Roman clergy, which occurred in the 7th century, must have contributed to this effect.

[h] Sax. Chron. p. 28. [i] Bede, iii. 25. [j] Ibid. iii. 4. [k] Ibid.
[l] Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 100. [m] Antiq. Septent. p. 5–10.

It is true, that architecture as well as all the arts declined, even at Rome, after the irruption of the barbaric tribes. It is however a just opinion of Muratori,[n] that the arts, whose exercise is necessary to life, could never utterly perish. To build houses for domestic convenience, and places, however rude, for religious worship, exacted some contrivance. But there is a great distinction between the edifices of necessity and those of cultivated art. Strong walls, well-covered roofs, and a division of apartments; whatever simple thought, profuse expense, and great labour could produce, appeared in all parts of Europe during the barbarian ages: but symmetry and right disposition of parts, the plans of elegant convenience, of beauty and tasteful ornament, were unknown to both Roman and Saxon architects, from the 6th century to very recent periods.

But if the science and practice of Roman and Grecian architecture declined at Rome, with its political empire, and the erections of barbaric ignorance and barbaric taste appeared instead; the effect, which we are to expect would result from our ancestors becoming acquainted with the Roman models, was rather a desire for great and striking architecture, than an exact imitation of the beauty they admired. Correct and elegant architecture requires that the mind of the designer and the superintendant should be cultivated with a peculiar degree of geometrical science and general taste. Masons, capable of executing whatever genius may conceive, are not alone sufficient. Of these there must have been no want, in the most barbarous ages of Europe. They who could raise the stupendous monasteries and cathedrals, which we read of or have seen, could have equally reared the most elegant buildings of ancient art, if an architect had existed who could have given their labour and ingenuity the requisite direction. A Wren or a Vitruvius, was wanted, not able workmen. The disciplined mind and cultured taste, not the manual dexterity.

The arts of life are found to flourish in proportion as their productions are valued and required. When the Anglo-Saxons became converted to Christianity, they wanted monasteries and churches. And this demand for architectural ability would have produced great perfection in the art, if the state of the other arts and sciences had permitted a due cultivation of genius in this; but no single art can attain perfection if every other be neglected, or if general ignorance enfeeble and darken the mind. Patronage, therefore, though it called forth whatever mechanical labour and unlettered mind could fabricate, could not miraculously create taste and regular science. The love of sublimity is more congenial to the rude heroism of infant civilization, and therefore our ancient architecture often reached to the sublime;

[n] De Art. Ital. t. ii. p. 353.

but while we admire its vastness, its solidity, and its magnificence, we smile at its irregularities, its discordancies, and its caprice.

The chief peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon architecture, of which several specimens, though in fragments, exist, are declared to be a want of uniformity of parts, massy columns, semicircular arches, and diagonal mouldings.[o] Of these the two first are common to all the barbaric architecture of Europe. But the semicircular arches and diagonal mouldings seem to have been more peculiar additions to the Saxon building.

That the round arches were borrowed from Roman buildings, is the prevailing sentiment. It is at least a fact, that the Saxons must have seen them among the numerous specimens of the imperial architecture which they found in England.

The universal diagonal ornament, or zigzag moulding, which is a very distinguishing trait of the Saxon architecture, is found disposed in two ways; one with its point projecting outwards, and the other with its point lying so as to follow the lines which circumscribe it, either horizontal, perpendicular, or circular.[p]

On this single ornament an etymological remark may be hazarded, as it may tend to elucidate its origin. The Saxon word used to denote the adorning of a building is gefrætwian, or frætwan; and an ornament is frætew; but frætan signifies to gnaw or to eat; and upon our recollecting that the diagonal ornament of Saxon building is an exact imitation of teeth, we can hardly refrain from supposing that the ornament was an intended imitation of teeth. Frætew and frætwung, which they used to signify ornament, may be construed fretwork, or teethwork. The teeth which the Saxon diagonals represent, are, I believe, marine teeth. If so, perhaps they arose from the stringing of teeth of the large sea animals.

We will mention a few of the ancient Saxon buildings we met with, and show how they are described.

In 627, Paulinus built the first Christian church, in Northumbria, of wood; it was afterwards rebuilt on a larger scale, and with stone: he also built a stone church at Lincoln. His church at York was not very skilfully erected; for in less than a century afterwards, Wilfrid found its stony offices half destroyed; its roof was permeable to moisture. It had windows of fine linen cloth, or latticed wood-work; but no glazed casements, and therefore the birds flew in and out, and made nests in it.[q] So Bede says of his church at Lincoln, that though the walls were standing, the roof had fallen down.[r]

In 676, Benedict sought cementarios, or masons, to make a church in the Roman manner, which he loved. But the Roman manner seems not to express the Roman science and taste, but rather a work of stone, and of the large size which the Romans used. It was finished in a year after its foundation."[s]

At this period, glass-makers were not known among the Saxons. But

[o] See Carter's Ancient Architecture.
[p] Ibid. p. 15.
[q] Malmsb. 149.
[r] Bede, ii. 16.
[s] Ib. p. 295.

Benedict had heard of them, and he sent to Gaul for some, to make latticed windows to the porticoes and cænaculum of the church. From those whom he employed, the Saxons learned the art.[t]

In the 7th century, Cuthbert built a monastery, which is described. From wall to wall it was of four or five perches. The outside was higher than a standing man. The wall was not made of cut stone, or bricks and cement, but of unpolished stones and turf, which they had dug from the spot. Some of the stones four men could hardly lift. The roofs were made of wood and clay.[u]

As their architectural practice improved, they chose better materials. The Firman took from the church at Durham its thatched roof, and covered it with plates of lead.[v]

About 709, Wilfrid flourished. He, like many others, had travelled to Rome, and of course beheld the most valuable specimens of ancient art. He brought thence some masons and artificers.[w] Though he could not imitate these, he sought to improve the efforts of his countrymen. The church of Paulinus, at York, he completely repaired. He covered the roof with pure lead, he washed its walls from their dirt, and by glass windows (to use the words of my author) he kept out the birds and rain, and yet admitted light.

At Ripon, he also erected a church with polished stone, adorned with various columns and porticoes. At Hexham, he made a similar building. It was founded deep, and made of polished stones, with many columns and porticoes, adorned with great length and height of walls. It had many windings, both above and below, carried spirally round. It was superior to any edifice on this side of the Alps. In the inside was a stony pavement, on which a workman fell from a scaffold of enormous height.[x]

In 716, we read of Croyland monastery. The marshy ground would not sustain a stony mass. The king, therefore, had a vast number of piles of oak and alders fixed in the ground, and earth was brought in boats, nine miles off, to be mingled with the timber and the marsh, to complete the foundation.[y]

In 969, a church was built. The preceding winter was employed in preparing the iron and wooden instruments, and all other necessaries. The most skilful artificers were then brought. The length and breadth of the church were measured out, deep foundations were laid on account of the neighbouring moisture, and they were strengthened by frequent percussions of the rams. While some workmen carried stones, others made cement, and others raised both aloft by a machine, with a wheel. Two towers, with their tops, soon rose, of which the smaller was visible on the west, in the front of the church. The larger in the middle, with four spires, pressed on four columns, connected together by arches passing from one to the other, that they might not separate.[z]

It is supposed that many specimens of ancient Saxon architecture yet remain; as part of St. Peter's at Oxford, part of St. Alban's abbey church, Tickencote church, near Stamford, in Lincolnshire, the porch on the south side of Shireburn minster, Barfreston church, in Kent, Iffley church, and some others. But the works and delineations of professional men must be consulted on this subject.

[t] Bede, p. 295.
[u] Ib. p. 243.
[v] Ib. p. 25.
[w] Malmsb. lib. iii.
[x] Eddius, Vita Wilfridi, 59–63.
[y] Ingulf, p. 4.
[z] 3 Gale, 399.

BOOK X.

THEIR RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

Utility and Decline of Saxon Paganism, and the Introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons.—Its general Effect.—Religious Passages in the Welsh Bards.

The religion of the Saxons, while on the Continent, has been delineated in the Appendix to the first volume of this history. With that martial superstition they came into Britain. They found the island in a peculiar state on this impressive subject. In many towns and stations, they met with tomb-stones, altars, and other lapidary inscriptions; images, temples, and public works dedicated to several of the imaginary deities, which Rome, in her paganism, and her allies, had worshipped. The majority of the Britons were professing Christianity, and had sent bishops to the councils on the Continent. But the Druidism which yet had its regular temples in Bretagne, was lingering on some corners of the island, and was still, by its traditions and mysticisms, materially affecting the minds of the British bards of that period. Many of the remaining poems of Taliesin, and some passages in those of Llywarch Hen, show that mixture of the ancient Druidical feeling with their Christian faith, which evinces that their minds were a confused medley of opinions and sentiments from both sources, and therefore too fantastic to benefit or interest their Saxon conquerors, or to care for their improvement. The British clergy, as drawn by one of themselves, at that time, were by their vices, ignorance, and profligacy, still less qualified than the bards to impress the fierce descendants of Odin with either the morals or the belief of Christianity.

When we observe the many forms of idolatrous superstitions that have governed and still interest the human mind in so many parts, and for so many ages, and reflect on the vast reasoning powers of man, and on the highly-gifted individuals who have believed and supported such errors and absurdities, we are astonished at their predominance. But the fact of their long prevalence, is evidence that they must be connected with some of

the natural tendencies of the human mind, and with some of the circumstances of ancient society, and will induce the unprejudiced philosopher to hope that their long-continuing errors have not been altogether unuseful.

We may refer the rise and diffusion of the various systems to many causes. Accident, caprice, reasoning, imagination, policy, hope, fear, and the love of agitation and enjoyment, have suggested many rites and notions. Vanity, enthusiasm, craft, and selfishness, have given rise to others. But, perhaps, the desire of the human heart to have deities like itself, and as little above human nature as possible,—and its shrinking from a holy, just, all-knowing, and perfect God,—and its aversion to have any moral governor and legislator, principally led mankind to all their ancient polytheism. Yet the feelings of the sincere votaries, even of idolatry, have been always natural, and, though often gross and ignorant, usually well-intentioned. The dread of evil, and the expectation of averting it; gratitude for good enjoyed, anxiety at the vicissitudes of life, and the desire of a protector; grief under poignant sorrow, and the heart's craving for a comforter; regret for faults committed; a sense of imperfection and unworthiness; an awful impression of the majesty, as well as the power of the invisible Deity; the wish for an intercessor; the bitterness of disappointment, and the sentiment of the ultimate insufficiency of the riches, pleasures, and ambition of life to satisfy the mature and experienced mind;—these feelings have, in all times and places, concurred with other impressions to lead mankind to adopt with eagerness whatever system of deprecation, adoration, expiation, reconcilement, and supplication was most accessible, most habitual, or most recommended to their attention. It is upon their feelings, rather than upon their reason, that mankind base their belief, not in religion alone, but in all things which they accredit or uphold; and belief will be always greatly coloured by the fancies, state of knowledge, exigencies, cultivation, and customs of the day.

No paganism could, according to the nature of things, have subsisted long, or would have been permitted to subsist, unless some temporary utility had accompanied it. The religion of every country being the creature, or the adoption, of its feelings and intellect, must correspond with their state and tendencies. It must partake of their imperfections, and improve as they do. But all forms of paganism, though frequently at variance with morality, are yet the antagonists of atheism, and of its counterpart, a disbelief of the moral government of the Deity. Although paganism attaches the feelings and opinions to imaginary beings, yet it preserves, in the general mind, the impression of a Divine power and providence, interested by human conduct, and superintending human concerns; commanding nature, punishing crimes, imposing precepts; irresistible yet placable; and on whose distri-

bution all the good and evil of life continually depend. It fills nature with Deity, though it combines it with phantoms of its perverted imagination. It is undoubtedly true that the greatest mistakes of reasoning and conduct have been connected with idolatry and polytheism. But, with all these evils, they have kept both the uncultivated and refined mind of the world from surrendering the command of its energies and feelings to the government of atheism; and thus have preserved society from that dreadful state of selfishness, bloodshed, violence, and profligacy, which must have resulted if universal disbelief of a creating and presiding Deity had pervaded it; and which, as far as reasoning can extend its foresight, must accompany the universal diffusion of a system so disconsolatory.

But, independently of this general benefit, almost every system of paganism, if closely examined, will be found to contain some valuable principles or feelings that half redeem its follies. The lofty theism, and sublime, though wild, traditions of the Northmen we have already noticed from their Voluspa and Edda. It is most probable that in these we read the sentiments of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. It would indeed seem that both the British Druids and the Saxon Pagans had as high a sense of the Supreme Deity as some of the Orphic verses show to have existed in some of the minds of ancient Greece. I infer this, as to the Britons, from the remarkable circumstance that the most ancient British bards, and those of the middle ages, whatever be the subject of their poems, made it their usual custom to begin them with an address to the Deity, or to insert some expressions of veneration to him, containing not only ideas derived from Christianity, but often others that are more referable to the notions of their Druidical ancestors.[a] In the Saxon poems that remain, we find, in the same spirit, many metaphors and much periphrasis on the Deity, which seem to be the effusions of their more ancient feelings; and fragments, or mutations, of some part of their pagan hymns.

[a] The poems of Taliesin, Meilyr, Gwalchmai, Meilyr and Einion his sons, Cynddelw, Llywarch ap Moe, Casnodyn, Dafydd y Coed, Griffith ab Maredwg, and others, abound with instances of this poetical piety, of which the following are given as specimens:

Taliesin.

Sovereign of heaven and of every region!
We knew not
Who thou wert.

To God the Defyer:
To God the Regulator:
The Prophet of Mercy!
The Great; the Wonderful;—
When thou gavest protection
Thro' the waves
To the path of Moses;
Sovereign principle of all movement,
Thine is the country of heaven,
To thee it belongs,
Thine is the peace of heaven.
To thee
There is neither covering
Nor want
In thy region, O Regulator!
Nothing can be made,
Nothing can be separated,
Nothing can be protected
But by him.

Great was his atonement

But all the religious systems of the ancient pagan world were naturally perishable, from the quantity of false opinions, and vicious

And thy liberality
And mercy.
Lord of the tribute of the world!
May we also be
Received together
In the cities of the heavens.

No one can be enriched
Without the power of the Trinity.

I will praise the Fountain of Love;
The Lord of every nation,
The Sovereign of hosts and of energies
Around the universe.

TALHAIARN.

O God! Grant me protection! and with thy protection, strength; and with strength, discretion; and with discretion, integrity; and with integrity, love; and in love, to love thee, oh my God: and loving thee, to be affectionate to every thing.

MEILYR.

The King of kings!
It shall be pre-eminently my duty
Freely to praise Him.
To my loftiest Lord,
I will lift up my prayer.

Sovereign of the region of necessity!
Of the exalted circle of felicity!
Excelling one!
Make a reconciliation
Between me and thee.

The re-echoing groan returns
At the memory how thou wast insulted
For me.
But may my penitence be effectual,
Thou hast satisfied punishment
In the presence of God, the Creator;
My atonement! but my prayer
Is without service.

Yet I will serve thee,
O my eternal King!
Ere I vanish from my earthly frame,
A prophecy of truth
Toward Adam and his offspring
The prophets predicted;

The existence of Jesus
In the womb of Martyrdom!
That the good Mary
Should carry the embryo burthen.

I have heaped up to excess
A burthen of sins.
I am in tumult!
I have been greatly agitated
By their conflicts.

Sovereign of all Life!
How good to those who worship thee!
I will worship thee.
May I become completely purified
Before I am punished.
The King of every dominion,
He knows me;
He will not refuse me:
He will have mercy
On my evil deeds.

Often have I obtained
Gold and velvet from frail chiefs
For loving them,
But after the gift of the muse
It is now otherwise.
Poor is my tongue,
In its silence.

I, Meilyr, the poet,
Am a Pilgrim to Peter.
To a Porter who regulates
All qualities appropriately.

The time will be
The appointed season of resurrection
To all that are in the grave.
I foresee it.
Tho' I shall be in my dwelling
Awaiting the call,
The Goal is secure,
There, I shall be preserved.

My rest shall be in a solitude
Not won by the traveller.
The bosom of the briny sea
Shall be around my sepulchre,
In the pleasing island of Mary,
The holy island of the pure:
The image of our rising up
Is beautiful in her.

Christ whose cross was predicted
Will there know me;
Will there guard me
From the uproar of hell;
The abode of the separated.
The creator who formed me
Will admit me
Among the holy society
Of the community of Eulli.

habits and ceremonies and bad morals that were attached to them. Human judgment may, for a time, be deceived, corrupted, or

Gwalchmai.

To us there is a Physician
Who can deliver us from falsehood.
Let us place then upon him our dependance.
It is the Lord of Heaven
Who hath the power
To free us from vice even after its extremity.

Einion ab Gwalchmai.

By conquering reconciliation for my errors,
Before I am in my sepulchral course
Among the graves,
Before the period of the bitter tales approaches,
Before the sighing for my sins returns upon me,
God in his kind love
Will preserve me in the cities of heaven,
God will hear my voice;
For my thoughts ascend to Him.

Meilyr Son of Gwalchmai.

May the Supreme not leave me
With the forsaken part!
The Deity gave us our beginning
In the delicious circle of paradise,
In light never ceasing.
He caused us peculiarly to exist
Without any wants.
The transcendent Eternal!
Thy government is our refuge.
Lord of all wealth! Light of the world!
Creator of the heavens!
Grant me strength from thee,
Rewarder of all!
To behold the banquet
Of the bliss of our renovation.

The best state of protection, of glorious support,
Is to deserve a recompense by meditating on him.
For the value thou hast given me,
Hearken! O mortal man,
I give thee counsel free from malice.
When God shall please
To divest thee of thy present form,
And from the dwelling of dread
May the gift of his treasures of light be upon thee.

O loftiest First Principle!
Thy government is my refuge,
Lord of all wealth!
Luminary of the world!
Grant me,
Creator of heaven,
Strength from thee,
That in due time I may behold
Thy banquet of felicity without end.

May I attain thy sacred rest,
O holy King of Saints,
In thy kingdom of glory.
Sovereign of heaven and earth!
And of the great universe!
Benign Lord
Of the radiating emanation!
The king of pure intellect and of the stars,
May he endow me with sense.

Griffith ab Maredwy.

Hear me,
My self-exciting Lord!
Who sittest above the stars!
Hear in thy heaven,
Protector of the system of the course
Of the region of felicity,
Convert me from my falling state
To thy eternity.
Thou art our hope,
O Son of Mary!
Dispenser of happiness!
Teacher of our joy!
Our gracious Creator!

I will fix my home;
I will prepare for the paths of light,
By adoring my sovereign Lord
As long as I exist.

Intercede for us!
O make us perfect,
Triune Deity!
O Lord!
Hearken to my prayer!

Lord of the course of the wind
And the wild torrents of the sea!
Great is Thy grace;
Great are Thy wonders.

Llywarch Prydydd ap Moch.

May I not totally lose God
From the impulse of the world!
He has not entirely lost heaven
Who is not insane.

Mighty Leader!
Most royally supreme!
The Governor of the blissful mansions of heaven!

overpowered; but its tendency to right action is so strong, and so indestructible, that no error can be permanent. The reign of what is untrue or unjust may be longer or shorter according to the pressure of incumbent circumstances; but the mind is always struggling to attain every attainable good, and therefore to appropriate to itself every new truth that becomes visible. Hence, as we have before remarked, it had begun to discern the imperfections of its Saxon paganism before Christianity came within its reach; and as soon as this new system was presented fully to its contemplation, the Anglo-Saxon mind discerned its superiority, and was not unduly tardy in adopting it. It was impossible for Christianity to be presented to the world, and for idolatry to exist in credit against it. Hence Polytheism fell in Greece and Rome, as it is now declining in India and the South Sea Islands.

It has been remarked of the Christian religion, that it neither arose from ambition, nor was propagated by the sword. It appealed unoffendingly to the reason, the sensibility, the virtue, and the interest of mankind; and, in opposition to all that was venerated or disputed, maintained by power, or believed by the

I implore strength from thee,
The prosperity of every kindred!
I love to praise thee,
Greatly splendid, mysterious One!
O Sovereign most benign!

O Christ! the Creator!
The Governor of the host of earth
And also of heaven!
Protect me from sorrow.
Christ! thou mysterious One
May I be retired and gentle
Before
O Son of Mary!
Prepare for me from the four elements,
A genius, penetrating and undaunted,
O Son of God!

Christ the Creator,
Self-causer of motion!
Mysterious One!
Thou column of tranquillity!
O Son of Mary!
Prepare for me
A pure fountain of intellect
Before iniquity affects it.

Cynzelw.

May the Deity conduct me
For my proportioned honour
To his blissful kingdom,
To his grace, to his own dominion.

Dafydd y Coed.

Jesus
The earth-born King!
The mysterious One!
The fountain of love!
The faithful! The great!
Emperor of sea and land!
May I obtain heaven.
That seat of all tranquillity.

Casnodyn.

The God of mystery is Three!
The column of emanations;
Thro' his grace,
And the benign One
The subject of our song!
Surpassing in power is He
The Father of heaven!
Lord of the glorious attributes
Above all the creatures
Of most excelling virtues!

O Regulator!
Perfect organizer of the sun and moon!
Thou didst arrange and form
In thine enlarged purpose
The finely connected powers
Of the lips that sing.

Thousands in concert
Are uttering thy praise.
Thou hast arranged the stars,
And the seas of fluctuating tides.
Thou hast arranged the mighty earth,
With its surface all complete
Thou rulest the swamps of hell
And the disposition of Satan.

populace, it peaceably established itself in every province of the Roman empire; as, by the same means, it is now penetrating every region of the globe.

Among the Anglo-Saxons, its conquest over the fierce paganism which our ancestors upheld, was not begun till both Ireland and France had submitted to her laws; but it was accomplished in a manner worthy of its benevolence and purity, as we have already detailed in the reigns of Ethelbert and Edwin.

Genuine piety led the first missionaries to our shores. Their zeal, their perseverance, and the excellence of the system they diffused, notwithstanding some peculiarities which, in conformity with their own taste, and with that of their age, they attached to it, made their labour successful.

How long the Saxon paganism continued among individuals in each district, after it ceased to be the religious establishment of the government, there are no materials for ascertaining. It was too irrational to have maintained a protracted contest with Christianity; but though it may have ceased to have had its temples and priests, or any visible existence, yet the influence of its prejudices, and of the habits it had generated, continued long to operate. These became insensibly mixed with so much of Christianity as each understood, and produced that motley character in religion and morals which was so often displayed in the Anglo-Saxon period.

But Christianity was a positive benefit to the nation, in every degree of its prevalence. Wherever it has penetrated, like the Guardian Angel of the human race, it has meliorated the heart and enlightened the understanding; and hence has become the religion of the most cultivated portions of the globe.

Every part of its moral system is directed to soften the asperities of the human character, to remove its selfishness, to intellectualize its sensualities, to restrain its malignity, and to animate its virtues. If it did not eradicate all the vices of the Anglo-Saxon by whom it was professed, it taught him to abandon many. It exhibited to his contemplation the idea of what human nature ought to be, and may attain. It gradually implanted a moral sense in his bosom, and taught his mind the habit of moral reasoning, and its application to life. It could not be known unless some portion of literature was attained or diffused. It therefore actually introduced learning into England, and taught the Anglo-Saxons to cultivate intellectual pursuits.

On the enslaved poor of the country its effects were most benign. It was always contributing to their emancipation, by urging their lords to grant this blessing as an act beneficial to their state after death; and while slavery continued in the country, the master was humanized, and the bondmen consoled, wherever Christianity was admitted and obeyed.

The effects of Christianity, in diminishing the superstitions of the day, were also considerable. The credulous fancies of an unlettered people are very gross, and usually hold the understanding in chains, from which it is difficult to emerge. The conversion of the nation destroyed this brutish slavery, and greatly strengthened and enlarged its general intellect. Monkish superstition introduced other follies; but the literature which accompanied them dispelled them as it spread, and reason in every age gained new conquests, which she never lost. Indeed, in nothing was the new religion more strikingly beneficial, than by introducing a moral and intellectual education. This could have neither been known nor understood till Christianity displayed the value, imparted the means, and produced the habit of adopting it.

The political effects of Christianity in England were as good as they could be in that age of general darkness; but it must be confessed that they were not so beneficial as its individual influence; and yet we are indebted for it to chivalry, and the high-minded tone of spirit and character which that produced. We owe to its professors all the improvement that we have derived from the civil law, which they discovered, revived, explained, and patronized. Nor has Christianity been unserviceable to our constitutional liberty: every battle which the churchman fought against the king or noble, was for the advantage of general freedom; and by rearing an ecclesiastical power, which at one time opposed the king, and at another the aristocracy of the chiefs, it certainly favoured the rise of the political importance and influence of the middle and lower classes of the people. The independence, and even the ambition, of the church, could not be asserted without checking the royal power; and such opposition repeatedly compelled the crown to court popularity as its surest defence.

The defects which often accompanied these benefits, were the faults of a very partially enlightened age; of tempers sometimes sincerely zealous, and sometimes ambitiously selfish, but always violent and irascible; and of the system into which Christianity was distorted. They did not spring from the religion inculcated by the Scriptures. Monkish and papal Christianity became, in every age after the seventh, something different from Apostolical Christianity. Religion is enjoined by its Divine Author to be made the governing principle of life, but its true spirit and utility declines or disappears, when superstition, imposture, politics, folly, or violence is combined with it. Formed to suit, to influence, and to adorn every class of society, true piety mixes gracefully with every innocent pleasure which virtue sanctions; with every accomplishment which refined intellect values; and with all that business which life requires, and which enlightened pru-

dence would cultivate. It forbids only, in every pursuit, that monopolizing absorption of mind which cannot be indulged without debasing ourselves or injuring others. It aims to form us to a species of celestial intellect, and celestial sensibility. Its true offspring is not the gloomy ascetic, fasting into atrophy in the solitude of a desert; nor the self-tormenting monk, mortifying himself into imbecility, and mistaking delirium for inspiration. Its object is to lead us to a gradual approximation towards the Divine perfections; and its tuition for this purpose is that of parental tenderness and affectionate wisdom, imposing no restraints but such as accelerate our improvements; and distressing us with no vicissitudes but those which tend to make our happiness compatible with our virtue, and to render human life a series of continual progression. Inattentive to these great objects of the Christian Legislator, the papal hierarchy, though often producing men of the holiest lives and of the most spiritual devotion, yet has, from accident, fanaticism, and policy, pursued too often a spurious plan of forcing mankind to become technical automatons of rites and dreams; words and superstitions; and has supported a system which, if not originally framed, was at least applied to enforce a long-continued exertion of transferring the government of the world into the hands of ecclesiastics, and too often superseding the Christianity of the Gospels by that of tradition, policy, half delirious bigotry, feelings often fantastic, and unenlightened enthusiasm. These errors could not always support the noble aspirations of devout sensibility which were sometimes combined with them. But the mischievous additions usually formed the prevailing character of the multitude.

CHAPTER II.

Anglo-Saxons become Missionaries to other Nations.

Soon after the Anglo-Saxons had been converted to Christianity they became anxious to spread its consolations among their Continental ancestors, and the neighbouring nations.

Willebrod, with eleven of his companions, went as missionaries from England to Heligoland and Friesland in 692; and was made bishop of the city now called Utrecht. His associates spread Christianity among the Westphalians and their neigh-

bours.[a] Boniface, in 715, left our island to convert the Germans: he preached to the Thuringians, Hessians, and others. He founded the bishoprics of Wurtzburg, Buraburg, Erfurt, and Erchstadt. In 744 he raised the celebrated monastery of Fulda; and in 746, was made archbishop of Mentz. Returning to Friesland, in 755, he was there murdered, with fifty ecclesiastics who accompanied him. He had converted above one hundred thousand Germans.[b] Lebuin was another Englishman who attempted to become a missionary; and Adalbert, son of a king of the Northumbrian kingdom of Deira, in 790, went to Germany for the same purpose.[c]

We have an intimation of the plan of instruction which they adopted for the change of the pagan mind, in the following judicious directions of Alcuin for a progressive information:

"This order should be pursued in teaching mature persons: 1st. They should be instructed in the immortality of the soul; in the future life; in its retribution of good and evil, and in the eternal duration of both conditions.

"2d. They should then be informed for what sins and crimes they will have to suffer with the Devil everlasting punishments; and for what good and beneficial deeds they will enjoy unceasing glory with Christ.

"3d. The faith of the Holy Trinity is then to be most diligently taught: and the coming of our Saviour into the world for the salvation of the human race. Afterwards impress the mystery of his passion; the truth of his resurrection; his glorious ascension; his future advent to judge all nations, and the resurrection of our bodies.

"Thus prepared and strengthened, the man may be baptized."[d]

CHAPTER III.

View of the Form of Christianity introduced among the Anglo-Saxons; and of some of the Religious Rites and Notions.

THE form and spirit of Christianity introduced among the Anglo-Saxons by Gregory's monks were unquestionably the best which he and the Roman church then knew and valued. And as the form and spirit of every institution arise from the mind and disposition of some portion of its contemporaries, and are adapted to their feelings or occasions, so we may assume that the doc-

[a] Alcuin, Vita Willeb.

[b] See his Letters. 15 Bib. Mag. Pat.; and see Mosheim Eccl. Hist. cent. 8.

[c] Tanner, Not. Mon. 4. Ireland was also successful in its missionary exertions. Its Columbanus taught in Gaul, and among the Suevi and Boioi; one of his companions, St. Gall, converted many of the Helvetii and Suevi; and St. Kilian visited the Eastern Franks.

[d] Alc. Op. p. 1484.

trines, rites, and formulæ of Christianity, which the papal see established in England in the seventh century, were congenial with the mind, character, taste, and circumstances of the nation, and of Europe at that period. It is therefore no reproach to the memory of Gregory or of his missionaries, if we now appreciate differently the merit of what they taught with the most benevolent integrity and merited success. The world has become a new world of knowledge, feeling, taste, habit, and reason since that period. Their religious education suited their comparative babyhood of knowledge and intellect, and formed an interesting and improving child. New agencies occurred afterwards to rear this infant to a noble youth. Better views of religion have since united with expanded science and progressive reason to conduct the national character and mind to a still superior manhood. Each preceding stage was necessary to the formation of the subsequent. Each has produced its appropriate utilities, and each has passed away from our estimation as soon as higher degrees of improvement were attained, and better systems became visible. The Scriptures are the imperishable records of our faith and hope; and if their lessons only had been allowed to be the guides of man's opinions and practice, all the absurdities and superstitions which we lament or ridicule would have been prevented or soon removed. But in every age the human mind has chosen to blend religion with its own dreams and passions; and has made these, and not the Gospel, the paramount, though always erring, dictators of our theological knowledge and religious sensibility. It is the glory of the present age, that the cultivated understanding is emancipating itself from all the dogmatism and prejudices both of scepticism and superstition, and is advancing to those just and clear views of impartial truth, of human weakness, and of the need and efficacy of divine assistance, which will unite faith with philosophy, knowledge with hope, divine love with moral beauty, and self-comfort with an active, kind, and magnanimous charity.

With these views we may smile without insult at some of the questions, and condemn without bitterness others, on which Augustine requests the directions of Gregory, as to the ecclesiastical government, discipline, rules, and restrictions to which he is to subject his new converts. We are surprised that some of the points adverted to should have been made the subjects of sacerdotal notice; but the gravity and earnestness with which they are put and answered, show that they were then deemed proper objects of such attention, and were considered by priest and votary to be important and interesting to the consciences of both.[a]

[a] See Bede's 27th chapter of his first book, of which the eighth and ninth articles are the most objectionable. But there is a liberality in the pope's answer to the

The detail of all the ecclesiastical rites and notions of the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics would be tedious and unimproving in a general history. They have been discussed and disputed professionally by some, and as matters of antiquarian curiosity by others. The present chapter will be limited to the selection of a few points, on which some original information can be given, and which may be more interesting to the philosophical reader.

Among the religious institutions of the Anglo-Saxons, their monastic establishments attained a great though fluctuating popularity. In the first period of their Christianity, when a general ardour of belief impelled those who sincerely embraced it, several kings and nobles withdrew from the business and vexations of the world to enjoy the devout serenity of the cloister. Such a taste has been too hastily censured as a mental imbecility. The system of monasteries, though pernicious when abused, and defective in its intellectual regulations, yet contained much that was fairly interesting both to the imagination and the heart of the Anglo-Saxons, and that actually contributed to increase the happiness of life in their day. Even now, in the opinion of many thinking men, if they were confined to the middle and declining periods of life; if they were frequented by those only, who, after having discharged all their social duties, desired to withdraw from the occupations, troubles, and fascinations of the world, to a halcyon calm of mind, uninterrupted study, tranquil meditation, or devotional sensibility; if they were not shackled by indissoluble vows of continuance, imprisoning the repining; if they were made seminaries of education, and allowed to be temporary asylums of unprovided youth; and if their rules and habits were framed on such moral plans and religious formulæ as should be found worthy of an intellectual age, which seeks to combine the fancy and the feeling in a sweet harmony with its knowledge and its reason; thus formed and directed, such institutions might again contribute to the happiness of the aged, the destitute, the

second question that deserves notice. "You know the custom of the Roman church, in which you remember you was brought up. But I am willing, if you have found any thing in the Roman or Gallican, or in any other church, which will be more pleasing to the Almighty, that you carefully select it; and infuse into the English church, which is yet new in the faith, in its leading institution, those things which you may have collected from many churches. Things are not to be loved for places, but places for good things. Choose then from every church whatever things are pious, religious, and right, and, collecting them as into a bundle, place them as a habit in the minds of the English." Bede, lib. i. c. 27. If the papal see had continued to act on this wise rule, as society advanced, it would have improved with every succeeding age, and have still held the dominion of the religious world. But it ever afterwards deviated into a narrow, peculiar, and unchangeable system, that has become in every following generation more incompatible with the human progress; and thus it has irretrievably lost the government of the intellectual world. A new and wiser system, that has yet to receive its being, can alone obtain that universal sceptre to which both ancient and modern Rome so long aspired, and for a brief interval attained.

sorrowful, the lonely, the abstracted, the studious, the pensive, the unambitious, the embarrassed, and the devout, as well as to the instruction of the young, the relief of the poor, and the revival of religious sensibility in the community at large. The spiritual piety of the more fervent sympathies had the advantage of these asylums under the catholic institutions.

But when monasteries were founded among the Anglo-Saxons, mankind had not attained or noticed the experience of all their effects; and the visible good which they achieved, prevented their evils from being felt; or if they were discerned, no better means then occurred of acquiring elsewhere their manifest advantages. Our ancestors did not perceive that they were opposed to the social duties and general improvement of mankind, by admitting the young and active; by compelling the self-sacrifice to last for life; by a series of religious ordinances that became mechanical rote; by a slavish discipline and unimproving habits; by their discouragement of liberal feelings and an enlarged cultivation of the intellect; and by legends, bigotry, superstitious tenets and prejudices, which as much poisoned the mind as the increasing corruptions and ambition which they fed and fomented deteriorated the conduct. Of these ill effects, many were the growth of time, others of ignorance, and some of the circumstances in which former ages had been involved. But as they began the mental and moral education of the country, and carried it on successfully to a certain point; as they fostered and diffused that religious spirit, without which, as without them, the Anglo-Saxons would not have long retained their Christianity; and as they made the hierarchy a stronger bulwark against the violence of the great at one time, and the oppressions of the throne at another; these establishments were for a long time of incalculable utility. Having become incompatible with the improved reason, new state, and present duties of mankind, the downfall of their ancient system in the present age was as necessary as their elevation had been expedient. To suit the present wants and progress of society, they must, if ever introduced again, be entirely new-created; and upon a wiser plan, and under an intelligent and benevolent administration, they would be the retreat of serene happiness to many.

The monastic scheme which the Anglo-Saxons adopted was that of St. Benedict; and it is impossible to read his rule without perceiving that it was the product of a mind aiming to do what seemed wisest and best. For above a century the Anglo-Saxons warmly patronized monasteries; but the industry of their fraternities so much improved their possessions, that they tempted the avarice, not only of the less religious great, but of the other dignitaries of the church; and I have found among the works of

our venerable Bede this complaint of their spoliation and decay in his time:

"The possessions of monasteries were given to the monks, that they and their servitors, and the poor and strangers who may arrive, should be nourished thereout. This care belongs to all Christians; but, I grieve to say it, nothing is more difficult to be believed, as well by the clergy as by laics, than that it is a sin to plunder the possessions of the monasteries, and to alienate them.—Attend, I beseech you, O rulers! Be exhorted to restore the destroyed monasteries: first, that the spoilers may return to the monks the property taken from them; then, that they who fear God and walk in his ways may be preferred to those who do not; for God is greatly offended, that those places which were emancipated and consecrated to him, and his saints, should be destroyed from the carelessness of the governors. If those serving God in monasteries had whatever was necessary to them, they could pursue their divine duties with more alacrity; they could more devoutly intercede for the king, for the safety of the bishops and princes, and for all the church. But all these things are treated with such neglect by most bishops, that if a pure prayer, or rebuke, or seasonable admonition should be necessary, they disdain to notice it: caring only that pleasing and assiduous duties be done to themselves.

"It is to be much lamented, that since the lands which were formerly delivered to monasteries by religious princes are now taken away by kings or bishops, no alms can be given there, and no guest or stranger refreshed.

"If they find monasteries destroyed by neglect of their spiritual or corporeal provisions, they not only take no care to meliorate them, but even encourage the destruction."[b]

Alcuin has a passage which intimates the same decline.[c]

The ravages of the Danish invaders, who, being martial pagans, exulted in burning Christian churches and cloisters, destroyed many monastic establishments: and though Alfred, by his example, encouraged the taste of building them, few were erected again till the reign of Edgar. Dunstan led his young mind to become their earnest patron; and the zeal for re-establishing them on the reformed plan, which had been adopted at Fleury, in France, urged both the sovereign and his mitred preceptor to the greatest violences against the then existing clergy. Ethelwold, whom Dunstan procured to be made a bishop, had land given him for making a translation of the Latin Rule of St. Benedict into the Anglo Saxon; and it was the boast of the king and his council, that they had founded forty monasteries by their exertions. We have a detail of the formation of one of these, from which some particulars are worth selecting, to preserve a memorial of the manner and progress by which such endowments were effected, and the principles on which they were recommended and patronized.

"On the death of a favourite nobleman of Edgar's court, his brother, an

[b] Bede Op. vol. viii. p. 1071.

[c] "We have seen in some places the altars without a roof, fouled by birds and dogs." Ep. p. 1487.

ealdorman, expressed to Bishop Oswald his desire to pursue a better system of life than his worldly occupations permitted. Oswald assured him that his secular affairs would but give him so many opportunities of doing good, if he was careful to observe a conscientious spirit of equity, a merciful moderation, and a constant intention of right conduct. But he added, that they only were free, serene, and released from all danger and anxiety, who renounced the world; and that their piety brought blessings on their country. 'By their merits, the anger of the Supreme Judge is abated; a healthier atmosphere is granted; corn springs up more abundantly; famine and pestilence withdraw; the state is better governed; the prisons are opened; the fettered released; the shipwrecked are relieved; and the sick recovered.' Oswald ended his speech by advising him, if he had any place in his territory fitted for a monastery, to build one upon it, promising to contribute to its maintenance.

"The ealdorman replied, that he had some hereditary land surrounded with marshes, and remote from human intercourse. It was near a forest of various sorts of trees, which had several open spots of good turf, and others of fine grass for pasture. No buildings had been upon it, but some sheds for his herds, who had manured the soil.

"They went together to view it. They found that the waters made it an island. It was so lonely, and yet had so many conveniences for subsistence and secluded devotion, that the bishop decided it to be an advisable station. Artificers were collected. The neighbourhood joined in the labour. Twelve monks came from another cloister to form the new fraternity. Their cells and a chapel was soon raised. In the next winter, they provided the iron and timber, and utensils that were wanted, for a handsome church. In the spring, amid the fenny soil, a firm foundation was laid. The workmen laboured as much from devotion as for profit. Some brought the stones; others made the cement; others applied to the wheel machinery that raised them on high: and in a reasonable time, the sacred edifice, with two towers, appeared, on what had been before a desolate waste; and Abbo, celebrated for his literature, was invited from Fleury, to take charge of the schools that were appended to it. Such was the formation of the Ramsey monastery."[d]

The monastic establishments of Edgar were effected with too much violence and injustice to have good results: the truth is as old as the world, though rarely palatable to it, that evil means will have evil consequences. The former clergy were driven into an irascible opposition against the new system, and the discords which ensued from it, among the nobles and nation, led to the second series of Danish invasions. From these, so many disorders followed, that both monks and clergy declined into that low state of morals and mind, from which the Norman conquest afterwards rescued the religion of the country.

The form of the hierarchy established among the Anglo-Saxons was episcopal. An archbishop, and bishops subordinate to him, and receiving the confirmation of their dignity, or their spiritual investiture, from the pope, were the rulers of the church; yet subject, both to their own national as well as to general councils, and also in many points to the witena-gemot, of which they were a part, and, in their temporal concerns, to the king. Under the episcopal aristocracy, deans, archdeacons, canons, prebends, and

[d] Hist. Ram. p. 396—400.

the parochial clergy, enjoyed various powers and privileges. The monks and nuns were governed by their own abbots, abbesses, and priors, assisted, and, in some respects, controlled, by conventual chapters; subject to, yet not always submitting to the pope, and claiming an independence on the episcopal clergy. There were no friars or mendicant orders among the Anglo-Saxons; but they encouraged hermits and pilgrims, and severe penances, and loved relics, and venerated saints, to whose number they largely contributed; and they practised excommunications.

Our limits will not allow us to give a full portraiture of the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy, and its rites and doctrines. A few points only can be mentioned here. But it may be remarked, as some excuse for visible imperfections, that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had every thing to construct on these subjects. Except some valuable gleams of patriarchal theism, which their poetical epithets for the Deity, that seem to have emanated from their paganism, imply that they retained, there was nothing in the idolatry of their ancestors that could assist them in the formation of their Christian system. They had every thing to learn on this new theme of mind; and they had to begin their pupilage in times of storm and darkness, both within and without them.

They were strongly exhorted to study the Scriptures: instead of withholding these, their clergy earnestly pressed their frequent perusal, and gave the example themselves. Bede employed himself, like our Alfred, in making moral and religious selections from them, and also commented on each of their books. Alcuin repeatedly presses their perusal, especially the Gospels;[e] and urges the contemplation of our Saviour's life and precepts.[f] His high and just estimate of the Psalms is very interestingly expressed.[g] Every priest was ordered to have the "halȝan bec," the sacred books, that "he might teach his people rightly who looked up to him:" and he was to take care that they were well written.[h] Very ancient MSS. of Saxon translations of the Gospels, written between Alfred's times and Harold's still exist.[i] It was not only to

[e] To one he says, "Scribe Evangelicum in corde tuo," p. 1635. To another, "I wish the four Gospels, instead of the twelve Æneids, filled your breast," p. 1549. "Read diligently, I beseech you, the Gospels of Christ," p. 1561. "Be studious in reading the sacred Scriptures," p. 1583. "The reading of the sacred books is necessary," p. 1546.

[f] Alcuin writes to a friend: "Study Christ as foretold in the books of the Prophets, and as exhibited in the Gospels; and when you find him, do not lose him; but introduce him into the home of thy heart, and make him the ruler of thy life. Love him as thy Redeemer, and thy Governor, and as the dispenser of all thy comforts. Keep his commandments, because in them is eternal life." Op. p. 1637.

[g] See it in his Op. p. 123–126. [h] Lib. Can. Eccl. Wilk. p. 156.

[i] Wanley mentions, of Saxon MSS., one in the Bodleian library, p. 64; two at Cambridge, p. 116 and 152; and one in the British Museum, p. 211, in Latin and Saxon, p. 81. He notices one in the Bodlcian, p. 250; and the very beautiful MSS.

gratify an Anglo-Saxon ealdorman,[j] but also to enable the people at large to hear or read it,[k] that Elfric undertook his translation of the Scriptures from the Latin, about the end of the tenth century. From the different styles of the Anglo-Saxon versions of the Gospels, they must have been translated oftener than once.

It is certain that the transubstantiation of the Eucharist was not the established or universal belief of the Anglo-Saxons. In a MS. of Saxon Ecclesiastical Constitutions, it is declared, "the hurel (the sacrament) is Christ's body, *not bodily, but spiritually;* not the body in which he suffered, but the body about which he spoke when he blessed the loaf and wine."[l]

They imbibed the well-intentioned but unwise taste for relics; a taste not only objectionable for the misplaced veneration of things not deserving of it, and fostering mysterious superstitions, which differed in name only from the magic and witchcraft which they were taught to execrate, but also reprehensible for having falsehood for its basis, and, like their legends, confounding all history and truth. The list of relics revered in one church, and stated to have been collected from abroad, and given to it by Athelstan, will afford a complete illustration of these remarks.[m]

Although they used the sign of the cross and its actual re-

just before mentioned, Nero, D. 4; as also several Latin copies written in the Saxon times. One of these is the actual copy given by King Ethelstan to the church at Durham. It was in the British Museum, Otho, B. 9.

[j] Elfric, in his prefatory Saxon epistle, says to him, "Thou badest me, dear one, that I should turn this book of Genesis from Latin to English." MSS. Camb. Wan. p. 162.

[k] In his Latin preface, Elfric says, he has translated the Scriptures from the Latin in the ordinary tongue, "for the edification of the simple, who know only this speech."—"We have therefore put it not into obscure words, but into simple English, that it may easier reach the heart of those who read or hear it." MSS. Camb. Wan. 153.

[l] See it printed from a MS. at Cambridge, written about the time of the Conquest, in Wilkins, p. 159. It adds:—"Understand now, that as the Lord before his suffering might change the loaf to his body, and the wine to his blood, spiritually, so the same is daily blessed through the hands of the priest, the loaf to his body, and the wine to his blood spiritually," p. 160. The same passage is given in Wanley, Cat. p. 111.

[m] It would be too long to give the whole of the Anglo-Saxon document. Some of its chief articles are: a piece of the actual cross; a part of our Saviour's sepulchre; of his clothes; of the manger in which he was laid; of the spear that wounded him; of the table where he supped; of the mount he ascended from; of Mount Sinai; of the burning bush; of the candle lighted by an angel on the eve of our Saviour's resurrection; of Mount Olive, where he prayed; of his cap and hair; of the Virgin's dress; of the body and garments of the Baptist; of St. Peter's beard and hair; St. Paul's neck bones; St. Andrew's stick; St. Bartholomew's head; St. Stephen's blood, and of the stone that killed him; of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence; the bones of a great many martyrs; the teeth of St. Maurice and St. Basil; the arms and ribs of other saints; the finger of Mary Magdalen; the cheek of St. Brigida; the veil of St. Agatha, &c. &c. &c. See the whole Saxon list in Dugdale, Monast. vol. i. p. 223–225.

presentation, they were taught not to pray to the wood, but to the divine Personage who had suffered on it.[n]

That the Anglo-Saxons were not contented with mere ceremonial religion, the lives and works of Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Elfric, and others abundantly show. The character which Alcuin expected from an Anglo-Saxon archbishop of Canterbury, he has thus drawn at full length in a letter to one that was his contemporary:

"Be the comforter of the wretched, a father to the poor, and affable to all, that you may understand what you are to answer, and let your answers be always seasoned with wisdom; never rash, but honourable; not verbose, but moderate. Let your manners excel in courtesy, be praised for their humility, and be amiable for their piety. Teach not only by words, but by examples, all who live with you, or may visit you. Let your hand be liberal in alms, ready to requite, and frugal in receiving. Provide yourself with treasure in heaven. Make your wealth the redemption of your soul. It is more blessed to give than to receive. Have the Scriptures often in your hands. Be assiduous in prayer. Let virtue dignify your life, and impressive preaching your faith and hope."[o]

The Canons of Edgar record the duties which were exacted from the Anglo-Saxon clergy.

"They were forbidden to carry any controversy among themselves to a lay tribunal. Their own companions were to settle it, or the bishop was to determine it.

"No priest was to forsake the church to which he was consecrated nor to intermeddle with the rights of others, nor to take the scholar of another. He was to learn sedulously his own handicraft, and not put another to shame for his ignorance, but to teach him better. The high-born were not to despise the less-born, nor any to be unrighteous or covetous dealers. He was to baptize whenever required, and to abolish all heathendom and witchcraft. They were to take care of their churches, and apply exclusively to their sacred duties; and not to indulge in idle speech, or idle deeds, or excessive drinking; nor to let dogs come within their church inclosure, nor more swine than a man might govern.

"They were to celebrate mass only in churches, and on the altar, unless in cases of extreme sickness. They were to have at mass their corporalis garment, and the subucula under their alba; and all their officiating garments were to be woven. Each was to have a good and right book. No one was to celebrate mass, unless fasting, and unless he had one to make responses; nor more than three times a day; nor unless he had, for the Eucharist, pure bread, wine, and water. The cup was to be of something molten, not of wood. No woman was to come near the altar during mass. The bell was to be rung at the proper time.

"They were to preach every Sunday to the people, and always to give good examples. They were ordered to teach youth with care, and to draw them to some craft. They were to distribute alms, and urge the people to give them, and to sing the psalms during the distribution, and to exhort the poor to intercede for the donors. They were forbidden to swear, and were to

[n] Elfric's words are: "The sign of the Holy Cross is our blessing; and to this cross we pray; yet not to the wood, but to the Almighty Lord that was hanged for us upon it." MSS. Camb. Op. Wanl. p. 118.

[o] Al. Op. p. 1534.

avoid ordeals. They were to recommend confession, penitence, and compensation; to administer the sacrament to the sick, and to anoint him if he desired it; and the priest was always to keep oil ready for this purpose and for baptism. He was neither to hunt, or hawk, or dice; but to play with his book as became his condition."[p]

We have another review of their duties transmitted to us in the exhortations of Elfric.

"Priests! you ought to be well provided with books and apparel as suits your condition. The mass-priest should at least have his missal, his singing-book, his reading-book, his psalter, his hand-book, his penitential, and his numeral one. He ought to have his officiating garments, and to sing from sunrise, with the nine intervals and nine readings. His sacramental cup should be of gold or silver, glass or tin, and not of earth, at least not of wood. The altar should be always clean, well clothed, and not defiled with dirt. There should be no mass without wine.

"Take care that you be better and wiser in your spiritual craft than worldly men are in theirs, that you may be fit teachers of true wisdom. The priest should preach rightly the true belief; read fit discourses; visit the sick; and baptize infants, and give the unction when desired. No one should be a covetous trader, nor a plunderer, nor drunk often in wine-houses, nor be proud or boastful, nor wear ostentatious girdles, nor be adorned with gold, but to do honour to himself by his good morals.

"They should not be litigious nor quarrelsome, nor seditious, but should pacify the contending; nor carry arms, nor go to any fight, though some say that priests should carry weapons when necessity requires; yet the servant of God ought not to go to any war or military exercise. Neither a wife nor a battle becomes them, if they will rightly obey God and keep his laws as becomes their state."[q]

The Anglo-Saxon clergy sometimes made very earnest addresses to the people. Some specimens of one of these, about nine hundred years old, will show the tone and feeling they displayed.

"Dearest men! I intreat, and would humbly teach you that you should grieve now for your sins, because in the future life our tears will tell for nought. Hear the Lord now, who invites and will grant us forgiveness. Here he is very gentle with us; there he will be severe. Here his mild-heartedness is over us; there will be an eternal judgment. Here is transient joy; there will be perpetual sorrow.

"Study, my beloved, those things which are about to come to you. Humble yourselves here, that you be not abased hereafter. Ah! dearest men! who is so hard of heart, that he cannot weep at the punishments that may succeed, and dread their occurrence? What is better to us in this world than to be penitent for our transgressions, and to redeem them by almsgiving? This world and all within it pass away, and then with our soul alone we must satisfy the Almighty God. The father cannot then help the son, nor the child the parent, but each will be judged according to his own deeds.

"O man! what are you doing? Be not like the dumb cattle. O think and remember how great a separation the Deity has placed between us and them. He sends to us an understanding soul, but they have none. Watch, then, O man! Pray and intreat while thou may. Remember that for thee the Lord descended from the high heaven to the most lowly state, that he

[p] Wilk. Leg. 85–87. [q] Ibid. 169–171.

might raise thee to that exalted life. Gold and silver cannot aid us from those grim and cruel torments, from those flames that will never be extinguished, and from those serpents that never die. There they are whetting their bloody teeth, to wound and tear our bodies without mercy, when the great trumpet shall sound, and the dreadful voice exclaim, 'Arise, and behold the mighty and the terrible King! You that have been steadfast and are chosen, arise! Lo! your heavenly Master comes. Now you shall see him whom you loved before you became dust. Come, and partake a glory which no eye has seen, and no ear has heard of. But, you wicked and impious, arise you, and fall abandoned into that deep and infernal pit, where misery for ever must be your happiness and honour.'

"O! how miserable and joyless will those become who neglected the divine commandments, to hear the fearful sentence! Always should these things be before our eyes. Where are the kings that once triumphed, and all the mighty of the earth? Where are their treasures? Where is their splendid apparel? Oh, for how short a life are they now brought to an endless death! For what a transient glory have they earned a lasting sorrow! How paltry the profit for which they have bought these wretched torments! How momentary was the laughter that has been changed to these bitter and burning tears!"[r]

The teacher enforced these ideas by introducing a legendary tale, which displays some strength of imagination:

"A holy man had once a spiritual vision. He saw a soul on the point of being driven out of a body, but she dared not leave it, because she saw an execrable fiend standing before her. 'What are you doing,' cried the Devil. 'Why do you not come out? Do you hope that Michael the archangel will come with his company of angels, and carry you soon away?' Then another devil answered, and said, 'You need not fear that. I know his works, and, day and night, was always with him.'

"The wretched soul, seeing this, began to shriek and cry, 'Wo! wo! wretched me, why was I ever created? Why did I ever enter this foul and polluted body?' She looked at her body, and exclaimed, 'Miserable corpse! it was thou that didst seize the wealth of the stranger, and wast ever heaping up treasure. It was thou that wouldest deck thyself with costly raiment. When thou wast all scarlet, I was all black; when thou wast merry, I was sad; when thou didst laugh, I wept. O wretched thou, what art thou now but a loathsome mass, the food of worms! Thou mayest rest a considerable time on the earth, but I shall go groaning and miserable to hell.'

"The Devil then exclaimed, 'Pierce his eye, because with his eyesight he was active in all injustice. Pierce his mouth, because with that he eat and drank and talked, as he lusted. Pierce his heart, because neither pity, religion, nor the love of God was ever in it.'

"While the soul was suffering these things, a great splendour shone before her, and she asked what the brightness meant. The Devil told her that it came from the celestial regions. 'And you shall go through those dwellings most bright and fair, but must not stay there. You shall hear the angelic choirs, and see the radiance of all the holy; but there you cannot dwell.' Again the wretched soul exclaimed, 'Wo to me, that I ever saw the light of the human world!'"[s]

The address thus concludes:

"My dearest men! let us then remember that the life we now live is short, sinful, frail, falling, wretched, and deceitful to all that love it. We live in

[r] Wilk. Leg. 173, 174. [s] Ib. p. 175.

trouble, and we die in sorrow; and when it ends, they also who would not repent and give alms, must go to torment, and there suffer an immeasurable punishment for their misdeeds. There the afflicted soul will hang over hot flames, and be beaten, and bound, and thrown down into the blackest place, especially they who will show no mercy now. But let us turn ourselves to a better state, and to earn an eternal kingdom with Christ and his saints, for ever and ever, world without end, Amen."[t]

The future world is thus painted in another of the Anglo-Saxon homilies:

"Let us reflect on the happiness we may lose. Let us resolve to earn that brightest of all places, and that most beautiful felicity with angels and high-angels, and with all the sainted ones in the rapture of heaven's kingdom. There it will last for ever. There is eternal life. There is the King of all kings, and the Ruler of all rulers, and the Creator of all creatures. There is peace without sorrow, light without darkness, and joy without an end. There will be the beginning of everlasting happiness; the beauty and delight of all that is holy; youth without age; the exhaustible glory of the spirit in the highest splendour; peace and comfort; health unvarying; a most blissful throne; the most lovely fruits, and the most exalted power."[u]

They have left us several paraphrases and translations of the Pater-noster,[v] and the Creed;[w] some in poetry and some in prose, as if it had been a favourite exercise of their devotional leisure. There are others of the Doxology.[x]

Written specimens of the questions and answers at their scrift and andetnes, or confession, have also survived to us, some of which are interesting to read.[y]

When one of the great Danish armies landed in England, the following penitentiary injunctions were issued:

"We all need that we should diligently strive to obtain God's mercy and mild-heartedness, and that we, by his help, may withstand our enemies.

"Now it is our will that all folk should do general penance for three days, on bread, herbs, and water; that is, on (Monanðaẏ, Tiþeɣðaẏ, Woðneɣðaẏ,) Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Michaelmas; and let every man come barefoot to church, without gold and ornaments, and go to confession (ɣhɲiɣt), and all go out with the holy relics, and call inwardly in their heart diligently on Christ; and let every man set apart a hide-penny, or a penny's-worth, and bring it to church, and afterwards divide it into three

[t] Wilk. Leg. p. 176.

[u] MSS. Cant. Wan. p. 117. A shorter description occurs in another. "There will be our eternal recompense between angels and high-angels for ever in heaven's kingdom. There love will never err, nor enmity disturb. There the sacred societies will always dwell in beauty and glory and pleasure. There will be mirth and majesty, and everlasting bliss with the Deity himself." MSS. Cant. Wan. p. 140.

[v] Of the Lord's Prayer, see the Saxon paraphrases from MSS. in Wanley, p. 48, 147, 267. Translations of it are in Ib. p. 51, 81, 160, 197, 202, 221. There are several homilies upon it.

[w] Of the Creed, see the poetical paraphrase in Wanley, p. 48, and various translations, p. 51, 202, 221, &c.

[x] Wan. MSS. p. 148, 48, 51.

[y] See various confessions at length from a MS. in Wanley, p. 50, 145; and several others.

before the confessor and the town-gerefa, and, if he will not perform this, let him pay, according to law, a bunda, or villager, thirty pence; a thræl, or slave, by his hide; a thegn, thirty shillings. For the three days let them be freed from work, and in every minster let all the company sing their Psalter the three days, and let every mass-priest say mass for our Lord, and for all his people; and there, besides, let men say masses every day, in every minster one mass separately for the necessities that surround us, till things become better: and at every tide-song let all the assembly, with bended knees, before God's altar, sing the third Psalm; and every year henceforth do this, till the Almighty pity us, and grant us to overcome our enemy. GOD HELP US. AMEN."[z]

The Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics visited most crimes with appropriate penance, and especially homicides, both voluntary and involuntary, and even the intention to commit them. What they called their deeplike, or severe penance, is thus described:

"He must lay aside his weapons, and travel barefoot a long way; nor be sheltered of a night. He must fast and watch and pray both day and night, and willingly weary himself, and be so careless of his dress that the iron should not come to his hair or nails.

"He must not enter a warm bath, nor soft bed; nor eat flesh, nor any thing by which he can be intoxicated; nor may he go inside of a church, but seek some holy place, and confess his guilt, and pray for intercession. He must kiss no man, but be always grieving for his sins."[a]

It was an invention of deep policy, though of suspicious piety, that they allowed the wealthy to purchase a removal of the penances imposed. This gave the church an interest that crimes should be committed, as well as that the penances should be too severe to be personally performed; yet this dangerous privilege was used for the best purposes. The following is one of their regulations on this subject:

"Many men may redeem their penances by alms:

"He that hath ability may raise a church to the praise of God; and, if he has wherewithal, let him give land to it, and allow ten young men, so that they may serve in it, and minister the daily service. He may repair churches where he can, and make folk-ways, with bridges over deep waters, and over miry places; and let him assist poor men's widows, and step-children, and foreigners. He may free his own slaves, and redeem the liberty of those of other masters, and especially the poor captives of war; and let him feed the needy, and house them, clothe and warm them, and give them bathing and beds."[b]

It is impossible to praise too highly the benevolence of these substitutions.

The permission to buy off penance by money could not but become a source of the greatest abuses; nor was it less objectionable to commute them, if at all useful, for certain quantities of repetitions, by rote, of some devotional forms; which, thus reite-

[z] MS. C. C. Cantab. ap. Wanley, p. 138.
[a] Leges Edgari, Wilk. p. 94.
[b] Leges Edgari, Wilk. p. 95.

rated, could have little more meaning or efficacy than the same amount of unintelligible nonsense, or of a parrot's exclamations.

The law thus provided for it:

"A man may redeem one day's fasting by a penny, or by repeating two hundred Psalms. He may redeem a twelvemonth's fasting by thirty shillings, or may set a man free who is of that worth. And for one day's fast he may sing six times the Beati Immaculati, and six Pater-nosters; or for a day's fast he may kneel and bend sixty times to the earth, with a Pater-noster; or he may bend all his limbs to God, and fifteen times sing 'Miserere mei Dominus,' and fifteen Pater-nosters."[c]

That the Anglo-Saxons continued the error of the ancient world, in referring the phenomena of nature almost always to supernatural agency, though with the substitution of saints, angels, and demons, for the gods and goddesses, heroes, genii, and dæmons of antiquity, is a true assertion as to the nation at large, and as to their religious instructors, with few exceptions. Their ignorance of natural science led them to this mistake, as its abundance with us has urged our philosophy into the opposite extreme. Our ancestors were inclined to ascribe nothing to natural causes; and we tend to attribute to these every phenomenon. They saw nothing but the Divinity acting around them; and some of us exclude Him wholly from His creation. Both extremes are erroneous. The probability is, that the Supreme does every thing by the natural causes which He has organized to act for the general good, so far as their agency will from time to time produce it; but where their operation becomes at any time insufficient to achieve His purposes, they are assisted by His immediate interference, or by the introduction of new effective agents that are more suited to the new circumstances that arise, and the new improvements that He intends to establish. He, as our Great Alfred suggested, binds himself in no chains as to the future guidance of nature, but keeps Himself free, at all times, to do whatever His wisdom finds to be successively most expedient for the benefit of His whole creation, and therefore for every part of it; for the whole cannot be benefited unless the portions partake of the advantage.

But the Anglo-Saxons pursued the custom of the day in venerating those who, after death, were invested by the ecclesiastical authorities with the dignity of saints; they had several of these of native origin, who were held in great estimation, and whose lives were written with zealous enthusiasm.[d] They ascribed to their saints great powers over nature and disease, and human life, as the classical nations had done to their fabulous divinities; and

[c] Leg. Edgari, p. 96.

[d] As St. Guthlac, St. Edwin, St. Oswald, St. Boniface, St. Swithin, St Neot, St. Edmund, St. Chad, St. Winifreda, St. Dunstan, St. Ethelwald, St. Edward, and many others.

thus impeded their own progress in natural philosophy, by substituting imaginary agents for natural causes. Our ancestors also respected hermits, who lived in woods or cells, retired from the world.[e]

The evil personage called Anti-christ, who, it is supposed, will accompany the last ages of the world, was a frequent subject of contemplation among the Anglo-Saxons. They thought that he was about to come in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[f] One of their discourses upon him begins with "Beloved men! there is great need that we should be aware of the fearful time that is now approaching. Now, very soon will be the times of Anti-christ; therefore we ought to expect him, and carefully think upon him." A long detail then follows on this subject;[g] but the most curious account of him is that of Albinus, which he addresses to Charlemagne.[h]

[e] That the lives of the Saxon hermits, or anchorites, were not unusefully employed, we have a very splendid proof in the Saxon MS. of the Gospels in the British Museum, Nero, D. 4. Wanley justly calls this, "an incomparable specimen of Anglo-Saxon calligraphy," p. 253. It is beautifully illuminated and decorated: Billfrith, *the anchorite*, was the person who so adorned it. He is mentioned by his Saxon coadjutor, Aldred, to have ornamented it with gold and gems, and with silver gilt over. Turgot, the Anglo-Saxon, also declares him to have been "in aurificii arte precipuus." Wanl. ib. It seems to have been written about the time of Alfred.

[f] Elfric thought, from the calamities of Ethelred's reign, that the end of the world was near: "By this we may understand that this world is passing away, and very nigh its end." MSS. Vesp. D. 14.

[g] The Sermon is printed, with a Latin translation, in the Appendix to the Saxon Dictionary.

[h] A few particulars of Alcuin's fancy may amuse: "He is to be born of a most flagitious robber and harlot, with the aid of the Devil, at Babylon. He will pervade Palestine: convert kings, princes, and people; and send his missionaries all over the world. He will work many miracles; bring fire from heaven; make trees vegetate in a moment; calm and agitate the sea at his will; transform various objects; change the course of rivers; command the winds; and apparently raise the dead. He will bitterly persecute Christianity. He will discover hidden treasures, and lavish them among his followers: a dreadful period of tribulation will follow. He will not come till the Roman empire has entirely ceased, and that cannot be while the kings of the French continue. One of the French kings is, at last, to obtain the whole Roman empire, and will be the greatest and the last of all kings. He is to go to Jerusalem, and lay down his crown and sceptre on Mount Olivet. Then Anti-christ is to appear, and Gog and Magog to emerge. Against them this French king of the Romans is to march; to conquer all nations, destroy all idols, and restore Christianity. The Jews are to be restored," &c. &c. Alc. Op. 1211–1215.

CHAPTER IV.

The Anglo-Saxon Te Deum; Jubilate; Magnificat; and Specimens of their Prayers.

THE TE DEUM.

The, Lod, ye heriath, the, Drihten, ye andettah.
The, æcne fæder, eal eorth eyurthath.
The, ealle englas, the, heofenas and ealle anyealdum.
The, cherubim and seraphim unablinnendlice steyne clýpath
Halig! Halig! Halig! drihten, Lod yereda!
Fulle sýnt heofenas and eorthe mægenthrýmmes yuldres thines.
The, yuldorful erndracena yered,
The, yitigena hergendlic getel,
The, cýthra scýned herath here,
The, embhyýrft eorthena halig andet gesomnung,
Fæder, ormætes mægen-thrýmmes!
Arpurthne thinne sothne and anlicne sunu;
Haligne yitodlice freyrigendre Last.
Thu, cýng yuldres cýninges' Christe,
Thu, fæderes ece thu eart sunu.
Tha to alýsenne thu anfenge mann, thu ne ascunedost fæmnan innath.
Thu ofersyithedum deathes angan; Thu onlýsdest gelýfedum ricu heofena.
Thu on tha syithran healfe Lodes setst on yuldre fæderes.
Đema thu eart gelýfed yesan toyeard,
The eornostlice ye halsiath thinum theoyum gehelp, tha of deorpýrthum blode thu alýsdest.
Ece do mid halgum thinum yuldor beon forgýfen.
Hal do folc thin; and bletsa ýrfeyeardnýsse thine.
And gerece hý and upahof hý oth on ecnecnýsse.
Thurh sýndrige dagas ye bletsiath the
And ye heriath naman thinne on yorulde and a yorulde.
Lemedema dæge thisum buton sýnne us gehealdan.
Lemiltsa ure, Lemiltsa.
Sý mildheortnýs thin ofer us sya sya ye hýhtath on the.
On the ic hihte; ic ne beo gescýnd on ecnýsse.[a]

[a] MS. Cott. Lib. Vespasian, A. 1.

THE JUBILATE.

Đrẏmath drihtne ealle eorthan; theoɣiath drihtne on blisse; Ingath on gesihthe his on blithnesse.

Witath forthan the drihten he is Lod; he ɣorhte us, and na ɣe sẏlfe us; folc his and sceap fostornothes his.

Ingath gatu his on anddetnesse, cafertunas his on ẏmenum anddettath.

Heriath namam his; fortham the ɣẏnsum is drihten, on ecnesse mildheortnes his, and oth on cẏnrene and cẏnrene sothfæstness his.[b]

THE MAGNIFICAT.

Min saɣel mersath Đrihten ⁊ min gast geblissude on Lode minum Hælende.

Fortham the he geseah his thinene ead-modnesse, sothlice heonun-forth me eadige seegath ealle cneoressa.

Fortham the me mẏcele thing dẏde se the mihtig is ⁊ his nama is halig.

⁊ his mild-heortnes of cneoresse on cneoresse hine ondræðendum.

He ɣorhte mægne on his earme. He to-dælde tha ofermodan on mode hẏra heortan.

He aɣearp tha rican of setle and tha ead-modan upahof.

Hingrigende he mid godum gefẏlde ⁊ ofer-mode idele forlet.

He afeng Israhel his cniht ⁊ gemunde his mild heortnesse.

Sɣa he spræc to urum fæderum Abrahame and his sæde on à ɣeorulð.[c]

The following addresses to the Deity are selected from the Anglo-Saxon remains, to complete the picture of their minds; and to show that notwithstanding the illiterate age in which they lived, and the superstitions which prevailed, yet that the language of their devotion was not discreditable to their general intellect. These instances will indicate that they studied to connect it both with their feelings and their reason. They are in a poetical form:

1.

Oh Lord beloved!
Oh God our judge!
hear me:
Everlasting Ruler!
I know that my soul
with sins is wounded.
Heal thou it,
O Lord of heaven!
And restore thou it,
O Governor of life!
For thou most easily may,
Physician of us all!
of all that exist
far or wide.

[b] MS. Cott. Vitell. E. 18. Another version from Vespas. A. 1, may be seen in Wanley's excellent Catalogue of the Saxon MSS. p. 222.

[c] Saxon Gosp. Luc. c. 1.

2.

O Sovereign of radiance!
Creator of man!
benign be thy mind
to me for good.
Give me thy pardon,
and thy pity.
May he be merciful,
that on earth here
we may resist the devil,
and work his will!
Wo to him for his jollity
when he the retribution
shall have and see,
unless he from the evil
has previously ceased.
But happy will he be
who here on earth,
day and night,
obeys the Lord,
and always works his will.
Well to him will be this work
when he the retribution
shall have and see,
if he continues it
to a good end.

3.

O Light of light!
Oh joy of life!
grant it to me.
Blessed King of Glory!
what I for my soul
pray of the heavens
for the eternal honour.
Thou art the benign God;
thou hast and rulest
One over all.
Earth and heaven,
of their various creatures,
Thou art the true Creator;
One over all
those living on the earth,
as in heaven above;
thou art the Saviour God.
Nor may any man
profit thee
that are collected together
over the wide ground;
men on the earth,
over all the world.
Nor can we ever say,
nor indeed know,
how noble thou art,
Eternal Lord!
Nor though the host of angels
up in heaven,
in their assembled wisdom,
should begin to say it,
might they ever narrate,
nor the number know,
how great thou art,
Mighty Lord!
But vast is still the wonder,
Governor of Angels,
if thou thyself should excite them.
Chief of Victory,
how glorious thou art,
mighty and strong in power!
King of all kings!
the living Christ!
Creator of all the worlds!
Ruler of angels,
Noblest of all nobility,
Saviour Lord!
Thou art the Prince
that on former days,
the joy of all women,
fair wast born
at Bethlehem,
that city,
a comfort to mankind!
an honour to all
the children of men!
To them that believe
on the living God,
and on that eternal light
up in the skies.
Thy power is so great,
Mighty Lord!
so that none truly know it,
nor the exaltation
of the state of the angels
of the King of heaven.
I confess thee,
Almighty God!
I believe on thee,
beloved Saviour!
that thou art
the great one,
and the strong in power,
and the condescending
of all gods,
and the Eternal King
of all creatures;
and I am
one of little worth,
and a depraved man,
who is sinning here
very nearly
day and night.
I do as I would not;
sometimes in actions,
sometimes in words,

sometimes in thought,
very guilty
in conscious wickedness
oft and repeatedly.
But I beseech thee now,
Lord of heaven!
And pray to thee,
best of human-born,
that thou pity me,
Mighty Lord!
High King of Heaven!
and the Holy Spirit;
and aid me
Father Almighty!
that I thy will
may perform,
before from this frail life
I depart.
Refuse me not,
Lord of Glory!
But grant me,
blessed, illustrious King!
permit me, with angels,
up to ascend
to sit in the sky;
and praise the God of heaven
with the tongue of the holy
world without end.[d] Amen.

Of the Latin prayers at the end of every psalm in the Saxon and Latin Psalter, the following may be selected as specimens of the Anglo-Saxon private devotions in prose:

"O Lord! our King, and our God! propitious, hearken unto the voice of thy petitioners. Deign to hear them devoutly approaching thee in the morning hour, that through the greatness of thy mercy, and cleansed from all the stain of sins, we may enter thy house, and everywhere sing thy praises in thy fear."[e]

"What is man, O Lord! that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, unless thou shouldest redeem him, that he may not perish for ever? Impart therefore to us the help we need; Thou who hast given thy precious blood for us! Oh, grant that those whom thy death has redeemed may glorify thee in their lives."[f]

"Regard and hear us, O Lord, our God! and illuminate, by the contemplation of thy presence, the eyes of our mind, that we sleep not in death; assist these our endeavours to please thee, which thou thyself hast afforded to us. Give us the full accomplishment of that good work, who hast given us its first principle, the will to do it. Grant that we may be able to complete it, O, thou who hast imparted the wish to begin it."[g]

"Make known to us, O Lord! the ways of life, and fill us with the delights of thy right hand. Place thy yoke upon us, which is so sweet under thy direction, and grant to each of us that he may bless thee with the affection of his heart, and glorify thee by his intellect, through," &c.[h]

"Oh Lord! our strength, and the horn of our salvation! impart to us the fervour of thy love, that our minds may love thee with unwearied affection; and by the effect of this attachment to thee may be turned towards our neighbour with benignity, through," &c.[i]

"Govern us, O Lord! and then we shall want nothing; for what is there to be desired under thy government but thyself alone? What is there to be sought for while thou sparest us, but thy glory? Lead us then through the path of justice, and convert our souls from every evil action to virtue. May we, under thy protection, neither fear the adversities that may assail us, nor dread the approach of the shadow of death or its evils.[j]

"Lord! strong and mighty! Lord of the virtues! King of Glory! cleanse our heart from every sin; keep our hands guiltless; and separate our souls from all vanity, that we may be fit to receive in thy holy place blessings from thee, O Lord, our God."[k]

[d] See the original Saxon in Cædmon, App.
[e] Spelman's Anglo-Saxon Psalter, addit. to psalm v.
[f] Ibid. ad. ps. viii.
[g] Ibid. ad. ps. xii.
[h] Ibid. ps. xv.
[i] Ibid. ps. xvii.
[j] Ibid. ad. ps. xxxii.
[k] Ibid. ps. xxiii.

"O Lord, our King! who continueth for ever; to whom all the earth is deservedly resounding with the voices of praise, and singing thy glory and honour; grant, we beseech thee, strength to thy people, against the evils of the present day, that we may enjoy prosperity here, and trust in thine eternal promises hereafter, through," &c.[l]

"O Lord, our Redeemer! O God of truth! who hast redeemed mankind, sold to sin, not by silver or gold, but by the blood of thy precious Son, be our protector, and look down upon our lowliness; and because great is the multitude of thy kindness, oh, raise our desires always to partake them, and excite our minds to explore them, through," &c.[m]

"O Lord! who hast become our refuge before the mountains were made, or the dry land was formed: Author of time, yet without any limit of time thyself! In thy nature there is no past. To thee the future is never new. There everlasting virtue is always present. There immutable truth endures for ever.[n]

"For thy name's sake, O Lord! extend to us thy mercy. What is sweeter than that by which thou hast freed us from death, and made us thine associates in immortality! By which thou suppliest our helplessness, and grantest to us to continue in the fulness of holiness. May it now render us acceptable to thee, as it has already reconciled thee to us when alienated from thee."[o]

"O Lord! who dwellest in the loftiest space; whose ineffable Godhead is confined to no created circuit, nor can be described by any mortal breath; look down, we implore thee, on thy humble servants, both in heaven and on earth. May no pride creep into our thoughts or actions which can avert from us the eyes of thy mercy! May that sincere humility and submission be within us, which may make us worthy of thy regard, and raise us to the reward of thy future glorification."[p]

"O God of heaven and earth! whose all-seeing providence is everlasting! O God, by whose death even Tartarus was illuminated; by whose resurrection the multitude of thy holy ones was gladdened; at whose ascension the host of angels exulted; we implore the excelling virtue of thy glory, that, directed by thee into the way of eternal life, we may be defended by that arm, under whose protection those who are honoured by thy favour magnify thee in heaven."[q]

"Purify, O Lord, our God! our heart and reins by the fire of the Holy Spirit, that we may serve thee in chastity of heart and body. Free us from all vice, and have mercy upon us, whom thou hast redeemed by thine inestimable intercourse."[r]

The prayer to the 49th Psalm concludes thus:

"Despise not our contrite and humble heart; and by the ineffable power of the Trinity, may there be the testimony of the One Divinity that, strengthened by the Father, renewed by the Son, and guarded by the Holy Spirit, we may rejoice in thee."[s]

[l] Spelman's Anglo-Saxon Psalter, addit. to psalm xxviii.
[m] Ibid. xxx.
[n] Ibid. ps. lxxxix.
[o] Ibid. ps. cviii.
[p] Ibid. cxii.
[q] Ibid. ps. cxxxviii.
[r] Ibid. ps. xxv.
[s] Ibid. ps. xlix.

END OF THE HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

A VINDICATION

OF THE

GENUINENESS

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITISH POEMS

OF

ANEURIN, TALIESIN, LLYWARCH HEN,

AND MERDHIN,

WITH

SPECIMENS OF THE POEMS.

BY SHARON TURNER, F.A.S.

PREFACE.

The genuineness of these poems has been publicly impeached by Mr. Pinkerton in his preface to Babour, and in a Review (not distinguished by the urbanity of its style, or the correctness of its criticism) of my Anglo-Saxon History, published in the Critical Review for January, 1800. Mr. Malcolm Laing has also attacked them in a note to his Dissertation on Ossian's Poems, and some other gentlemen in private societies have occasionally depreciated them.

The hostility of men, respectable for their literary talents, could not be continued against these poems, without much injury to their credit. It was, therefore, necessary to abandon them to undeserved neglect, or to vindicate them from the objections of their enemies, by a series of legitimate reasoning.

Having quoted them in the first volume of the Anglo-Saxon History, I was charged with gross credulity for accrediting them. Thus, unexpectedly involved in the controversy, I hope to be pardoned for intruding on the public with a publication on the subject. As I am an Englishman, I have no patriotic prejudice in their favour; but as an amateur of literature, I think them deserving of attention, and for the reasons which I shall proceed to state, I believe those to which I have alluded to be genuine.

London, 1803.

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A VINDICATION

OF THE

GENUINENESS

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITISH POEMS.

It is not unknown to the curious reader, that there are Welsh poems extant, which are stated to have been written by Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hên, and Merdhin, who lived in the sixth century. Other literary impostures having subjected these poems also to a similar suspicion, and many gentlemen having desired to be informed of the nature of the evidence, on which they can be ascribed to authors so remote, it may perhaps be acceptable to literary men, to have the evidence in their favour, and the arguments by which they may be supported, fairly and dispassionately stated.

Many persons are better qualified for this office than myself; but as no one has yet particularly discussed the subject, I think I shall not impertinently apply some part of the leisure of the summer to its consideration. I quoted these poems, in the History of the Anglo-Saxons, because I thought them genuine; and the objections which this occasioned have induced me to investigate the question as carefully as I was able. I will adduce with temper, and I hope with fairness, the evidence in their favour; and I will notice, in the proper places, all the arguments which I have heard against them. The cool and steady judgment of the public, which, after due reflection, never decides wrongfully between contending partisans, will determine the dispute.

The subject is unquestionably important. So much gloom rests upon the history of our island, during the period of the Saxon invasions, that the discovery of any authors, contemporary with that period, could not but be a valuable present to our curiosity. If these poems be genuine, they must furnish very interesting

matter for the contemplation of the antiquary and the philosopher, even although their rude and martial strains should want those elegancies which delight the refined taste. Their general subject is, above all others, interesting: it is the struggle of the ancient Britons against the invading Saxons. They describe the battles of which all other memory has perished. They celebrate many patriotic warriors, whom time has almost defrauded of their fame. They exhibit curious and striking manners. They throw much light on the history of their era, and they contain many passages which poets need not disdain to applaud. Indeed, the celebrity which they have for ages enjoyed among their own countrymen, is an ample testimony of their genius.

But if they had no other merit, they would be highly valuable for their language. What can gratify the philologer more than to have such specimens of the language of the ancient inhabitants of these islands? The language of the British bards, in the sixth century, must have been substantially the same with the language of the Britons who withstood the valour of Cæsar, and of course must present us with a venerable image of, perhaps, the earliest language that appeared in Europe. The philosopher who loves to trace the progress of intellect, and to observe its original associations, and selected forms, in those barbarous times when the arts of mental cultivation were little understood, will highly appreciate the works of men who flourished at a period so early and so singular. If these poems be genuine, they are of the greatest value; and it cannot be a matter of small moment, to inquire if they be genuine.

These ancient poems, and their advocates, have been arraigned with a severity which, on literary subjects, is always very blamable. Whatever latitude may be given to the angry feelings in political controversy, where the magnitude of the contending interests becomes an apology for occasional warmth, there can be no justification of asperity on a point of antiquarian doubt. Indeed, any anger between literary men is not only unbecoming, but absurd. The world takes no part in their animosity. It will always form its own conclusions, not from the language, but the facts of the controversy. We who now read with disgust, the virulence even of a Milton, or a Scaliger, and who turn, with abhorrence, from the malignity of a Schioppius, cannot doubt but that our inferior works will be as revolting to the taste of our posterity, if virulence contaminate the pages which ought to be sacred to fair statement, to forbearing civility, and dispassionate reasoning. It is a disgrace to no one to disbelieve the genuineness of the ancient Welsh poetry, if the evidence does not satisfy his judgment; but neither can they be culpable for accrediting it, who think that the balance of probabilities is decisively in its favour.

These poems have not become known to us under the circumstances which attended those of Chatterton and Macpherson, or the pseudo-Shakspeare. They are not works now starting up suddenly for the first time to our knowledge. They do not owe their discovery to any individual. No friendly chest—no ruinous turret—no auspicious accident—has given them to us. No man's interest or reputation is connected with their discovery. Their supporters are, therefore, at least, disinterested. They have been in existence, and have been known to be so for many centuries, but they have never been brought forward to answer any purpose of private interest, or national vanity. Their countrymen have long fondly cherished them, but have been, till very lately, even censurably careless whether any of their neighbours either knew or respected them. Such indifference as this, about documents so curious, never yet has attended any forgery. Nothing can be more favourable to their cause—nothing can more strongly mark the difference which subsists between these poems and all those writings which are known to have been fabricated.

It may be reasonably asked, Why, as they have been so long in existence and credit in Wales, have they not become more known to the world before our time?

The observation applies, however, not to these bards only, but to all the Welsh literature; for although that has been long in existence, though above 1000 MSS.[a] of its different branches are still in being, yet which of them has been consulted or spoken of by Englishmen? The Welsh have poems, romances, chronicles, grammars, treatises on music, agriculture, and astronomy, theological, ethical, and medical works of different authors, from the time of the bards, to our own, which are nevertheless as little known in England, or in Europe, as the compositions of the Chinese.—With the writings of most of the nations on the Continent we are familiar; but we have permitted ourselves to be ignorant of the literature of our neighbours, who are only parted from us by the Severn and the Wye. Has this been our fault or theirs? Let us inquire.

Almost all the men who cultivated literature in Wales before the sixteenth century, unfortunately for our indolent curiosity, wrote in their native language. The bards of the twelfth, and succeeding centuries, whose genuineness no man affects to doubt, their chronicles, their clergy, and their authors on other subjects, did not extend their views of fame beyond their petty principality, and therefore composed in Welsh. But the Anglo-Normans, and their descendants, would as willingly have studied Coptic as Welsh. Such, at least, was the opinion of the *polished* and *ele-*

[a] This number of MSS. of course includes many transcripts of the same compositions.

gant Anglo-Saxon about it, that in one of their grants of land in Cornwall, the king, after mentioning the Saxon name of the place, says, "which the inhabitants there called *barbarico nomine*, by the barbarous name of Pendyfig."[b] This barbarous name was Welsh!

The unvarying neglect of this language, and its authors, descended from the Anglo-Saxons to the Anglo-Normans, and of course the knowledge of Welsh literature was confined to the Welsh counties.

It is a truth, which certainly casts some disgrace on our national curiosity or our candour, that unless Welshmen had themselves introduced their authors to our notice, we should to this day have been as ignorant of their literature as we are of the MSS. and monuments now existing in Great Tartary. The curious and interesting catalogue of the Welsh MSS. which Edward Lhwyd made from personal inspection, and printed in his Archæologia, first made Europe acquainted with the nature and extent of his countrymen's compositions. It is greatly to be lamented, that Lhwyd was patronised so meanly, and that misfortune was permitted to shed so much evil on his life. He was one of those few men, whose literary exertions have merited the liberal gratitude of their country. He was one of the many who never experienced it.

The political circumstances of the Anglo-Saxons having driven the Britons into Wales, and of perpetually warring with them afterwards, created so much hostility and hatred between the two nations, that each undervalued the other, and despised both its language and its literature. When these envenomed feelings abated, the habit of neglect long survived the hostility.

The Welsh language is also peculiar and original. Men who have enjoyed a classical education, pass with ease and pleasantness to French, Italian, or Spanish. But the Welsh is so unlike the other languages of Europe, and its mutations present so many difficulties, or at least the appearance of them, to a learner, that even antiquaries have been, and are, deterred from acquiring it. Interest, ambition, and fame, which have led some to explore the Sanscreet, and the Chinese, have been found so little allied to any proficiency in Welsh knowledge, that even these Syrens have never influenced any to do that justice to Wales, which strange and distant nations have frequently obtained. Welshmen, on the other hand, have been too proud, and too recluse. They did not forgive the seizure of their country, and they despised too much the warriors who acquired and kept it. Hence what Englishmen would not learn Welsh to know, the natives of the principality would not translate.

[b] MSS. Cott. Lib. Claud. B. 6p. 38.

Better feelings have at last predominated. Some individuals appeared in the last century, who wished the literature of their country to be more diffused. The idea was too novel to be much attended to. A spirit of literary patriotism has begun, however, to diffuse itself, and has reached many individuals, whose exertions have contributed to put the public in possession of the Welsh remains. Among these the gentleman who has nearly published a new Welsh dictionary, who has given us a translation of the poems of Llywarch Hên, who edited those of David ab Gwilym, and the Cambrian Register, and what is still more important, who has essentially contributed to the preservation and notoriety of Welsh literature, by editing, with two other Cambrian patriots, its most ancient and important remains, is well entitled to our praise.

By this publication, entitled "The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales, collected out of ancient MSS.,"[c] the public have, for the first time, before them, in a printed form, the works of the ancient poets, whose genuineness I hope to vindicate, and those of the succeeding poets, down to the end of the fourteenth century. These occupy the first volume. The second contains their curious historical triads, some genealogies, and historical chronicles. In the third are printed the moral aphorisms ascribed to Cato the wise; the maxims, and old sayings, and proverbs of the Welsh; their triads on the laws of poetry; the triads on naval, political, and intellectual subjects, called the Triads of the Bards of Britain; triads on their most ancient laws; a copy of the laws of Heweldha, from a MS. of the twelfth century; extracts on their music, and a collection of ancient British music is an obsolete notation. It is stated, that other pieces of their literature will in due time appear. No other nation but the Hebrew can show such a body of ethical and intellectual thought, and of versified composition of the same antiquity.

THE PROPOSITION, WHICH IS THE SUBJECT OF THIS ESSAY, STATED.

The proposition, which I shall proceed to support is this:

> "That there are poems now existing in the Welsh, or ancient British language, which were written by Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hên, and Merdhin, who flourished between the years 500 and 600."

The poems which have been ascribed to these authors, occupy the first 153 pages of the Welsh Archaiology, and are entitled "The Cynveirdd," or the most ancient Poets.

The great poem of Aneurin is entitled the Gododin. Its sub-

[c] Printed in 1801, in two volumes, large octavo. The volume of poetry contains 584 pages of double columns. The other, of prose, extends to 628 pages. A third volume has been since published.

ject is the battle of Cattraeth, in which he fought against the Saxons. He was a British chieftain in some part of the North, probably among the Ottadini, in the sixth century. The Saxons conquered in the battle with such slaughter, that Aneurin was one of three who were the only survivors of the distinguished men who led the Britons to the conflict. The poet was afterwards killed treacherously by one Eiddyn.

His poem contains 920 lines, of varied measure, but all rhymed. Its object appears to be to commemorate the brave patriots who were engaged in the battle. Another poem on the Months also bears his name; and of two poems, entitled "The Incantation of Maelderw," that in some MSS. have Taliesin's name, it may be doubted if one be not more properly referable to Aneurin.[d]

The poems of Taliesin are on different subjects. The most important are those which concern the battles between the Britons and the Saxons; and these are the poems for whose genuineness I argue. He lived in the sixth century. His principal patron was Urien, king of a little state called Reged, of which the position is not certain. To this king ten poems are devoted, which celebrate his patriotic battles. There are also elegies of Taliesin, on other British warriors, as Owain, the son of Urien, Ercwlf, Madawc the bold, and Erov the fierce; Aeddon of Mon, Uther Pendragon, and Corroi, the son of Dairy. His other poems are of less value. Some are unintelligible, because full of Bardic or Druidical mysticism, and perhaps some are ascribed to him, of which he was not the author. These, however, may, from internal evidence, and other circumstances, be discriminated by a careful and intelligent critic, well acquainted with the language. All that bear his name have been printed in the Archaiology.

Llywarch Hên lived both in the sixth and seventh centuries. He was a prince of Argoed, in Cumberland. He visited the court of Arthur, and consumed his most vigorous years in opposing the Anglo-Saxons. As they advanced, he took refuge with his surviving children in Powys, and shared in the wars of the hospitable Cynddylan. Most of his poems are of historical utility. One is an elegy on Geraint, a Devonshire leader—another is an elegy on Urien, king of Reged—another on his patron Cynddylan—another on Cadwallon, the son of Cadvan. The poem on his own great age, and the fate of his children, who perished in the wars, is very interesting.

Merdhin the Caledonian, also surnamed Wyllt, or the Salvage, has not left much. He was taught by Taliesin, and of course lived in the sixth and seventh centuries. His Afallenau, or a Poem on an Orchard, which had been given to him, contains

[d] See them in Archaiology, p. 61 and 84. The poem on the Months is after the Gododin, p. 14.

some allusions to the events of his time, which are curious. As this bard had the reputation of a prophet, there are some things ascribed to him which he never wrote, and some which he did write have been interpolated.[c] The dialogue between him and his sister is obviously surreptitious; nor do I accredit all the Hoianau. Judicious criticism will easily detect the spurious poems.

I will now state the course of argument which I shall adopt to prove the proposition above mentioned, and I hope to make it as satisfactory as the case will admit. The reader will, in justice to the subject, recollect its antiquity, and therefore neither expect the unerring precision of mathematical reasoning, nor the accumulation of evidence overpowering doubt, which might be adduced, if the authors in question had been modern poets.

The evidence in favour of any ancient author may be divided into two sorts—the external and the internal. I shall first consider

THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

I will begin this by mentioning,

1st, The old MSS. which now exist of these poems, and then show

2dly, That these poems, or some of them, and their authors, have been mentioned, or alluded to, by a series of bards, whose works still exist undisputed, from before the twelfth century, to a recent period.

These facts will show that they are at least no modern forgery, and that they were in existence in the twelfth century. The question will then become this—Were these poems existing genuinely in the twelfth century, or were they then forged?

To decide this great question, it will be important to inquire,

3dly, If there were any bards among the Britons in the sixth century; and,

4thly, If such bards as Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hên and Merdhin, then existed.

If we shall find that the Britons had bards so early, and in particular these individual bards, we shall have gained one step in our researches, and this step will not be an inconsiderable one.

But as the question will turn on the probability of these bards leaving MSS. as well as on their existence, it will be necessary to consider,

5thly, If any writing of a century so remote as the sixth have come down to us.

6thly, If the Britons had then the art of writing.

7thly, If the writing of any other Briton of this period, whose genuineness is undisputed, has come down to us.

[c] Giraldus expressly states this—his words will be quoted presently.

Should these questions be satisfactorily answered in the affirmative, another step in our progress will be gained. If the genuine composition of any other Briton of this age has survived to us, so might the works of these British bards.

I think I shall make a third advance, if I show, from incontrovertible authority,

8thly, That in the twelfth century there were writings of old British bards extant, which were *then* called *ancient.*

This chain of proofs appears to me to make the external evidence as strong as the case will admit. I submit that we receive the poems of Homer as genuine, on a degree of external evidence not more satisfactory.

I presume that I shall have acquired at least a right to say, that after this series of facts in favour of these poems, nothing but their internal evidence counteracting them can warrant us in discrediting them. On

THEIR INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

I will endeavour to state,

1st, That the subjects of this poetry could answer no purpose of interest in the twelfth century.

2dly, That their subjects were the most unlikely of all others for a forger to have chosen.

3dly, That Arthur is spoken of in a manner inconsistent with the supposition of forgery.

4thly, That the subjects are such as, if genuine, might be expected from their real authors.

5thly, That the language is not obvious to modern Welshmen, and has therefore an important feature of the language of the times to which they pretend.

6thly, That their historical allusions are true.

7thly, That the manners they express are consistent.

8thly, That the form and composition of the poem suit the period.

I shall then attempt to answer the main objections which have been urged against them; and conclude with showing that the forgery could not have been practised without detection, in those times; that there is nothing extraordinary in the fact, which this essay is directed to substantiate, that these poems are attested by an unvaried stream of national belief, and that any scepticism about them has been of recent origin.

"THE OLD MANUSCRIPTS NOW EXISTING OF THESE POEMS."

If there had been no ancient MSS. of this poetry to have produced, it would not alone have been a conclusive argument against it, because the ancient MSS. are usually superseded by subsequent transcripts, and because men often admit works to be genuine, without possessing very ancient MSS. of them. Of the numerous Greek and Latin works, which we possess, how few are there of which very ancient MSS. can be adduced!

Time and accident consume MSS. as well as buildings and men. Old copies decay or are lost, and new ones succeed. When families die, their libraries become dispersed, and many a MS. and book, which were once hoarded as treasures, have mouldered on stalls, or have been used as waste paper. Sons very often inherit neither the taste nor the knowledge of their fathers; and they who squander the estates of their ancestors, are not very likely to be careful of their books.

A great curiosity has, in the last century, been cherished for the oldest MSS. of authors. In former times, however, there was no such anxiety to preserve ancient transcripts. Some MSS. were preferred to others for the costliness of their decorations, and some for the beauty of the writing; but the mere age was not in former times particularly appreciated. Even they who valued the authors they preserved, were not aware of the importance of the earliest MSS.; because when no one dreamt of doubting the genuineness of a work, they would make no provisions for proving it to a future generation.

It is therefore a matter of pure chance, that any ancient MSS. of a book has descended to us.

We should be somewhat surprised, if we inquired minutely into the evidence on which we accredit the genuineness of the numerous ancient authors of Greece and Rome, because in many cases we should find, that as far as antiquity of MSS. was concerned, it is very slight. I believe that we have in no case the MSS. actually penned by the author, scarcely any in the author's time, and very few within two or three centuries after him. We have often adopted the title of the MSS. we have found, and have ascribed them to the authors whose names were prefixed. In some of the most celebrated, we can attest the genuineness by a series of quotations and allusions of succeeding ages. In many we only find notices that such authors wrote on such topics. Several have been received without either of these protections.

And yet we have generally admitted them to be genuine, and laugh at the extravagance of Hardouin, who rashly pronounced the classics to be modern forgeries.

The fact which I have urged, that these poems have passed in Wales from age to age unquestioned, operates against the existence of many ancient MSS. They could not have anticipated doubt in a case where they neither had any, nor heard of any; and could not therefore have provided against it by carefully hoarding the most ancient MSS. for their posterity to produce. The doubt, however, having been raised in our times, there can be no question but that the old MSS. now remaining will be henceforward very anxiously preserved.

There is another reason why old MSS. cannot be expected to abound in Wales. This is, that for so confined a district, it has been very often the object of military spoil. It was invaded and ravaged by many Anglo-Saxon kings. It had mourned the depredations of the Irish, and still more of the Northmen. Our Harold renewed their distresses in the angriest form before the Norman conquest. It suffered under William and the other Norman kings; and no one can forget the conquest of Edward the First. Welsh history abounds with civil feuds, and their correspondent ruin. The destruction of the superb library at Raglan Castle occurred in the time of Cromwell, and many other libraries were dispersed or destroyed.

Yet notwithstanding these losses, there are two, if not three ancient MSS. extant, which have no appearance of having been written later than the twelfth century. One of these is the Black Book of Caermarthen, which, with the other, is now in the library at Hengurt, in Merionethshire. There is also another MS. in the Red Book of Hergest in Jesus College, Oxford, which seems to have been written in the fourteenth century.

The MSS. in the library at Hengurt are described by Lhwyd in his Archæologia Britannica, published 1707.

Mr. Lhwyd says, that the library of Hengurt, collected in the reign of Charles the First by that learned and candid antiquary Robert Vaughan, of Hengurt, esquire, consists of about seventy old MSS. on parchment, and a considerable number of others on paper.

"The oldest MSS. I saw at Hengurt, is y Lhyvyr dy o Gaer Vyrdhyn, or the Black Book of Caermarthen. It is a quarto of fifty-four leaves, containing poems of the sixth century, by Myrdhyn Wyllt, Taliesin, Llywarch Hên, and Elaeth. The former part of this book is in a large fair character, and seems considerably older than the latter, and the latter might possibly have been transcribed by that noted Bard Cyndhelu Brydydh Mawr, or at least in his time, which was about the year 1160. I am sensible Dr. Davies places this poet ninety years later; but

in this MS. fol. 52, I find he writes an elegy on the death of Madog ab Mredydh, Prince of Powys, which was in the year 1158."—P. 225.

That Lhwyd is correct in placing Cyndhelu about 1160 there can be no doubt. His poems prove it.

In another part of his catalogue, he expresses himself in Welsh of this same MS. what may be literally translated thus:

"The Black Book of Caermarthen, a volume of fifty-four leaves quarto, parchment, in the library of Mr. Vaughan, at Hengurt. The first half of this seems to have been written in a very ancient large hand. The rest is in a later hand, but ancient."[f] He then specifies its contents. Among these are the principal poems of Merdhin and Llywarch Hên, with some of Taliesin. The more recent handwriting comes in at fol. 45.

From those who have lately inspected this MS. I understand that the first part is written like prose, without the distinctions of the poetical lines, which is a mark of its antiquity. The Welsh Archaiology enables me to give the reader a specimen of this, as the editors have printed some pages out of it with exactness. It is in a large hand.

Gogonedauc argluit
hanpich guell. Athue
dicco de egluis. achagell A
kagell. ac egluis. A vast-
ad. a diffuis. A. Teir fin-
haun yssit. Due uch guit-
ac un uch eluit. A. yris-
gaud ar dit. A. siric ap'
wit, Athuendiguiste aw-
raham pen fit. A. Vuchet
tragiuit. A. adar aguen-
en. A. attpaur a dien.[g]

It requires some attention to distinguish the lines and their rhymes, which are these:

Gogonedauc argluit hanpich guell
Ath uedicco de egluis achagell.
A. kagell ac egluis
A. vastad a diffuis
A. Teir finhaun yssit
Due uch guit
Ac un uch eluit
A. yris gaud ar dit
A. siric ap' wit
Ath uendiguiste awraham pen fit
A. Vuchet tragiuit
A. adar aguenen
A. attpaur a dien.

[f] P. 261.

[g] Archaiology, p. 575.

The first part, by the style of writing, seems, as I am informed, to be the production of the tenth century, or thereabouts. The latter part resembles in the handwriting other MSS. which are known to have been written in the time of Cyndhelu, who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century.

Another ancient MS. in this library, Lhwyd concisely mentions under the title of "The Book of Taliesin,"[h] because it contains most of his poems. It a parchment MS. The writing is ancient. I have not myself seen it, but I am assured that it has the appearance of a MS. of the twelfth century. From the report, which I have heard of the liberality of its present proprietor, Colonel Griffith Howel Vaughan, I believe I do not err in stating, that no gentleman, whose curiosity should lead him to Hengurt, would be refused the liberty of seeing these two curious MSS.

In the time of Lhwyd there was another ancient MS. in this library, which he entitles "The Book of Aneurin."[i] It was an octavo, and contained the Gododin, and some other poems ascribed to Aneurin.

This was also in parchment, and I am informed had the appearance of a MS. of the twelfth century. It continued in the Hengurt library from the days of Lhwyd to our time, but within the last twenty years has disappeared from it. I will presume that it has been only borrowed, and that it will be honourably returned to the collection at Hengurt.

The Red Book of Hergest is still in the library of Jesus College, at Oxford. Lhwyd says that it is in parchment, in folio, containing 465 leaves;[j] that it exhibits antiquities of various kinds, and was written at the end of the fourteenth century.[k] It contains the poems of Llywarch Hên, some of Merdhin, and Taliesin, besides many poems of the following centuries.[l]

In the Hengurt library are two more recent transcripts of these old poems, which may be also mentioned. One MS. was written by Sir Hugh Pennant, in the time of Henry the Eighth. It contains the poems of Merdhin and many others.[m]

[h] P. 261. [i] Pp. 261, and 254.

[j] According to the account of a gentleman who inspected this MS. in 1783, Lhwyd has stated the pages inaccurately. This gentleman's remark is, "Y Llyfr Coch is a folio, containing 360 leaves, 720 pages, and 1440 columns."

[k] Pp. 254, and 261.

[l] It also contains three Welsh chronicles, an ancient Welsh grammar, and some Welsh romances, at Buchedd Carlemain, of Charlemagne Ystori Bown, (or Bevis,) o Hamtwn, Ystor i Cilydd fab Celyddon Wledig, or the history of Cilydd, son of King Celyddon, Ystori Efraue Iarll y Gogledd, or the History of Efraue, Earl of the North, Ystori Gereint fab Erbin, or the History of Gereint, the son of Erbin. The Mabinogi, or original Welsh tales, and the Ystori y Seithwyr Doethion, or the History of the Seven Wise Men. It has also the ancient Welsh medical treatise called Meddygon Myddfai, and the Triads, entitled Trioedd Ynys Prydain.

[m] Lhwyd, 256.

Another copious transcript, entitled "Y Kynveirdh Cymreig, or the ancient Welsh Bards," was written by Mr. Robert Vaughan, in the time of Charles the First. It contains the Gododin; most of Taliesin's songs; those of Llywarch, and some others.[n]

There is another transcript called Kutta Kyvarwydh.[o]

In noticing these MSS. I am only stating the contents of the Hengurt library, and of the one at Jesus College. There are many other Welsh collections, which contain MSS. or transcripts of these ancient poems, of various ages before and since the 14th century. The Welsh MSS. in the library of the earl of Macclesfield are not yet known. They were collected by the Rev. Moses Williams, who left them to Mr. William Jones, the father of the late celebrated Sir William Jones. Mr. Jones bequeathed them to the late earl of Macclesfield, but they have not been yet allowed to be publicly inspected.

As they who wish to investigate the subject of the MSS. more closely, may desire to know the best places for their research, I will refer them to the "General Advertisement" to the Welsh Archaiology, which contains a statement of the principal collections, not of these bards only, but of all the Welsh literature.

I do not propose this work to be a vindication of all the poems that have been generally attributed to Aneurin, Taliesin, Merdhin, or Llywarch Hên, or promiscuously published as theirs. My object is to authenticate the genuineness of such of them as I think beyond all dispute; and they are the following:

Of Aneurin,

The Gododin.

Of Llywarch Hen,

The Elegy on Geraint ab Erbin.
Ditto on Urien Reged.
Ditto on Cynddylan.
Ditto on Cadwallon.
The Poem on his old age.
Ditto to Maenwyn.
Ditto to the Cuckoo.

Of Merdhin.

The Avallenau.

Of Taliesin.

The Poems to Urien, and on his battles.
His Dialogue with Merdhin.
The Poems on Elphin.
And his Historical Elegies.

[n] Lhwyd, p. 258.

[o] Ibid. p. 257.

In selecting the above, I do not mean to insinuate that some others, which are ascribed to these authors, may not be genuine likewise. I am satisfied that some are not genuine, and that some have been interpolated. There are several others, however, especially of Taliesin, which may be genuine. But I conceive that the question which presses is, not whether this or that poem is to be accredited, because a simpler investigation of its evidences might determine that, if a given number had been already admitted, but whether there are *any* which ought to be placed in an age so early. The prevailing scepticism denies that there are any genuine poems of the sixth century extant. It asserts, that every Welsh poem, referred by Welshmen to this ancient period, is a factitious composition of the twelfth or succeeding century. My duty, therefore, if I attempt to impugn this scepticism, is to show, that there are genuine works of the sixth century now in existence. I adduce the poems above selected as such. If my arguments are successful as to these poems, then any others may be added to the accredited number, which judicious and learned criticism shall allow to be genuine, after due consideration.

Now of the Gododin, I have mentioned, that, until very lately, a MS. of it was in the Hengurt library, which seemed to be of the handwriting of the twelfth century. I am informed that it was in handwriting and appearance very similar to the book of Taliesin, which is yet in the library, and may be seen by any one. A complete transcript of the Gododin was made by Mr. Vaughan, in the time of Charles the First, and many copies of it, of various dates, exist in Welsh collections.

The poems of Llywarch Hên, above mentioned, are in the Black Book of Caermarthen, and in the Red Book of Hergest. They are a part of Mr. Vaughan's transcript, and of others.

The Avallenau of Merdhin is in the Black Book of Caermarthen, with others that are ascribed to him. It is in Sir Hugh Pennant's transcript, made in the time of Henry the Eighth, in the Kutta Kyvarwydh, and in other transcripts.

Of Taliesin, the Dialogue with Merdhin, the Graves of the Warriors, and a few others, are in the Black Book of Caermarthen. Most of those which I have mentioned to be his are, with others in the MS. called the Book of Taliesin, in the Hengurt library, which is placed in the twelfth century, or nearly so. Some are in the Red Book of Hergest, and all are in Mr. Vaughan's transcript, and many in y Kutta Kyvarwydh.

What other ancient MSS. of any of the works of these Bards are in the Macclesfield or other collections, I cannot state, because I am not informed. But I conceive, that from the above statement, I am authorized to affirm, that they are MSS. of poems of these four Bards now extant, which were written in or

before the twelfth century. I will confirm this assertion by showing,

II. That these poems, or some of them, and their authors, have been mentioned or alluded to by a series of Bards, whose works still exist undisputed, from before the twelfth century, to a recent period.

There is a poem which bears the same name with one of Taliesin's, but which is attributed to Golyddan. It is called Arymes Prydein Vawr. From its internal evidence, it seems to have been written in the end of the seventh, or in the eighth century. He mentions that the Britons will recover their country again, and adds,[p] "Dysgogan Merddin,"—Merddin foretells it. This is a direct allusion to that passage of the Avallenau, which we shall hereafter quote, and which Jeffery has imitated. In this passage Merdhin foretells the return of the Britons.

In an ancient composition, which is usually placed in the tenth century, called Englynion y Clywaid, we find Llywarch quoted as a Bard:

"Hast thou heard what *Llywarch* sang
(The intrepid and brave old man)
Greet kindly, tho' there be no acquaintance."

A glyweisti a gant Llywarch,
Oedd henwr drud dihavarch:
Onid kyvarwydd cyvar ch.
Arch. Cynveirdd, p. 173.

In the same poem we find Taliesin mentioned as a Bard, and his son quoted:

"Hast thou heard what Avaon sang
(The son of *Taliesin*, whose muse was just.)
The countenance cannot conceal the sorrow of the heart."

A glyweisti a gant Avaon,
Vab Taliesin gerdd gyvion:
Ni chel grudd gystudd calon. P. 173.

None of the poems of Avaon have survived.

In another of the same poems, we find Aneurin incidentally mentioned, and as a Bard:

"Hast thou heard the saying of Kennyd
The son of *Aneurin*, the well-skilled Bard:
There are none free from care but the provident."

A glyweisti çwedyl Cennyz
Vab Aneurin varz celvyz:
Nid dioval ond dedwyz.

[p] Welsh Archaiology, p. 156.

In the same poem, both Taliesin and Merdhin are distinctly specified, and as contemporaries:

"Hast thou heard the saying of *Taliesin*
In conversation with *Merdhin*.
'It is natural for the indiscreet to laugh immoderately.'"

A glyweisti çwedyl Taliesin,
Yn ymzizan â Merzin:
Gnawd i anghall traçwerthin.

In another poem of the same age, or perhaps earlier, we find an obvious allusion to the poem of Aneurin on the battle of Cattraeth:

"Like Cattraeth great and glorious."

Eilywod Gattraeth vaur vygedauc.
Welsh Arch. p. 180.

Why was Cattraeth great and glorious? Not from the event, for that was peculiarly disastrous to the Britons; but it was made glorious by the much celebrated poem of Aneurin upon it. Unless we presume this poem to have then existed, the line has no meaning.

These six notices of these ancient Bards are taken from poems which, according to the general consent of the best Welsh critics, were written before the twelfth century.

The allusions to these Bards in the authors of the *twelfth century* are very numerous. There are not fewer than fourteen passages distinctly referring to these Bards, or some of their poems, in the works of the twelfth century. I will produce them as nearly as possible in the order of their chronology.

1. Between the years 1140, and 1172, was Hywel, the son of Owen, of Gwynedh. His father was honoured with some of the best poems of Gwalchmai[q] and Cynddelu,[r] the two stars of the Welsh Parnassus; and to his son Hywel, whom I am going to quote, Cynddelu also addressed an ode.[s]

This prince wrote some odes on Love, and some on War. In one, which is entitled Gorhofedh, or his Delights, he mentions Merdhin, and speaks of him as a Bard.

"To construct an ancient or primitive song,
A song of praise, such as *Merdhin sang*."

Kyssylltu canu kyssevin
Kert volyant val y cant Mertin.
Welsh Arch. p. 278.

Here the prince explicitly mentions Merdhin, not merely as a Bard, but as one in his days, (or in the twelfth century,) ancient

[q] Archaiol. p. 196–198. [r] Ibid. p. 204–207 [s] Ibid. p. 258.

or primitive. To construct an ancient song, such as Merdhin sang, is, in effect, to say that Merdhin's songs were ancient.

The expressions seem to indicate that Merdhin's poetry existed in his time; for how could he have talked of constructing or putting together a song like Merdhin's, unless some of Merdhin's poetry was in being.

Cynddelu was a Bard who lived between 1150 and 1200, and whose genius, although various, yet excelled in the bolder strains of heroic poetry. His compositions were numerous. Forty-nine of his pieces have descended to us.

2. In his elegy on Rhiryd, he mentions Taliesin by name, and as a distinguished Welsh Bard. The passage will speak for itself:

"Whilst there was the solemn feast, and suitable wealth,
To me no one would speak but agreeably;
To me the mild chief intermitted not his numerous gifts;
To me the valiant one made not the two cheeks of disgrace;
The song was not a voice of disgrace to the people of Cynvarch.
From the head of *Taliesin*, in bardic learning exalted,
A bardic lay shall come to me."

Tra vu vyg kyvet yg kyuoeth yawn,
Nym llauarei y nep nam bei digawn
Nym ditolei y lary o lawer dawn;
Nym goruc deur wr deurut warthlawn:
Ny bu warthlef kert kynverching werin.
O benn Taliesin bartrin beirtrig
Barteir om kyveir.

Cynddelu, Marunad Ririd. p. 230.

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3. In another poem, an elegy on Owen of Gwynedh, Cynddelu visibly alludes to the poem of Taliesin on the battle of Argoed Llwyvain:

"Hastening mutually to urge on,
In heroic manner, in the great field so illustrious,
The horned array of the winged warrior
Was the energy, the heroism of Owen.
In the tumult, the leader of slaughter heaps carcasses,
As in the bloody *conflict of Argoed Llwyvain*."

Yn ebrwyd gyfarwain
Y'gwrfoes yg orfaes cyfrgain
I gornawr gwriawr goradain
Ygwrial ygwryd Owain
Ygorun aergun aergyfrain
Yn aergad yn Argoed Llwyfain.

Cynd. Mar. Ow. Gwyn. p. 207.

The namesake of the hero of Cynddelu had been praised by Taliesin in his poem on the battle of Argoed Llwyvain on this occasion.

The Britons, under Urien and his son Owen, were invaded by a Saxon leader, whom Taliesin names Flamddwyn. This word literally means *flame-bearing*, and therefore is probably not the real name of the Saxon general, but an angry epithet descriptive of his ravages. Taliesin mentions that he made an insolent demand of hostages and submission from the Britons:

"Flamddwyn demanded with great impetuosity,
Will they give hostages—are they ready?"

Atorelwis Flamddwyn fawr drybestawd:
A ddodynt yngwystlon: a ynt parawd?
Taliesin, Gwaith Arg. Ll. 53.

He then distinguishes the eager courage of Owen, who was the first to give the answer of patriotism to the invaders:

"He was answered by Owen, Let the gash appear—
They will give none—the hostages are not, shall not be ready."

Yr attebwys Owain ddwyrain fossawd
Nid dodynt, nid ydynt, nid ynt parawd. Ibid.

The poet then mentions the furious conflict which followed from this refusal of submission.

Now the compliment which Cynddelu paid to the hero of his elegy, Owen of Gwynedh, by alluding to the battle of Llwyvain, was this: the refusal and defiance to Flamddwyn was given by Owen, the son of Urien; and this spirited conduct produced the celebrated conflict which followed. By comparing the battle of his Owen with that in which the Owen of Taliesin had distinguished himself, Cynddelu appears to have meant to have exalted the character of his own hero, by assimilating it to the merit and celebrity of his recorded namesake.

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4. This same author, Cynddelu, also alludes in another place to the poem of Taliesin on the battle of Argoed Llwyvain:

"He hurried on impetuously to the assault like the flame-spreading Flamddwyn."

Ffwyr ffysgiad fal ffleimiad Flamddwyn.
Cynd. Dadol. Rhys. 235.

Who was this Flamddwyn? It has been already mentioned that it is the descriptive name of the Saxon hero in the poem of Taliesin, on the battle of Argoed Llwyvain; and it is remarkable that he is distinguished by Taliesin for the circumstance, to illustrate which his name is here introduced.

The point of the simile is the hurrying to the attack—he hurried impetuously to it like Flamddwyn. Now when Taliesin

mentions Flamddwyn, it is with the same circumstance of impetuosity and haste: thus, when he first mentions him, he says:

Dygrysowys Flamddwyn.

"Flamddwyn *hastened quickly*"

to his hostile object.

When he mentions him again, he says:

Atorelwis Flamddwyn fawr drybestawd.

"Flamddwyn demanded with *great impetuosity.*"

It seems that Cynddelu introduced the simile of Flamddwyn from recollecting this poem and these expressions of Taliesin.

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5. Cynddelu also mentions Merdhin. I will quote the passage at length, that the reader may have some idea of the manner of these Welsh Bards. The subject of the poem from which this extract is made, is the death of Owen. The poem is an elegy on the death, the effect of which, on many, he now proceeds to describe:

"On the progeny of Run lie the red earth and stones:
Ominous, not glad tidings, was the fate of the Chief:
It is an omen of the pain of agitated terror,
To the finger from the splendour of the palace,
To the minstrels whose requests were for *slender coursers.*[t]
But to the crimsoned wolf of terror, and to the ravens, it was a boon.
Frequently will it come to the memory of the profound Bards;
To Cynddelu it forebodes delay to his claims of honour.
Of the honour'd sovereign—he armour of the host of raging slaughter—
Of Owen, God has determined the day;
Of the venerated head appropriately predominating in Britain.
Thus in the conflict of Arderydd, wrath stalked through the battle,
Amid ruin and falling slaughter
Over myriads of men, over *Merdhin*, who was illustrious."

Ar hil Run rud weryd a main
Y dragon coeling nid coelfain ei dwyn
Ys coel brwyn braw dilain
I gerdawr a'm preidiawr a'm prain
I eilwyon am eirchion archfain
I flaid rud i fraw fud i frain
I feird dwfn dyf yd a gofiain
I Gyndelw oed ardelw urdain
Urd Wledig llnrig llu aergrain
Urdws Duw diwyrnawd Owain
Urdawl ben priawdnen Prydain
Mal gwaith Arderyd gwyth ar dyrfain cad

[t] Literally "for the *slender-bodied ones.*" The Welsh poetry has frequently instances of descriptive adjectives being used to express noun substantives. Thus the Bards sometimes put *meinir* for a charming woman. The word literally means any thing slender and lively. For the same interesting object, they have also the compound eiliw-manod, or "resembling in mien the light driven snow."

In argrad yn aergrain
Uch myrd wyr uch Myrdhin oed cain.
Mar. Ow. Gwyn. 207.

He goes on to describe the motions of the birds of prey on the battle, which I will add for its strong imagery:

"Over the hawk's station, over the hawk's banquet of heads,
Over the quivering of the spears reddening was the wing.
Over the howling of the storm the course of the seagull was manifest.
Over the blood whirling, the blood flowing, the exulting ravens were screaming.
Over the blood gushing, over the treasure of the fierce-wing'd race,
Was the clamour of the apt energy, aptly spreading thro' the sky."

Uch gwalchlan uch gwalchlad pennain
Uch gwayw ryn yn rudaw adain
Uch gwaed gwynt golau hynt gwylain
Uch gwaed lyry gwaedlauw gwaedai gigfrain
Uch gwaed frau uch adnau ednain
Yg gawr huysgwr huysgain yn wybyr.
Mar. Ow. Gwyn. 207.

In this passage we see Merdhin mentioned as being illustrious or splendid, and as having been in the battle of Arderydd. Now Merdhin the Bard was in this battle; and why was he particularized with the epithet "illustrious?" The poem, already quoted, of Howel explains it. It was the effect of his bardic fame.

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6. Another princely Bard was Owen Cyveilioc. He flourished between 1150 and 1197. He was the prince of Powys. He was engaged in some intestine conflicts with Howel;[u] he fought with our Henry, and at last excited against himself Owen of Gwynedd, the hero of the poetry of Gwalchmai and Cynddelu. This hero defeated and expelled Owen Cyveilioc in 1166 from Powys, to which, however, he was re-admitted.

This Owen of Powys has written a very interesting poem called "Hîrlas," or the Blue Long Horn; and in this we meet with an undeniable allusion to the poem of Aneurin on the battle of Cattraeth. The poem is given in English among Evans's specimens;[v] but as his translation is too free to suit the severity of documents for accurate reasoning, I will turn it into more literal English.

After speaking of Madawc and Meilir, as "men habituated to tumult," as "the shields of their army," "teachers of battle," he suddenly introduces:

"Hear how with their portion of mead, went with their Lord to Cattraeth,
Faithful the purpose of their sharp weapons,
The host of Mynydauc, to their fatal rest.
They obtained the recording, tho' pernicious to their active leader.
They did not, like my warriors in the hard struggle of Maelor,
Liberate the prisoner, yet their praise has been established."

[u] See Wynne's History of Wales, 187.
[v] P. 7. See it better translated in Southey's Madoc.

Kigleu am dal met myned dreig Kattraeth
Kywir eu harvaeth arveu lliveid
Gosgort Vynytawc am eu cysgeid
Kawssant y hadrawt cas vlawt vleinieid
Ni wnaeth a wnaeth vynghedwyr ynghalet Vaelor
Dillwng karcharor dullest voleid.

Hirlas Euein, 266.

I think that this passage affords very satisfactory testimony to the existence of the Gododin at this period, even though Aneurin's name is not here mentioned.

My reasons for the opinion are these:

1. The prince alludes to the warriors who went with Mynydauc to Cattraeth, as having drank their mead. Now the great topic perpetually recurring in the Gododin is, that the Britons lost the battle of Cattraeth, and suffered so severely because they had drank their mead too profusely. The passages in the Gododin, on this point, are numerous: for example:

"Men went to Cattraeth; loquacious were their hosts;
Pale mead had been their feast, and was their poison."

Gwyr aeth Gattraeth oed ffraeth y lu
Glasved eu hancwyn ae gwenwyn vu.

Aneurin, Gododin, p. 2.

"They had drank together the sparkling mead by the light of rushes:
Pleasant was its taste, long was its wo."

Cyt yven vedd gloew wrth liw babir
Cyt vei da ei vlas y gas bu hir.

Gododin, p. 3.

"In fair order round the banquet they feasted together;
Wine, mead, and mirth they enjoyed."

Gloyw ddull y am drulyt gytvaethant
Gwin a mel a mal amuesant.

Ibid. p. 9.

2. The prince mentions that the Britons went to Cattraeth under the conduct of Mynydauc, their leader, and he calls them Gosgordd Mynydauc, the host of Mynydauc. Now Aneurin, in many places, mentions Mynydauc as the leader of the Britons, and in no fewer than five places uses the very phrase to express them, which Owen selects as if borrowing from him. I mean Gosgordd Mynydauc. Thus Aneurin said,

"The warriors went to Cattraeth with the dawn:
They strove in the flight daringly:
Eleven hundred and three hundred were hurling
Drenched in blood; they were vehement in the darting of the lance:
They stationed themselves with manly gallantry
From the host of Mynydauc the courteous.
The warriors went to Cattraeth with the dawn,
Confident in exposing themselves to their inevitable fate:

They had drank the yellow, sweet ensnaring mead.
Merry had been the hours, merry the singers;
Red became their swords and plumage,
Their white shining blades, and square helmets,
From the host of Mynydauc the courteous."

Gwyr a aeth Gattraeth gan wawr
Travodynt yn hed yn hovnawr
Milcant a thrychant a em daflawr
Gwyarllyt a gwynodynt waeulawr
Ef gorsaf eng gwriaf eng guriawr
Rac *Gosgordd Mynyddawc* mwynvawr.
Gwyr a aeth Gattraeth gan vawr
Dygymyrrus eu hoet eu hangenawr
Med yvynt melyn melys maglawr
Blwydyn bu llewyn llawen cerdawr
Coch eu cledyfaur na phlwawr
Eu llain gwynygalch a phedryolet benawr
Rac *Gosgord Mynydawr* mwyn vawr.
Gododin, p. 2.

The Gosgordd Mynydauc, and the sad effects of the mead, are mentioned by Aneurin again:

"The warriors had hastened swift all running together;
Short were their lives drunk over the distilled mead.
The host of Mynydauc abounding with gold were in distress.
The price of their banquet of mead was their lives."

Gwyr a gryssiasant buant gytneit
Hoedlvyrion medduon uch med hidleit
Gosgordd Vynyddawc eurawc yn rheit
Gwerth eu gwledd o vedd vu eu heneit.
Ibid. p. 6.

Aneurin mentions the Gosgordd Mynydauc twice more, as,

"Of the host of Mynydauc none escaped,
Except one weapon altogether weak and precipitated."

O Osgordd Vynyddawc ni ddiangwys
Namyn un aryf amddiphyrf amddiffwys.
Ibid. p. 11.

And,

"From Cattraeth their army was loquacious,
Of the host of Mynydawr, great in misery,
Of three hundred, but one man came out;
From the wine-feast; from the mead-feast they had hastened."

Rac Cattraeth oedd ffraeth eu llu
O osgordd Vynyddawr vawr dru
O drychant namyn un gwr ny ddyvu
O winveith a meddveith est gryssiasant.
Ibid. p. 9.

3. When to the above remark it is added that the prince of Powys says this tribe of Mynydauc had "obtained a recording," and that their praise was established, can we doubt that he spoke of the Gododin of Aneurin, and had taken from it the allusion,

which has been cited from him. In the Gododin, these unfortunate Britons have obtained a recording, and their mead is distinctly mentioned as the cause of their calamity. Hence I consider this passage in Owen's poem as a satisfactory testimony of the existence of the Gododin in his time. The prince has also a line in his poem which is so similar to one in the Gododin, as to warrant the supposition that it was borrowed from it:

Nid yn hyn dihyll nam hen deheu.

The line in the Gododin is this:

Ni bu hil dihyll na hen deheu.

Before I dismiss the prince of Cyveilioc, I cannot but crave permission to mention a very interesting and original elegiac turn which occurs in his poem of the Hîrlas.

The prince was a turbulent warrior, generally fighting with some of his neighbours. His Hîrlas, however, shows that he possessed a strong poetic genius, and applied it to celebrate the warriors who accompanied him in his quarrels. The plan of the poem is ingenious and picturesque. He fancies himself surrounded by his chiefs at the festive table, rejoicing in their victory; and he orders his cupbearer to pour out the generous beverage to those whom he intends to celebrate, and whom he selects and describes successively. Two of his accustomed companions, and favourite warriors, were Moreiddig and Tudyr, who had just perished in a preceding battle. In the ardour of his festivity and panegyric, he forgot that they were no more. Therefore, after directing the horn of mead to be sent to his warriors, and after addressing each of them with appropriate praise, he proceeds to send it to Moreiddig and Tudyr. He recites their merit—he turns to greet them—but their place is vacant—he beholds them not—he hears their dying groan—he recollects their fate—his triumphant strains cease—his hilarity flies, and the broken tones of mournful exclamation suddenly burst out. Shall I be pardoned if I digress awhile to insert the passage in a close translation?

To enhance the compliment which he is going to pay, he threatens death to his cupbearer if he execute his office unskilfully.

"Fill, cupbearer, seek not death—
Fill the horn of honour at our banquets,
The long blue horn, of high privilege, of ancient silver,
That covers it not sparingly;
Bear to Tudyr, eagle of slaughter,
A prime beverage of florid wine.
Thy head shall be the forfeit if there come not in
The most delicious mead
To the hand of Moreiddig, encourager of songs:
May they become old in fame before they leave us!

Ye blameless brothers of aspiring souls,
Of dauntless ardour that would grasp ev'n fire;
Heroes, what services ye have achieved for me!
Not old disgustingly, but old in skill;
Unwearied, rushing wolves of battle;
First in the crimsoned rank of bleeding pikes,
Brave leaders of the Mochnantians, from Powys,
The prompt ones, in every need,
Who rescue their borders from violence,
Praise is your meed, most amiable pair!
Ha!—the cry of death—And do I miss them—
O Christ!—how I mourn their catastrophe—
O lost Moreiddig—how greatly shall I need thee!"

Hîrlas Euein, p. 266.

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7. In the same century, from the year 1160 to 1220, lived the bard Llywarch ab Llywelyn, or as he has been most commonly called, Llywarch Prydyd y Moch. He has left thirty-two poems.

In one of his odes to the son of Iorwerth, this bard mentions Taliesin as a bard, and also a circumstance, which is the subject of one of Taliesin's poems, to which therefore Llywarch P. y Moch must be supposed to be alluding. The words of Llywarch are:

"I will address my Lord
With the greatly greeting muse,
With the dowry of Cyridwen,
The ruler of Bardism,
In the manner of Taliesin
When he liberated Elphin
When he overshaded the bardic mystery
With the banners of the bards."

Cyvarchaf ym ren
Cyvarchvawr awen
Cyvreu Kyridwen
Rhwyf bartoni
Yn dull Taliesin
Yn dillwng Elfin
Yn dyllest bartin
Beirt vanyeri.

Llywel. y Canu Bychan, 303.

The poem of Taliesin, which he wrote to obtain Elphin's release from the prison where his uncle Maelgwn had confined him yet exists. It is called the Mead Song. It has considerable merit, and may be thus faithfully translated:

TALIESIN'S MEAD SONG.

"I will implore the Sovereign, Supreme in every region,
The Being who supports the heavens, Lord of all space,
The Being who made the waters, to every body good;
The Being who sends every gift and prospers it,

That Maelgwn of Mona be inspired with mead, and cheer us with it.
From the mead horns—the foaming, pure and shining liquor
Which the bees provide, but do not enjoy.
Mead distilled I praise—its eulogy is everywhere,
Precious to the creature whom the earth maintains.
God made it for man for his happiness;
The fierce and the mute, both enjoy it.
The Lord made both the wild and the gentle,
And has given them clothing for ornament,
And food and drink to last till judgment.
I will implore the Sovereign, Supreme in the land of peace,
To liberate Elphin from banishment,
The man that gave me wine, ale, and mead.
And the great princely steeds of gay appearance,
And to me yet would give as usual:
With the will of God, he would bestow from respect
Innumerable festivities in the course of peace.
Knight of Mead, relation of Elphin, distant be thy period of inaction."

Arch. p. 22.

Golychaf wledig pendefig pob wa
Gwr a gynneil y nef Arglwydd pob tra
Gwr a wnaeth y dwfr i bawb yn dda
Gwr a wnaeth pob llad ac ai llwdda
Meddwer Maelgwn Mon ag an meddwa
Ai feddgorn ewyn gwerlyn gwymha
As gynnull gwenyn ac nis mwynha
Med hidleid moleid molud i bob tra
Lleaws creadur a fag terra
A wnaeth Duw i ddyn er ei ddonha
Rhaidrud rhai mud ef ai mwynha
Rhai gwyllt rhai dof Dofydd ai gwna
Yn dillig iddynt yn dillad ydd a
Yn fwyd yn ddiawd hyd frawd yd barha
Golychaf i wledig pendefig gwlad hedd
I ddillwng Elphin o alltudedd
Y gwr am rhoddes y gwin ar cwrwf ar medd
Ar meirch mawr modur mirein eu gwedd
Am rothwy etwa mal y diwedd
Trwy fodd Duw y rhydd trwy enrhydedd
Pump pemhwnt calan ynghaman hedd
Elffinawg farchawg medd hwyr dy ogledd.

Taliesin, Canu y medd, p. 22.

Taliesin wrote two other poems concerning Elphin which are yet extant. One called "The Consolation of Elphin;" the other entitled "To the Wind;" but I think the Mead Song was the poem which Llywarch P. y Moch had in his contemplation, when he said he would address the Lord, like Taliesin, to liberate Elphin, because the very phrase used by Llywarch in speaking of this poem, "yn dillwng Elphin," "to liberate Elphin," is in the Mead Song.

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8. Nor is this all the inference to be deduced from this poem of Llywarch's. The first four lines of Llywarch will be found

on a comparison so nearly similar to four commencing lines of another poem of Taliesin, that I think no one can dispute that he borrowed them from Taliesin.

Llywarch.	Taliesin.
Cyvarchaf ym ren	*Kyvarchaf im Rhen*
Cyvarchvawr awen	Ystyriav *Awen*
Cyvreu Kyridwen	Py ddyddwg angen
Rwyf bartoni.	Cyn no *Chyridwen.*
"I will address the Lord	"I will address the Lord
With the greatly greeting Muse,	With the meditating Muse,
With the dowry of Cyridwen,	That endured necessity
The ruler of Bardism."	Before Cyridwen."[w]

The first line, and part of the second, are exactly the same in both. The singular idea in the other lines proves the intentional imitation of Llywarch P. Moch. To speak of Cyridwen, a mythological personage very little mentioned elsewhere, could not have happened to both in an introduction so very similar both in metre and words, unless the one had borrowed it from the other. I therefore submit that this imitation of Llywarch attests that this poem of Taliesin, called "The Mab Gyvreu Taliesin," was in being in Llywarch's time. I think also, by Llywarch mentioning Taliesin, and alluding to another poem of his immediately after this imitation of him, that it warrants the assertion, according to the experienced laws of the association of ideas, that Llywarch deemed the lines he was imitating to be Taliesin's. If so, this single passage is evidence that the Mead Song, and the Mab Gyvreu of Taliesin, were existing and accredited as his in the twelfth century.

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9. Llywarch P. Moch, in this same poem, gives also an attestation of Merdhin; he says,

"Merdhin prophesied
That a king would come
From the Cymry nation,
Out of the oppressed.
Druids declared,
That liberality shall be renewed
From the progeny of the eagles
Of Snowdon."

[w] Cyridwen means literally, "the producing woman." She is one of the beings peculiar to the ancient Welsh mythology, and appears to have been considered by the Bards as the productress of things; in a word, to have borne that character, which Lucretius gives to Venus in his introduction to his De Natura Rerum. There are several mythological personages mentioned in ancient Welsh literature, who are worth attending to, because in them we perhaps see some curious remains of the earliest traditions of the western parts of Europe.

Darogan Mertin
Dyvod breyenhin
O Gymry werin
O gamh wri
Dywawd derwyton
Dadeni haelon
O hil eryron
O Eryri.

Ll. Canu Bych. 304.

This prediction of Merdhin's, of better fortune to Walcs, was also noticed by Golyddan, whom we have quoted before. The passage now existing in Merdhin's Avallenau, to which these bards seem to have alluded, will be presently adduced.

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10. The same bard has also the following allusion to the Gododin of Aneurin:

"Like Caeawg the foremost hero ministering to the birds of prey."

Adar weinidawc Caeawc cynran drud. P. 298.

Caeawg is much celebrated in the Gododin, and is several times mentioned there with epithets expressing the same quality as Llywarch in this passage intends to denote. This quality was his eagerness to be foremost in the battle, which Aneurin signifies by cynhaiawc and cynhorawc, and Llywarch by cynran; all the three adjectives are nearly synonymous.

As Llywarch P. Moch was one of the most distinguished poets of the twelfth century, it may relieve this tedious detail, if I intermix a specimen of his mode of describing a battle. Battles were the favourite transactions of that age, and therefore engrossed most of the bardic lays. They are usually noticed with some original touches, which to us who are nurtured in a happier state of intellect and society, will seem horrible and disgusting. How much is it to be regretted, that the melioration of our taste should be so distinct from the amendment of our conduct!

"Melancholy it is to us, the bards of the world, that earth lies upon him:
Sorrow is over us:
He was our leader before the wrath of fate separated us.
The ravagers ravaged onwards with fury;
Dreadful was the crimson gushing from the men before so mild:
Dead was the greatest part in the tumult.
Of the various-coloured waves, broken was the sound of their roar.
They were not silent;
A briny wave,[x] extensive from exerting rage;
Another wave, fierce, of red gore.
When the leader of the glittering hosts overcame

[x] The scene of this conflict was the strait of the Menai, which separates Anglesey from the main land.

Llewelyn, the chief of wide-spreading Alun.
A myriad was slain—the lure of the ravens incessantly screaming—
All warriors—and a thousand in captivity
When we passed from Porth Aethwy.
On the steeds of the sea flood over the great tumult of the waves
There were thronging spears—awful was their fury—
Conspicuous was the red rippling blood—
Terrible was our onset—it was unlovely—
It was misery—it was death unparalleled:
It was a doubt to the world, if there were left
A residue of us for the dissolution of age."

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11. Gwynvardd Brycheiniawg flourished between 1160, and 1120. He has left us two small poems, one addressed to the Lord Rhys, the prince of South Wales,[y] the other to St. David.

In the one addressed to Rhys, he quotes Merdhin thus, p. 270.

"For Tegeingyl, for the land of the Angles thronging together
For the fellow brother of Medrawd, of whom *Merdhin* prophesied."

Am Degeingyl, am dir Eingyl yn ymdyrru
Am gydvrawd Medrawd Merdhin darogan.
Gwyn. Br. p. 269.

Merdhin is here mentioned as prophesying of Medrawd. If we turn to his Avallenau, we shall find that he there so speaks of Medrawd:

"Sweet apple-tree, conspicuous as the hill of our congress
Towering above the wood surrounding its roots unshaded!
I will prophesy the coming again
Of Medrawd and Arthur, the sovereign of the host,
As at Camlan, preparing to conflict."

Asallen beren bren eil wyddsa
Cwn coed cylch ei gwraidd digwascotva;
A mi ddysgoganas dyddaw etwa
Medrawd ac Arthur modur tyrfa
Camlann darmerthan difieu yna. Myrd. Avall. p. 153.

I submit, that when the passage of Gwynvardd is compared with this of Merdhin, it will seem probable that this part of the Avallenau was alluded to by Gwynvardd, and consequently that the Avallenau was in existence in his time.

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12. Elidir Sais lived between 1160 and 1220. Eleven of his poems are preserved. In his Dadolwch, or atonement to Llywelyn, the son of Iorwerth, he mentions both Taliesin and Merdhin by name, and speaks of their poetry as being an object of *sight*, consequently existing.

This passage is certainly important, and if the lines were to be cited by themselves, they would be found to express the idea I have suggested. But the true sense of any passage, depends

[y] Wynne's History, p. 193.

sometimes on the other parts with which it is connected. Now it is proper that I should state, that the part in which these few lines occur is obscure, and of difficult construction. But as it can answer no honourable purpose, to lay before the reader a delusion, where he expects a proof, I will translate the whole poem of Elidir Sais, as literally as possible, and leave it to his own judgment to decide the force of the evidence, which, in my opinion, implies an inspection of existing works:

"Natural is the quaffing of the clear bright wine
From the horn of the buffalo,
From the fold of the bugle:
Natural is the singing of the cuckoo in the beginning of the summer,
Natural is the increasing growth of the springing blade:
Natural to the wise is his intellectual wealth;
But not natural, not tranquil is it to be sorrowful.

"Regret has done me great injury
For the brothers of dignity, the best men of the west;
Brothers separated in lamentable terror by foes;
Oh God, and Mary, and the sisters! Can I smile?
Can I be rejoiced with a mind wild with anxiety?

"He came as a lion with lightning impelling,
The excelling hawk, the victorious hawk of enterprise;
Llewelyn, the gentle sovereign,
Of courteous manners; the director of the filling of the circulating glass.[z]

"I am not accustomed to the habit of soaring;[a]
I have not been roaming
To view[b] *the paths of the songs of Taliesin;*
Lo! I am not so agile
As the end of the frail conflict of Breiddin
To express, out of the bardic strains of Merdhin.

"I will give thee counsel: who art most excellent in disposition;
Whose dread spreads beyond the sea!
Consider, when you oppress beyond the borders,
To make every one extend his head to his knees;
Be to the weak an equal distribution of the spoil!
Be truly mild to the songs of the right line!
Be of ardent courage in the slaughter—adhere to thy labour;
Destroy England, and plunder its multitudes.

"Mercy be to thee in thy stony fortress
For loving the prophetic Deity."

Gnawd yr yfawdd glyw gloyw win—o fual,
O fuarth buelin,
Gnawd cathleu cogeu cyntefin
Gnawd y tys tywys o egin
Gnawd y doeth cyfoeth cysyewin
Ni nawd nid llonydd allwynin
Hiraeth am ry wnaeth rewin
Braint brodyr gwellwyr gollewin

[z] *i. e.* Of the banquet.

[a] Literally, "whirling round."

[b] *i. e.* To track or imitate from inspection, as I conceive; but the word literally means to behold, or to view.

Broder de braw aele elin
Duw a mair a chwair yn chwerthin
Dothyw llew a lluchyg gorddin
Detholwalch buddugfalch byddin
Llywelyn llyerw freyenhin
Llary ddefawd llyw gwyrddrawd gwydrin
Nid wys gynnefawd gynnefin amchwyf
Ni rybum gerddenin
Edrych cyrdd cerddau Taliesin
Edrych ni mor wyf eddein
Ry ddarfod brau gysnod Breiddin
Ry ddywawd oi farddwawd Ferddin
Cyssul ath roddaf oth rin wyd goreu
Gorofu tra merin
Ystyrych pan dreisych dros ffin
Ystwng pawb hyd ben ei ddeulin
Bydd wrth wann gyfran gywrenhin
Bydd iawn llary wrth gorddau iownllin
Bydd wrddrud aer ddylud addilin
Dilein Lloegr a llwgr oi gwerin
Trugaredd ath so oth feinin gaerwedd
O garu Duw ddewin. Elidir Sais, Dad. 345.

The import of the passage appears to me to be, that the poems of Taliesin and Merdhin existed in this author's time, or how could they be viewed, imitated, or spoken from?

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13. This author mentions Merdhin in another place.

"Though polished my bardic style after Merdhin."
Llathreit vy mardeir uedy *Myrdin.* Awdl i Duw. p. 302.

How could his style have been formed from that of Merdhin, if poems, believed to have been written by him, had not then existed?

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14. This author, in his elegy on the death of Rhodri, has also a passage, which undoubtedly alludes to the Gododin of Aneurin, for the reasons mentioned above of the similar allusion of Owen Cyveilioc, that is, he connects three things together, which are to be met with together in the Gododin, and I believe only there. These were a mead-replenished army, a great disaster, and Cattraeth the scene of it.

"Wo to Britain, and its society!
From the loss of Rhodri, how greatly suitors will be straitened!
I was honoured by the mead-replenished army;
Oh, loss to me! a misfortune far worse
Than the ruin in the lands of Cattraeth could have caused."

Gwae Brydain am briodoriaeth
O golli Rhodri neud rhygaeth eirchiaid
Am parchai llu meddfaeth
O golled ym galled mawrwaeth
Gallas drais diredd Cattraeth. Elidir Sais, 348.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Einiawn ab Gwgawn lived between 1200 and 1260. In the poem which he addressed to Llywelyn the Great, often called the son of Iorwerth, he has this passage:

"Llywelyn, mayest thou be older, and of longer good fortune,
Than the venerable Llywarch, with the aptly ready flesh-piercer."

Llywelyn boed hyn boed hwy dichwein
No Llywarch hybarch hybar gicwein. Ein. Canu i L. 321.

This clearly alludes to Llywarch Hên, the bard. The epithet venerable, is but a synonyme to Hên, or Aged; and the wish of better fortune, applies truly to the afflictions, which his poems so often mention. The other singular expression, which more literally means "that which is sheathed in flesh," appears to me to allude to, or rather the idea of the expression was taken from, the remarkable opening of Llywarch's elegy on Urien Reged. In this the bard, in the full ardour for revenge, begins his poem with this apostrophe to his spear:

"Let me be guided onward, thou ashen thruster;
Fierce thy presence in the mutual conflict;
'Tis better to kill than to parley.[c]

"Let me be guided onward, thou ashen thruster;
Fiercely was it said, in the passage of Lech,
'Dunawd, the son of Pabo never flies.'

"Let me be guided onward, thou fierce ashen thruster;
Bitter and sullen as the scornful laughter of the sea,
Was the war of the shouting multitude
Of Urien Reged, burning and furious."

Dymcyvarwyddiad ynhwch dywal
Baran yn nghyvlwch
Gwell yd llad nog yd ydolwch
Dymcyfarwyddiad ynhwch dywal
Dywedydd yn nrws Llech
"Dunawd val Pabo ni thech."
Dymcyfarwyddiad ynhwch dywal chwern
Blwng chwerthin mor ryvel dorvloeddiad
Urien Reged greidiawl gravel.

Llywarch Hên, Mar. Ur. 103.

Such lines as these might lead a bard to designate Llywarch with a spear, whose sheath was flesh. This apostrophe seems the natural parent of the image.

Between 1200, and 1250 lived Phylip Brydydd. He has left six poems. In one, called a Contention with the Poetasters, he mentions Taliesin in a very remarkable manner:

"The *ancient* song of Taliesin, to the King of the Elements."
Hengerd Talyesin y teyrned elvyd.

Ph. Bryd. Amrys. 378.

[c] Archaiol. p. 103, and in Owen's Llywarch, p. 22.

Here is an author, who flourished in 1230, describing Taliesin's poetry as being at that time *ancient.* An ancient song, of course, implies a song written some centuries before the writer who uses the epithet. If about 1230, a bard styled Taliesin's poetry, *ancient* poetry, with what propriety can we say in contradiction to him, that it was not ancient, but had been then recently forged. Surely this bard Phylip, whom we may justly call ancient now, was a better judge of what was ancient in his day, than we are at the distance of almost six centuries after him.

By the song of Taliesin to the King of the Elements, it is highly probable that he means Taliesin's Poem to the Wind, which yet exists.

David Benvras lived between 1190 and 1240. He has left twelve poetical pieces, chiefly elegies and heroic odes. One of his odes to Llewelyn the Great, he opens with this invocation:

"May the Being who made the splendours of the West;
The sun and chilling moon, glorious habitations:
May He that rules above in universal light, graciously grant to me
The fulness of the glowing muse of Merdhin,
To sing the praise of heroes, as Aneurin sang
In the day that he composed the Gododin:
That I may celebrate the felicity of the people of the happy land
Of the chief of Gwyned, the prosperous boundary."

Gwr a wnaeth llewych o'r gorllewin
Haul a lloer addoer addef iessin
Am gwnel radd uchel rwyf cyfychwin
Cyflawn awen awydd *Fyrddin*
I ganu molliant mal *Aneurin* gynt
Dydd y cant Ododin.
Gwynedd bendefig ffynnedig ffin
Gwanas deyrnas deg cywrenhin.
D. Benvras, Awdl i Myw.

We have here a full attestation of these points:
That in this bard's days there was a poem called the Gododin;
That its author was Aneurin;
That its subject was the praise of heroes;
That Merdhin had also composed poetry;
That Merdhin's poetry was then extant,
For the bard describes it as "the fulness of the glowing muse;"
That both Aneurin's and Merdhin's poetry was then highly estimated.

To feel the complete force of this testimony, let us recollect that this bard was born in the twelfth century.

This same bard, David Benvras, is also a witness in favour of Taliesin—for in the same ode he sings:

"If it had happened to me to have been a prophet,
If I had the bardic style of the primitive bardic genius,

I could not have narrated the merit of his martial labours;
Not Taliesin could have done it." P. 308.

Be im byw be byddwn dewin
Ym marddair mawrddawn gyssevin
Adrawdd ei ddaed aerdrin ni allwn
Ni allai Daleissin. Ibid.

It is obvious, from the association of the bard's ideas in this extract, that he deemed Taliesin one of the early bards of his country, and that Taliesin's muse was directed to describe the actions of warriors. It is also my impression, that if Taliesin's fame had not been upheld by works of his then existing, he would not have been so particularized.

The same bard also mentions Llywarch; for in praising one Gruffudd, he says:

"Gruffudd with crimson'd arms will be likened
In the spear of honour to Llywarch, the son of Elidir."

Gruffudd arfeu rhudd rydebygir
Greid barch i Llywarch fab Elidir.
D. Benv. Mar. Ruffudd. 320.

The poet Llywarch was the son of Elider Lydanwyn. We have already mentioned how Llywarch distinguished his spear in his elegy on Urien.

Llygad Gwr was a bard, and lived between 1220 and 1270. He has left five poems on warlike subjects. Two are odes to Llywelyn, the son of Gruffudd, the last British prince who ruled in Wales. In one of these he says:

"His fiery ravages, like those of Flamddwyn, extended far."

Hirbell val Flamddwyn y flamgyrcheu.
Llygad. Gwr. p. 345.

This is an allusion to that poem of Taliesin's before mentioned, in which it is said that Flamddwyn spread from Argoed to Arvynydd:

"Flamddwyn hastened with four bodies of men
To surround Godeu and Reged;
He spread from Argoed to Arvynydd."

Dygrysowys Flamddwyn yn bedwarllu
Goddeu a Reged i ymddullu
Dyfwy o Argoed hyd Arfynydd.
Taliesin, Gwaith Arg. Ll. 53.

Gwilym Dhu, who flourished between 1280 and 1320, in his poem to Sir Gruffudd Llwyd in prison, also alludes to Flamd-

dwyn, p. 409; and in the same poem expressly mentions Taliesin, p. 410, and Elfin; and is clearly allowed.

After mentioning that his hero, Gruffudd, was a prisoner, he invokes St. David thus:

"If mine were the power characterized in Taliesin,
When he fetched Elfin, the breaker of the spear of conflict,
The impulse should be to the benefit of Gruffudd."

Pei mau pwyll ddiau ddyad Talyesin
Pan gyrchawdd Elffin par trin trychiad
Pwyll yudd Ruffudd.
Gwilym Dhu i Syr Gruffudd Llwyd, 410.

In the same poem he also mentions Llywarch:

"The contemplated reverence of Llywarch, the ruler of a tribe."

Myfyr barch Llywarch llywydd ciwdawd. Ib. 410.

In his elegy on Trahaiarn, he mentions many bards, and among them, he notices Merdhin:

"Good was the fortune of the song to Gwion the divine;
Good was Merdhin, with his descent from the tribe of Meirchion.
Good was Llevoed, ever the supporter of morality."

Da fu ffawd y wawd i Wiawn ddewin
Da Fyrddin a' i lin o lwyth Meirchiawn
Da Lefoed erioed da radlawn arddelw.
Gwilym, Mar. Trahaiarn, 411.

Iorwerth Vychan wrote poetry between 1290 and 1340. In his ode to a pretty woman, he mentions Merdhin as a poet:

"More precious with the splendid bards every long day,
That when Merdhin, of profound learning, sang of Gwendydd."

Ys mwy gan y beird heird bob hirddyd
Na fan gant Myrddin mawrddysc Gwendydd, 415.

Rhisserdyn, between 1290 and 1340, composed an ode to Hywel ab Grufudd. In this he mentions Aneurin as a bard, with whose style of composition he was acquainted, and Merdhin as an author, whose compositions he possessed and valued:

"A tongue with the eloquence of Aneurin's splendid panegyrics."

"I will preserve, in honoured authority, the memorials of Merdhin."

Tavawt un arawt Aneurin gwawt glaer.

Kaf am urddawl rwysc koven Myrdin.
Rhiss. i Hywel. 433.

Madoc Dwygraig, a poet between 1290 and 1340, has left ten poems. In the verses to a loose woman, he mentions Merdhin, and obviously alludes to his Avallenau. The two first words, Afallen beren, of all Madoc's stanzas, are those which begin almost all the stanzas of Merdhin's Avallenau. Indeed, Madoc's poem is a complete parody on it. He mentions Merdhin in it twice:

"An apple-tree
Equally bearing a profusion of leaves was given to Merdhin."

Ail yn dwyn rhyddail i rhodded Fyrddin.
Madawg, i Ferch. 487.

"Shall I become like Merdhin." Ibid. 488.

Of Sevnyn's poems, between 1320 and 1378, three remain. In his elegy on Iorworth Gyrioc, he mentions Merdhin and Aneurin thus: 505–6.

"May I have the gift of amusing language,
Large as the greatly gifted vineous movements of Merdhin's imagination."

"The report of thousands is the praise of Aneurin."

Maith mawrddwyn gwindaith Myrddin geudawd
Medd cyhoedd miloedd molawd Aneurin.
Sevnyn, Mar. Iorw. 503–4.

This is a strong indication of Aneurin's celebrity.

Iorwerth Llwyd, who lived between 1310 and 1360, mentions Merdhin:

"The eloquent and wisely expressed inquiries of Merdhin."

Hyawdl doethfin holion Myrdhin. P. 506.

and alludes to Elphin, p. 506, on whom Taliesin wrote.

Grufudd ab Maredudd, who lived at the same period, mentions Llywarch twice, p. 458, and 476.

So David ab Gwilym, one of the favourites of the Welsh muse, in this century, mentions both Merdhin and Taliesin.[d]

I am sensible that I must have trespassed to my own disadvantage on the patience of the reader, by this long and wearying detail, which has even wearied myself. But such a series of

[d] See p. 8, 51, and 222, of his Works, edited by Messrs. Owen Jones, and William Owen, now Dr. Owen Pughe.

evidence as this, is of the last importance on such a question as the present, A series like this, we should exact and search for, if Pindar or Eschylus had been put upon their trials. It is a series of proof which forgery can never have. It can only attend genuine works, and I adduce it as forming a very substantial part of that column of evidence by which the ancient Welsh poetry must now be supported.

SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING EVIDENCE.

I will beg leave to assist the reader's recollection by a short summary of the preceding.

Before the twelfth century, we have found all the four ancient bards mentioned as bards, and some of their observations recited. In one, Taliesin and Merdhin were mentioned as contemporaries, who conversed together. The Avallenau and the Gododin were in others indirectly alluded to.

In the works of the twelfth century, we found Merdhin's poetry mentioned several times. Once his Avallenau obviously referred to, at another time his works spoken of as extant, and at another time as being then ancient.

Taliesin is not only several times mentioned as a bard of distinction and repute, but his poems were spoken of as having been seen, and of course extant; his poem on the battle of Argoed Llwyvain was three times alluded to; his Mead Song, and his Mab Cyvreu were quoted.

The Gododin of Aneurin was twice indirectly alluded to.

In the thirteenth century, Llywarch was mentioned with epithets and circumstances that seemed borrowed from his poems.

The Gododin was expressly mentioned as Aneurin's, and with high panegyric, and as extant. His power of heroic poetry was twice besides alluded to.

Taliesin is mentioned often as a bard of great celebrity, and who sang heroic poetry. His Poem to the Wind was expressly named, and as a poem esteemed *ancient* in this century. His poems on Argoed Llwyvain, and on Elfin, were also alluded to, and his poetic powers are spoken of as objects of emulation. Merdhin is repeatedly mentioned as a bard, and as having left works of great estimation; his Avallenau is even parodied, and his style is mentioned as an object of imitation.

I submit that all this must be allowed, to prove that the works of these bards, for which I am reasoning, were in being in the twelfth century. On this vantage ground I take my stand. It is a great point gained, to show that this degree of antiquity at least cannot be denied to them. It must afford the reader much satisfaction, I apprehend, to be assured that when his attention is called to these interesting remains, it will not be bestowed on a modern forgery.

The questions now to be discussed will be therefore these: Were these poems fabricated in the twelfth century, or before? or, are they as genuine as they pretend to be?

That they could not be fabricated in the twelfth century, will, I hope, appear from some of the leading topics, which I shall arrange by and by, under the head of their internal evidence. But I will take the opportunity now of requesting the reader to remark, that there is not one tittle of evidence extant, that they did first appear in the twelfth century. It is an assertion which cannot be proved, and which, therefore, is gratuitous and visionary. I wish to put this strongly, and for this reason. If there were any sort of direct evidence, to show that these poems were made in the twelfth century, then all the good effect I could hope to gain, by adducing facts and reasoning, in order to place them in the sixth, would be, that I should present one mass of testimony against another mass of testimony. It would be a case of opposing probabilities. It would be, like what trials about horses, footways, and boundaries too commonly are; I mean a competition of evidence, in which the court and jury can hardly discern which side they ought in justice to prefer.

But the present argument is not of this species. In considering whether these poems belong to the sixth century, or the twelfth, there is no opposing wall to pull down, no mistaken testimony to refute. The supposition which places them in the twelfth century, has not one fact to warrant it. There are the decisive proofs of MSS. and the series of quotations, which I have already adduced, to prove that they must have been in existence in the twelfth century; but there is no document existing that confines them to this century, or that imposes any restriction on the liberty of inquiring to what previous century they belong.

No reasoner, and no antiquary, will allow mere guesses, or mere assertions, to be sufficient to limit them to the twelfth or to any other age. But finding the ground unoccupied, they will feel themselves free to examine what the period is in which the weight of proof inclines to place the first existence of these poems.

The evidence already adduced to show that they were extant in the twelfth century, if fairly reasoned from, will compel us to infer that they were in existence anterior to the twelfth. Those MSS. of these poems, which seem to belong to this century, point our attention to a preceding age. They do not adduce the poems as anonymous poems, which might have been the works of authors of the twelfth century, but they state them to be more ancient compositions. So the bards of the twelfth, and other centuries, who cite or allude to them or their authors, do not refer to them as works of their contemporaries, but as of bards whom we know to have belonged to an anterior period. There-

fore the natural tendency of the evidence already stated, is to show that we must inquire into a period preceding the twelfth for the chronology of their authors.

III. The next fact, which I shall proceed to substantiate is, there were bards among the Britons in the sixth century.

It is certainly necessary to ascertain whether there were any bards at all in the sixth century, because if such men did not then exist among the Britons, the question cannot be agitated further.

That there were bards in the sixth century, seems to me to be a position which may be proved two ways; 1st, by inference—that is, proving their existence both before and after that period, and inferring from thence, that they were also in the middle interval; 2dly, by direct evidence of authors contemporary with the sixth century. I will beg leave to use both species of proof, lest any gentleman should think that the direct evidence is not alone sufficiently conclusive.

It may be therefore first stated, that there were Bards among the Britons, who composed and sang poetry, on the actions of celebrated men, before the fourth century, and in the tenth and twelfth centuries.

The Celtic population of Gaul and Briton was distinguished by a remarkable set of men, whom the classical authors called Druids. Cæsar has described them with his usual intelligence, and if we do justice to his inquiring mind, sedate judgment, and military habit of exactness, we shall not doubt his precision. He says, that their singular discipline flourished most in Britain, and that one of the Druidical practices, was to commit to memory a great number of *verses*.[a] Other authors have discriminated the Druids into three sorts of persons, who are named the Druids, the Ovates or Vates, and the Bards. These three orders are stated by Strabo,[b] by Diodorus Siculus,[c] and Ammianus Marcellinus.[d] The Bards are called poets, and composers of hymns, by Strabo; and they sung to instruments like lyres, according to Diodorus. Lucan also mentions them as celebrating the deeds of their heroes in verse. His words, literally translated, are, "You also, ye Vates, who transmit to immortality by your praises the spirits of the brave, of those slain in battle; Bards! ye may securely pour your numerous songs."[e]

Other authors speak of them in the same strain. Appian exhibits a Bard as celebrating a king for his descent,[f] as well as for his wealth and courage; and Posidonius declares that the Celts carried Bards with them, as the companions of their table who sang their praises.[g]

[a] De Bell. Gal. l. vi. [b] Geog. l. iv. p. 197–302. [c] l. v. p. 213–308.
[d] l. xv. p. 75. [e] l. i. [f] In his Celtico. [g] Ath. Diep. l. vi. p. 246.

Some of these authors lived before the first century; some afterwards. Marcellinus, who flourished in the fourth, says, "The Bards chanted in heroic verses, to the sweet notes of the lyre, the brave deeds of the illustrious."[h]

That these singular people had a degree of knowledge among them, which is not common to barbarous nations, is clear from what Strabo, Cæsar, and Mela state of the Druids. Strabo, after mentioning the Bards, says, that the Ovates sacrifice and contemplate the nature of things, and that the Druids, besides the study of nature, dispute concerning moral philosophy. They thought that neither the souls of men, nor the world, would be destroyed, though they would suffer at some period from fire and water.[i] Cæsar,[j] and Mela,[k] declare that they disputed and taught their youth about the stars and their motion, the magnitude of the world, the nature of things, and the power and energy of the immortal gods.

That Bards existed in Britain in and before the tenth century, is obvious to all who inspect the laws of Howel Dha. He reigned soon after the year 900.[l] His laws not only mention the Bards, but speak of them as a regular and established order of men. They are described as being in an organized state in different ranks and degrees, with various duties and emoluments assigned to them, and as forming an important and respected part of the royal household.

The one called Bardd Teulu, was the Bard of the family. There was also a Bardd Cadeirioc, who was superior to the others.[m] He is also called the Pencerdd, the chief of song; and he was the Bard who had obtained the Cadair.[n] The other Bards were in some degree subjected to him, for no Bard was to ask for any thing without his leave, while he held the office, excepting bards from other sovereignties.[o]

At the three principal feasts, the family Bard was to sit near the Penteulu, the head of the household.[p] The importance of this position, we may estimate by observing a preceding law, which dictates that the Penteulu was to be the king's son, or nephew, or brother, or a person of suitable dignity.[q] He was to give the harp to the Bard, who was to sing to him whenever he pleased.[r] The Bardd Cadeirioc was one of the fourteen who sat at the king's table, near the judge of the court.[s]

The family Bard enjoyed free land, a horse, and clothing from the king and queen. He was supported by the Penteulu, and had other privileges.[t]

[h] Ath. Diep. l. xv. c. 9, p. 73.
[i] l. iv. p. 302.
[j] l. vi.
[k] l. iii. c. 2, p. 243.
[l] He went to Rome in 926.
[m] Leges Howel, p. 36.
[n] Ibid. p. 68.
[o] Ibid. p. 69.
[p] Ibid. p. 35.
[q] Ibid. p. 15.
[r] Ibid. p. 16, 17.
[s] Ibid. p. 14.
[t] Ibid. p. 35.

When songs were required, the Bardd Cadeirioc was to sing first the praise of God, then of the king; after him, the family Bard displayed his powers. When an army was ready to engage, the Bard was to sing the "Unbeniaeth Prydain." The monarchy of Britain.[u]

If we advance to the twelfth century, we find the most decisive evidence of their continuing existence and credit. Giraldus Cambrensis, who was born in 1150, mentions, that on a certain day, Llewelyn, prince of Gwynedh, held a great court, at which all his nobles were present. At the end of the dinner, a man of eloquence came forward. Giraldus adds, "He was of that kind which, in the British, as well as in the Latin language, are called *bards*."[v]

That these bards applied their muse to historical purposes, is proved by the speech of the Welsh prince, who says, "As long as Wales shall stand, this noble deed will be transmitted with deserved praises and applauses by historical writings, and *by the mouths of those singing*."[w]

But if we appeal to the Welsh libraries, we shall find that there are poems now remaining of many Bards who lived in the twelfth century. I will name the Bards, and note the pages which their works occupy in the Welsh Archaiology,[x] and the times wherein they flourished.

1120—1160	Meilyr,	Page 189
1150—1190	Gwalchmai,	193
1150—1200	Cynddelu,	204
1150—1197	Owain Cyveiliawg,	265
1150—1200	Daniel ab Ll. Mew,	269
1160—1220	Gwynvardd Brycheiniawg,	269
1160—1220	Gwylym Ryvel,	274
1140—1172	Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd,	275
1160—1220	Llywarch ab Llywelyn,	279
1170—1220	Meilyr ab Gwalchmai,	329
1170—1220	Einiawn ab Gwalchmai,	329
1160—1210	Seisyll,	338
1160—1220	Elidyr Sais,	345
1170—1210	Dewi Mynyw,	543

The succeeding centuries abound with Bards whose works are also extant. I will mention only the poets of the following, or

[u] Leges Howel, p. 36. See more of them, p. 29, 68, 69.

[v] "Processit in fine prandii coram omnibus vir quidam lingue dicacis, cujusmodi linguâ Britannicâ sicut et latinâ *Bardi* dicuntur unde Lucanus plurima concreti fuderunt carmina Bardi." Giraldus de Jure et Statu Menev. Ecc. ap. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 559.

[w] Quod, quamdieu Wallia stabit, nobile factum hujus et per historias scriptas et *per ora canentium* dignis per tempora cuncta laudibus atque preconiis efferretur.—Girald. Ibid.

[x] In the first volume.

thirteenth century, to give the reader an idea of the Welsh poetry extant.

1230—1280	Llywelyn Vardd, - - - - - -	355
1250—1290	Bleddyn Vardd, - - - - - -	363
1210—1260	Grufudd ab Gwrgeneu, - - - - -	373
1200—1250	Phylip Brydydd, - - - - - -	375
1210—1260	Prydydd Bychan, - - - - - -	379
1230—1270	Einiawn ab Madawg Rhahawd, - - -	391
1270—1320	Gwerneg ab Clydno, - - - - -	392
1240—1280	Hywel Voel ab Griffri, - - - - -	392
1263—1300	Grufudd ab yr Ynâd Coch, - - - -	394
1220—1300	Madawg ab Gwallter, - - - - -	404
1280—1320	Gwilym Dhu, - - - - - -	408
1280—1330	Llwelyn Brydd Hodnaut, - - - -	412
1280—1330	Hillyn, - - - - - - -	413
1290—1340	Iorwerth Vychan, - - - - - -	414
1290—1340	Llywelyn Dhu, - - - - - -	416
1290—1340	Llywarch Llaety, - - - - - -	416
1290—1340	Casnodyn, - - - - - - -	421
1290—1340	Rhisserdyn, - - - - - - -	428
1290—1340	Gruffud ab D. ab Tudor, - - - -	477
1290—1340	Madawg Dwygraig, - - - - -	481

There are as many Bards in the two subsequent centuries.

That there were similar Bards in the sixth century.

Whoever maturely weighs the circumstances adduced in the preceding argument, will not be unwilling to admit this assertion the moment it is made. Because, if they do not warrant the inference, that Bards *continued* to be in Britain, during the centuries between the fourth and tenth, what a strange supposition must be made? They are proved to have existed here before the fourth, in the tenth, twelfth, and following centuries. To reconcile with these facts a denial of their existence in the sixth, we must believe, that after having flourished in the island, they became extinct; that they reappeared again about the tenth, to vanish again, and resuscitate in the twelfth century, since which period they have remained till near our times. To explain the frequent vanishings and reappearances of these apparitions by reasoning or history, will certainly be found much more difficult than to admit the probable inference, that they never disappeared at all, but continued to flourish from the fourth century to the twelfth; an inference which the laws of Howel corroborate, because the Bards appear there in a character of much dignity and credit, with every appearance of a long previous establishment.

That there were Bards in the sixth century is a more credible fact than even their authenticated existence in the first. Because, between these periods, the Roman conquest and colonization of the island took place. The Romans continued in Britain till the

beginning of the fifth century; and it is expressly stated by Tacitus, of one of their governors, what is probable of most of his successors, that his policy was directed to improve and civilize the Britons. Now it would be a new discovery to make, that Roman civilization would diminish the knowledge or intellectual talents of a semi-barbarous people. Surely, if there had been any literary talent in Britain before the Romans came, it would be rather augmented than destroyed by the literature and intercourse of this polished nation for almost four hundred years.

The continuity of the bardic profession from the days of Cæsar to more recent times, appears to me to be strongly intimated by the continued use and application of the term Bards to the Welsh poets during all the interval. Strabo, Diodorus, and Posidonius, called the poets of the Celtic nations Bardoi. Lucan, and Marcellinus, Bardi. The laws of Howel Dha exhibits the Welsh poets of the tenth century under the same name of Bardd. Giraldus, in the twelfth century, attests that they then also bore the same appellation; and all the Welsh poems and authors existing designate them through every age by the same term. So indigenous is this word in the Welsh language, that it is the root of twenty-two combinations, all alluding to the original meaning. We have also the evidence of a Roman author, that the word was borrowed from the Celtic in Gaul, from which Britain was peopled. Sextus Pompeius Festus says, that Bardus is a word which, in ancient Gaul, signified singer, a man who sung the praises of the brave. He adds, that it was derived from their order of Bards.[a]

Two great events happened in Britain in the fifth century, which peculiarly tended to inspire and perpetuate its Bards. One was the secession of the Britons from the Roman government, and the assertion of their independence, about the year 410.[b] The other was the invasion of the Saxons. What subjects could have given to poetry more energy and importance than these incidents. The Bardic genius must not only have burnt with new zeal and inspiration, but the chiefs must have more liberally encouraged, and the people more enthusiastically applauded it.

We have one direct evidence that there were British poets in the sixth century, who sung the praises of the great, in a casual passage of Venantius Fortunatus. In panegyrizing the Dux Lupus, he tells him, that the British Chrotta sings him:

> Romanusque lyra plaudat tibi, barbarus harpa
> Græcus anhillata, *chrotta Britanna canat.*[c]

[a] Bardus, Gallice cantor appellatur, qui virorum fortium laudes canit: a gente Bardorum.—Gloss.

[b] See History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 126.

[c] L. vii. p. 169, ed. Mogunt. 1617.

This was the ancient Welsh crwth, a sort of violin. It is mentioned in the laws of Howel Dha. It is probably the same to which Cuthbert, in the eighth century, the pupil of our venerable Bede, alludes: "I should like to have a cytharista who could play on the cithara, which we call *Rottæ*, because I have a cithara."[d]

There are two passages of Gildas, who, as well as Fortunatus, lived in the sixth century, which seem to me to be meant of Bards. The first is a part of his violent declamation against the British kings:[e] "By their erected greediness of ears are heard not the praises of God, from the tuneful voice of the youths of Christ sweetly modulating, and the spirit of ecclesiastical melody; but *their own praises*, which are nothing, *from the mouths of scoundrel proclaimers, full of lies, foaming with ardour together, and braying it like bacchanals.*"

If we consider the passage, I think we must perceive that it is an intended contrast between two sorts of vocal music, the ecclesiastical, and that used before chieftains. The first is described with smooth and applausive epithets: the other is not described, but is branded with angry phrase. Now, if we recollect the enmity which at all times subsisted between the Welsh bards and the monks; the custom of the bards, to sing at the feasts the praises of their chiefs; the direction in Howel's laws, that they should do so; and the very virulent phraseology in which Gildas indulges throughout his epistle; I presume it will not be incorrect to say, that he alludes to bards in this paragraph. Gildas is not the first man to whom bards and secular music have been offensive. If Plato could banish Homer; if a prince, to whom Ariosto presented his poems, could ask him where the devil he got such fooleries; if the monks, in the middle ages, could so abuse the minstrels, and they the monks, as we know they reciprocally did, we shall not be surprised that Gildas called the bards scoundrels, and censured their encomiastic songs, as bacchanalian uproar.[f]

In another passage, he says, amidst his inculpation of the

[d] 16 Bibl. Mag. p. 88.

[e] "Arrecto aurium auscultantur captu non Dei laudes canora Christi tyronum voce suaviter modulante, pneumaque ecclesiasticæ melodiæ; sed propriæ (que nihil sunt) surciferorum referto mendaciis simulque spumanti flegmate—prœconum ore, ritu bacchantium concrepante." Gildas, Epist. p. 13, Ed. Gale.

[f] A passage in the Cyvoesi Merdhin shows, that if Gildas talked with fury of the Bards of this period, they were as angry with the monks; for Merdhin says,

I will not receive the sacrament
From the detestable monks,
With their gowns on their haunches:
May the sacrament be administered to me by God himself.

Ny chymmeras gymun
Gan ysgymun Veneich
Ac eu tuygeu ar eu clun
Am cymuno Duw e hun. Arch. 149.

British clergy, that they were slow to hear the precepts of the saints, "but strenuous and intent to listen to idle things and the foolish fables of secular men."[g] What were these recited fables of the secular men, for which the clergy deserted their religious reading? Is it any undue construction of the words, to suppose they meant the compositions of the bards?

But why should it be supposed that the Britons had not bards in the sixth and seventh centuries? The Franks then had poets —the Saxons had poets—the Irish had poets.[h] Let us, then, not deny them to the Welsh!

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

That there were ancient poets and their compositions among the Bretons of Armorica, was the assertion and belief of our ancient English and Anglo-Norman poets and trouveurs and others. Some may be mentioned from M. de la Rue's Recherches sur les Ouvrages des Bardes Armoricains, 8–20.

It is not only Chaucer who says that they made rhymed poems in their language:

> These olde gentil Bretons in her dayes
> Of diverse aventures maden layes,
> Rimeyd in hir firste Breton tongue,
> Which layes with hir instrument they songe,
> In Armoricke that called is Bretaigne.

Nor is it only the old metrical romance of Emare that notices them:

> Ther is on of Brytagne layes
> That was used by olde dayes.

But in the older poem, entitled, "Songe du Dieu d'Amour," of the twelfth century, they are thus mentioned:

> De Rotruenges etoit fait tot li pons,
> Totes les planches de dits et de chansons:
> De sons de harpes, les estaces del fons,
> Et les saliies des doux lais des Britons.
>
> MS. Bib. Paris, No. 7595.

In the thirteenth century the French trouveur Regnaud declared that he translated his "Lai d'Ignaures" from a Breton original. He makes the hero lord of the castle of Auriol, in Bretagne. MS. ibid.

[g] "Ad præcepta sanctorum—oscitantes ac stupidos; et ad ludicra et ineptas secularium hominum fabulas—strenuos et intentos." Gildas, p. 23.

[h] Bede, in his Life of St. Patrick, mentions two poets in Ireland in the time of the saint. "In memoria Dubtag poetam optimum—quidam adolescens poeta nomine Pheg." Bede's Works, iii. p. 320. This passage of Bede, which I met with in going over his works, gives a solid foundation for the belief that there were Irish Poets, or Bards, in the seventh century.

Another trouveur, in his "Lai de l'Epine," says, "It is taken from the histories preserved at Cardiff, in the church of St. Aaron. These stories are equally known in Bretagne, and in other places."[h] MS. ibid.

This authority connects the Breton and Welsh compositions of this sort.

Another trouveur translated the "Lai de Graalent Mor," who was one of the half-historical and half-fabled heroes of Bretagne; and says that it was sung all over that country. MSS. Bib. Paris, 7989.

In the twelfth century, Chretien de Troyes says, in his Roman du Chevalier au Lion, "If I agree so much with the Bretons, it is because they have preserved by their songs the memory of the men who acquired honour by their great artists." MS. ibid. La Rue, p. 16.

The "Lay of Tristan" also mentions the Breton poem:

> Bons lais de harpe vous apris
> Lais Bretons de notre pais.
>
> La Rue, p. 20.

M. de la Rue's book on the Armorican Bards was printed in 1815. But eight years before this, in the year 1807, I published, in the second edition of the History of the Anglo-Saxons, the following particulars concerning them, which, having omitted in the next edition to put them into an appendix, I will here reprint.

That the Gothic nations had poets we learn from Tacitus;[i] but when we consider what has been delivered to us of the intellectual cultivation of the Druids, we cannot put the Gothic Scalds into competition with the Keltic Bards, who were one of the most distinguished branches of the Druidical order. We not only find them attending the kings, to sing their genealogies and praises,[j] and recording the actions of the illustrious;[k] but we are also informed, that the lessons of the Druids to their disciples were conveyed in a great number of verses.[l] These must have been numerous indeed, as youth remained twenty years under their Druidical education;[m] and if we recollect that the Druids taught their youth, about the stars and their motion, the magnitude of the world, the nature of things, and the power and energy of the immortal gods, we shall be inclined to think that the Keltic Bards were superior in some respects to the Gothic Scalds, in the degree of their mental cultivation.

The Keltic Bards were not confined to Britain. They had also pervaded France; and more especially were in those parts which the Kelts continued to occupy. As the Romans spread

[i] De Mor. Germ.
[j] App. in Celtic. Posid. ap. Athen. l. vi. p. 246.
[k] Lucan, l. i. Amm. Marc. l. xv. c. 9. Festus Gloss.
[l] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. l. vi. [m] Ibid. l. vi.

their conquest over Gaul, the Keltic customs gave way to Roman civilization, and to Christianity. But there are, in every country invaded by a foreign enemy of dissimilar manners, some corners, to which the more stubborn of the ancient races retire with the prejudices and habits of their ancestors. Cornwall and Wales were the places in Britain in which the Druids sought refuge from the Romans, and the Britons from the Saxons; and Armorica, or Bretagne, seems to have been the part of France which became the last asylum of the ancient Kelts. That the Druids and the Pagan worship were respected in Armorica, in the fourth century, is evident from the poems of Ausonius; who mentions of his friend, as a flattering distinction, that he was a warden of the temple of Belenus, and descended from the Druids of Armorica.[n] The Bards may be, therefore, supposed to have flourished in this region, as a part of the Druidical system.

When the Britons fled from the Saxons, they transplanted themselves in numerous colonies to Armorica, in the fifth and sixth centuries. Ruval settled, with a large body, in the north part of the province, from Leon to Dol.[o] Fracanus, the kinsman of Cato, probably Cai, the friend of Arthur, went thither with his family.[p] We also find Conomer, a British king, in the upper regions of Bretagne; and Weroc, another, ruling at Vannes.[q] Grallon governed in those parts which are called Cornwall.[r] This was the district near Brest; of which Quimper was the metropolis.[s] Caradoc Vreichvras, the personal friend and warlike companion of Arthur, and who had governed Cornwall in England under him, also established a kingdom in Bretagne.[t]

These emigrations of some of the most active characters in Britain, must have occasioned a great influx of Bards accompanying their chiefs; because Bards were a regular and established part of every chieftain's family; and their songs made a principal

[n] Nec reticebo senem,
Nomine Phœbitium,
Qui Beleni ædituus
Nil opis inde tulit:
Sed tamen, ut placitum,
Stirpe satus Druidum,
Gentis Aremoricæ. Prof. 10.

Also,

Tu, Bagocassis, stirpe Druidorum satus,
Si fama non fallit fidem,
Beleni sacratum ducis e templo genus;
Et inde vobis nomina. Prof. 4.

[o] Lobineau Hist. de Bretagne, p. 6, 7.
[p] Vita Winwal. an Armorican MS. ap. Boll. Act. Sanct. 1 Martii, 256.
[q] Vita Gildæ ap. Bouquet, t. iii. p. 453. [r] Vit. Winw. 259.
[s] Vit. S. David, MSS. of Utrecht ap. Boll. 1 Mart. 139, and see Bolland, 1 Feb. 602.
[t] Vita Paternus, MSS. Cott. Lib. Vesp. A. 14, and Brev. Venet. ap. Boll. 2 April, p. 381. It was calculated in the year 1818, that there were about 900,000 persons who still spoke the Breton language in France.

part of all their festivities.[u] Many of their clergy, who were the only other part of the people that attended to intellectual cultivation, went thither also.[v] Gildas, one of their most esteemed literary men of that day, emigrated with the rest.[w] The yellow plague, which raged at that time, increased the frequency and largeness of the emigrations.[x] The turbulent period which afterwards followed in Wales must have made Bretagne, for a long time, a favourite retreat.

From the preceding facts, of the continuance of the Druids in Armorica, and consequently of their Bards, and of the British emigrations, it is clear, that poetry must have flourished more in Bretagne, during the sixth and seventh centuries, than in Britain or any other part of the continent. The Francs having occupied the best part of Gaul, and the Saxons having overspread England, the ruder Gothic manners of both nations diffused much national barbarism in the countries which they occupied. As the Keltic and British Bards were superior in cultivation to the Gothic Scalds, so the Bards of Bretagne must have been the most improved poets which then existed in those parts of Europe, from which the Gothic nations had recently expelled the Romans. Among the Gothic nations, the Christian clergy discountenanced their Scalds, because the Scalds were the advocates of their Pagan superstitions: but the British Bards, having adopted Christianity, always maintained their rank and influence in Wales and Bretagne; though they sometimes bickered with the monks.

From singing warlike odes to flatter the chiefs, or mystical mythology to please themselves, the transition to chanting or reciting more circumstantial or narrative poetry, to please the people, was neither difficult nor improbable. Emigrations and new settlements, and the penury and distress which must have followed such violent changes of former habits, made the chiefs less able to reward their Bards; and must have driven the Bards to increase their means of support by interesting the people as well as their lords.[y] If the metaphors of lyric poetry satisfied the chieftain, the details of narrative fiction would alone be level to the comprehension of the vulgar. To compose in a slavish mixture of alliteration and rhyme, was more laborious than a prose recitation; and therefore the Bards, who sought to interest

[u] Leges Howel Dha, p. 35, 36, 68, 69, and 14–17. Taliesin is stated to have been in Armorica, in Jeffry's poem, MSS. Vesp. E. 4, p. 124.

[v] As St. Teiliaw. Vit. ap. Boll. 1 Feb. 308. The emigrants in Bretagne sent for Sampson from Wales, and made him bishop of Dol. MSS. Vesp. A. 14, p. 47. St. Paternus settled in Armorica, ib. MSS. p. 77–80.

[w] Vita Gild. *ubi supra.* [x] Vit. S. Teil. Boll. 1 F. 308.

[y] One sentence of the propheey ascribed by Jeffry to Merlin proves this to be the fact. It says of Arthur, "he shall be celebrated in the popular mouth, and his actions shall be *food* to those who narrate them." Jeffry, l. vii. c. 3, and Alanus, p. 22. Jeffry tells us, in the first chapter of his work, that the actions of Arthur and other British kings were celebrated by many people, and were recited from memory.

the people, would begin gradually to use the unlaboured tale, rather than the artificial verse.

That some of the Bards of Wales actually submitted to the composition of tales, is evidenced by their Mabinogion, which still exists:[z] and that the Bards of Bretagne indulged in this species of composition is clear, from Bretagne having been made the scene of so many of the old romances. That such tales existed, and were dear to all ranks of people, in the sixth century, seems intimated by a passage in Gildas, who chides the British clergy of that age, for being slow to hear the precepts of the saints, "but strenuous and intent to listen to idle things, and the *foolish fables* of secular men."[a] This seems to allude to the compositions of the Bards; and of these, rather to their narrative tales, than to their elaborate poems. The strange poem of Taliesin, called the Spoils of Annwn, implies the existence of mythological tales about Arthur;[b] and the frequent allusions of the old Welsh Bards to the persons and incidents which we find in the Mabinogion, are further proofs that there must have been such stories in circulation amongst the Welsh.

That in the sixth and seventh centuries, there were Bards in Armorica and Wales, who descended from their bardic character, to gain popularity and subsistence by telling stories and amusing the people, seems to be confirmed by a satire of Taliesin; which expresses the most decided hostility to such wandering Bards, or Minstrels.

It may amuse the curious to translate the poem, which describes the ordinary Minstrels not inaccurately, though satirically:

GALL FROM THE BARDS.

"The minstrels (cler) exercise themselves in false customs;
Their praise is not in the regular melody;
They sing the fame of insipid heroes;
They are always diffusing falsehoods;
The commandments, the statutes of God, they break;
Married women by their praise,
With irrational thoughts they greatly deceive;
The beautiful virgins they corrupt,
May they beware how they trust such,—
And rank them with men of truth!
Age and time they consume in vain:
In the night they carouse, in the day they sleep:

[z] The first four sections of the Mabinogion, which means literally Tales for Youth, are the Story of Pwyll Prince of Dymed—The Story of Bran the Blessed—The Story of Manawydan—The Story of Math, the Son of Mathonwy. All these tales are singular and original. But the most elaborate of all, is the Tale of Peredur, which is indeed a regular romance of Arthur, but full of Welsh costume. It is a work of the middle ages; but has not so ancient an air as some of the others.

[a] Gildas, "ad præcepta sanctorum—oscitantes ac stupidos; et ad ludicra et ineptas secularium hominum *fabulas*—strenuos et intentos." p. 23.

[b] See Vindication of the Ancient British Poems, p. 239. Some of the persons noticed in this, are the heroes of the two first sections in the Mabinogion.

Idle, they get food without labour;
They hate the churches, but seek the liquor-houses;
The false thieves consent together;
For courts and feasts they inquire;
Every indiscreet discourse they detail;
Every deadly sin they praise;
They wander over all the villages, towns, and lands;
They discourse on every filthy trifle;
They despise the commandments of the Trinity;
They respect neither Sundays nor holidays;
They care not for the days of necessity (death;)
From every gluttony they refrain not;
Excesses of eating and drinking is what they desire;
Tenths and family offerings they pay not;
The men appointed, they mock!
Birds fly; bees collect honey;
Fishes swim; reptiles creep;
Every thing labours for its subsistence,
Except minstrels, vagrants, and worthless thieves.
Blaspheme not among you teaching, nor the art of song!
For God gives anguish and melancholy
To those whose habit is false purposes,
In mocking the service of Jesus.
Be silent, ye Pos-bards! unprosperous false ones!
Ye know not to judge between truth and falsehood;
If ye be primary bards of faith,
Of the work of God the artist,
Foretell to your king his misfortunes!
I am a diviner and universal chief of the bards;
I know every pillar in the caves of the west;
I released Elphin from the stone round tower.
Tell your king what will be his security,
If the Lord of the sea-coast of Rhianedd come,
To avenge iniquity on Maelgwn of Gwynedd:
On his hair, on his teeth, his eyes; his yellow countenance!
Thus will he work his revenge on Maelgwyn of Gwynedd!"

Taliesin, p. 26.

This severe invective against the ambulatory Bards, who sought their subsistence by amusing the people, proves the existence of such a set of men at that time. These Bards, whom Taliesin tauntingly calls Pos-Bards, who disregarded the regular canons of bardic melody; and whom he distinguishes so carefully from the Prif-Bards, of whom he was one; were probably the authors of the Mabinogion, and of the romantic tales about Arthur and his friends. This poem of Taliesin and its subject, are alluded to by Phylip Brydydd, who lived about 1200. See his Poems, 1 W. A. p. 377, 378. As I cannot ascertain the exact meaning of the contemptuous term *Pos-Bard*, I have placed the original expression in the text. Brydydd applies Go-veird, "or less than Bards," to a similar class of persons.

To these evidences of the bardic compositions in Bretagne, may be added the important intimations given by Marie de France, to whom M. de la Rue also refers, and whose ancient Poesies in

1820 were published by M. de Roquefort, with a liberal French translation, in two volumes, 8vo. She refers repeatedly to Breton tales, writings, and songs; and she addressed her lays to our Henry III.; and speaks of the Breton compositions.

In her "Lai de Gugemer," she says, "I will briefly relate to you the tales of which the Bretons have made their lays. According to the *letter and the writing*, I will show you an adventure, which in ancient time happened in Little Britain."—Roquefort, p. 50. She ends it with adding, "From this tale the lay of Gugemer was composed, which men recite to the harp and rote.

"It is pleasant to hear the note." p. 112.

This passage shows that the Breton bards sung their lays to the harp.

In her Lai d'Equitan, she says, "The Bretons were accustomed to make lays of the adventures they experienced for remembrance, and that they might not be forgotten."—Ib. p. 114. It ends, "Thus the Bretons made a lay of it," p. 136.

In the lay, "Des Deux Amants," she mentions here, that "the Bretons made a lay of it," p. 252 and 270, as of Graelent, p. 540.

In her poem of "The Nightingale" she here says the same, p. 914 and 926, and she alludes to these lay-makers as "ancients," in one on Melon, p. 366.

In that of Eleduc, she says expressly, that her tale is "from a *very ancient* Breton lay," p. 400—and adds at its close "Of the adventures of those three, the courteous *ancient* Bretons made a lay to commemorate them that they might not be forgotten." P. 484.

In the lay d'Epine, she speaks of histories of these adventures being in the monastery of St. Aaron in St. Malo: and that they were sung in Bretagne, p. 542; and ends with asserting, that the Bretons made a lay of it, p. 580.

The fair inference from these facts are, that if there were ancient Breton compositions of bards existing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it cannot be improbable that Welsh bards in Britain should have made poems in the sixth and seventh centuries. It is this asserted state of their anterior minds, which accounts for their subsequent writings;—for it is inconceivable to me, how a people so rude in political state, life, and manners, as the Welsh were in the middle ages, could have had such compositions as indisputably existed in the twelfth and following centuries, if their ancestors had not greatly cultivated literature, although of that peculiar sort which their remains exhibit. Its originality,—and no other nation has had such an artificial system of versification as their poems exhibit,—nor that triad form into

which they have thrown their thoughts and historical facts. This originality is to me a confirming testimony of their genuineness.

IV. That Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hên, and Merdhin, were British bards, who lived in the sixth century, and who left poems like those already mentioned to have been published as theirs.

If these authors had been Persians, instead of Britons, to what authorities should we have referred for information concerning them? Unquestionably to Persian writers—that is, to the writers of the country where they resided—to writers in the language which they used.

What information shall we be able to obtain concerning Calidas, the author of Sacontala, a Sanscreet drama, but from Sanscreet writers. By what authorities could we examine the genuineness of any writings ascribed to Con-fu-tse, but by Chinese? If any thing could be found about them in the literature of the nations bordering on China, it would be an additional treasure, but it would not be deemed an indispensable requisite. It is therefore obvious, that from the very nature of the case, we must expect to find our proofs of the existence and writings of the Welsh bards in Welsh authors. It is from among the people for whom they were written, and by whom only they were read or valued, that we must deduce their attestations. We cannot expect to find them noticed by Anglo-Saxons, whom they hated, dreaded, and shunned; and who, as I have already shown, though sufficiently barbarous themselves, yet thought they had a right to stigmatize Welsh words as barbarous expressions. If Bede had understood Welsh, he would not have disgraced his taste by such large extracts from Gildas. Bede has neither mentioned the Welsh bards, nor the Saxon poets of his time, except the two who were menks; I mean Cedmon and Aldhelm.

It would not be very easy to prove the existence of any individual poet of these distant periods. There were both Frankish and Saxon poets, but their names have not appeared in history, and cannot now be recovered. How many of the poets and minstrels of Europe are only known by some lays having been transmitted to us under their names; but of their existence what external evidence can be brought?

There is a very long and curious Saxon poem in existence, which of course must have had an author, and have been written in the Saxon times; and yet the poem is mentioned in no writing that has survived to us, nor is the name of its parent known. It is a poem in forty sections, and occupying 140 MS. pages. It describes the wars which Beowulf, a Dane of the Scyldinga race, waged against the Reguli of Sweden. It is in the Cotton library,

Vitellius, A. 15. Wanley calls it a tractatus nobilissimus—an egregium exemplum of the Anglo-Saxon poetry; and so it is. But if any one should take it into his head to pronounce it to be a forgery, and should call upon its advocates to prove its genuineness, how could this be done by any external evidence? How could it be defended by facts taken from other authors, when no other writing mentions it? It could only be supported by some arguments from the antiquity of the writing; from its internal evidence, and the improbability of any person having had sufficient inducements to commit the fraud.

I put these observations, merely to show the difficulty of proving even those compositions to be genuine, which no one will dispute. Greater proofs, in favour of the Welsh bards, must not be expected, than such as the nature of the case will admit us to obtain.

Now the reader will have the goodness to recollect the numerous citations made in some pages preceding, from the Welsh bards of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Most of these were so many distinct assertions of the existence of these four ancient bards. In most of them, one or other of these bards were quoted by name, and consequently such passages are so many proofs of the belief of their authors, that these ancient bards existed. To say that these witnesses were Welshmen cannot invalidate their testimony; because, as I have already intimated, by whom can we expect to find the ancient Welsh bards quoted but by Welshmen?

We cannot expect to find these Welsh bards noticed by the Anglo-Saxons. I have already given a very striking proof of the contempt of the Anglo-Saxons for the Welsh language, by citing a charter, in which a Welsh word (which was familiarly in use as an epithet of royalty, and sometimes even as an epithet of the Deity,) was expressly denounced as *barbarous*. I will now adduce a cruel instance of the hatred of the Welsh towards the Anglo-Saxons. I take it from the ancient Welsh chronicler, Caradoc Llangarvan.

"The year of Christ, 959, Owain, son of Hoel dda, destroyed the choir of Saint Illtud, in Gorwennydh, *because* he found in it learned men of the *Saxon* nobility."

Oed Crist, 959, y torres Owain, ab Hywel Dda, gor Llan Illtud yng Ngorwennydd achaws cael ynddi lenogion pendevig o Saeson.—Carad. Ll. 2 Arch. p. 490.

If the animosity between these two nations produced such effects as these, it will be vain to look for attestations of any part of Welsh literature among the Anglo-Saxons. The singular fact of Bede writing the history of this island, without any other

British documents than the poor declamation of Gildas, which happened to be in Latin, is a sufficient indication that Welsh literature and traditions were not known out of Wales. The Normans were as unacquainted with it.

The circumstances with which these ancient bards are mentioned in the poetical passages, already cited, will, if duly attended to, be found to warrant the chronology which I have given to them. Thus, one states Merdhin and Taliesin as contemporaries, and another mentions Merdhin as having been present in the battle of Arderydd, which we know from other documents to have occurred in the sixth century. Another makes Taliesin contemporary with Elfin, whom the Welsh literature places in this century. Llywarch is mentioned as the son of Elidir Lydanwyn, who flourished about this period.

But the ancient Welsh bards are also mentioned in other compositions.

The name of Nennius is well known to us, though his exact chronology is not certain. His editor, Gale, places him in the seventh century. He may have belonged to the ninth.

The ancient and beautiful MS. of his work, in the Cotton library,[c] contains a part which is wanting in other MSS. This is not uncommon to ancient MSS. The addition in the Cotton MS. is a regular unbroken continuation of the preceding writing, in the same handwriting, with no interruption of line. The first part of the addition is a genealogy, and the latter is some unconnected notices of British and Saxon history. This part may have been his quotation from a preceding author, or it may be the addition of a subsequent copyist. It suits the broken hints, and disorderly composition of the former part, and is so far like the style of Nennius. But whether it be his or not, it is, at least, a very ancient composition.

The author's testimony to three of these bards is decisive. I will first give his words, as originally, but corruptly printed, and afterwards the passage, as properly amended by Evans.

In speaking of incidents in the sixth century, he says, "Item Talhearn Talanguen in poemate claruit et Neuvin et Taliesin et Bluchbar et Cian qui vocatur Gueinchguant simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt."[d] In this imperfect state of the passage, we see Taliesin clearly mentioned among other bards, who flourished at the same time. Two of these others, the Welsh also now recognise, Talhaiarn,[e] and Cian. They had bards of

[c] Vesp. D. 21.

[d] Gale, xv. Script. vol. iii. p. 116.

[e] "Hast thou heard the saying of Talhaiarn
To Arthur, the pusher of the spear:
'There is none mighty but God.'"

A glyweisti cwedyl Talhaiarn
Wrth Arthur yrthwaew tryzarn
Namyn Duw nid oes gadarn. Engl. Clyw.

this name;[f] but no Neuvin, and no Bluchbar. The emendation of Evans, consists in correcting the names of Neuvin and Bluchbar, into Aneurin and Llywarch, of the justness of which, there can be no doubt. It is obvious, that the transcriber mistook a v for an r in Aneurin, which are often very similar in MSS. It is as probable, that Bluchbar was an error of the copyist for Llywarch. So in the surnames of Talhaiarn and Cian. They are also miswritten, and should be not Talanguen, but Tatangwn; not Gueinchguant, but Gwyngwn.

The probability that the emendations made by Evans are proper, is apparent, when we see the incorrect manner in which other names are written in the same part. Thus our Penda is written Pantha;

Oswy,	Osguid, and Osbui,
Anna,	Onnan,
Oswald,	Osguald.

The British Urien, Urbgen; and for Deira and Bernicia, we have Deur Oberneich.

The passage, which we have cited, as amended by Evans, stands thus:

"Item Talhaiarn Tatangwn in poemate claruit et Aneurin et Taliesin et Llywarch et Cian qui vocatur Gwyngwn simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt."

I consider this, as one authority, very respectable from its antiquity, for the existence of Aneurin, Taliesin, and Llywarch, as distinguished poets, and as contemporaries.

2d. There is another curious attestation of Taliesin in an ancient MS. of the laws of Howel Dha, in the Welsh school library. The writing has the character of the twelfth century. It has a passage which is not in the printed copy, and which, on

The Book of Bardism thus states another fragment of this bard:

THE PRAYER OF TALHAIARN.

"O God, grant thy protection; and in thy protection, strength; and in strength, discretion; and in discretion, justice; and in justice, love; in love, to love God; and in loving God, to love all things."

Talhaiarn is also mentioned by Taliesin in his Angar Cyvyndawd, p. 35 and 36.

[f] Cian is mentioned by Aneurin:

"The son of Cian, from the stone of Gwyngwn." P. 2.

Maban y Gian o vaen Gwyngwn.

And by Taliesin,

"When Cian had
Praised many."

Kian pan ddarfu
Lliaws gyvolu. P. 34.

mentioning the privileges of the men of Arvon, cites Taliesin by name thus:

Ac y cant Dalyesin
Kygleu wrth wres eu llawneu
Gan Run yn rudher bydyneu
Gwyr Arvon rudyon yn rydiheu.[ε]

"And so Taliesin sang:
Behold, by the wrath of their swords,
With Rhun amid the tumult of armies,
The men of Arvon red, and panting."

This is an important passage. It proves three things: that Taliesin was a poet; that he left poems on battles, which survived him; and that he was of such celebrity, that one of his historic poems was quoted in a legal work. I am not certain that the poem has been preserved, in which these lines exist.

3d. To the existence, and high consideration, of Taliesin and Merdhin, there is another evidence in Jeffrey of Monmouth, who lived in the twelfth century. Jeffrey has written a Latin poem on the life of Merdhin, whom he calls Merlin. It contains some passages of harmonious versification, and many very prosaic. It has not yet been printed, but is in MS. in the Cotton library, Vespasian, E. 4. It is addressed to his friend the Bishop of Lincoln. It begins thus:

Vatadici vatis rabiem, musam que jocosam
Merlini cantare paro, tu corrige carmen
Gloria Pontificum.

After an introduction, it states the divisions of some of the British princes, and their conflict.

Contigit interea plures certamen habere
Inter se regni proceres, belloque feroci
Insontes populos devastavisse per urbes.
Dux Venedetorum Peredurus bella gerebat
Contra Guennolonum Scotiæ qui regna regebat.
Jamque dies aderat, bello prefixa; duces que
Astabant campo, decertabant que catervæ,
Amborum pariter miseranda cæde ruentes.
Venit ad bellum Merlinus cum Pereduro;
Rex quoque Cumbrorum, Rodarchus, sævus uterque.

I will beg permission of the reader to lay before him some more lines, as well, because the poem is not in the hands of the public, as also because it intimates some of the striking circumstances of Merdhin's life.

It states, that in the battle Merlin's kinsman fell. His grief, at this incident, is represented as admitting of no consolation, and he flies maddening to the woods.

[ε] See Welsh Archaiology, vol. iii. p. 384, in which this MS. is printed.

Evocat e bello socios Merlinus, et illic
Precepit in varia fratres sepelire capella;
Replangit que viros nec cessat fundere fletus;
Pulveribus crines sparsit, vestes que rescidit,
Et prostratus humi nunc hac illacque volutat.
Solatur Peredurus eum, proceres que duces que
Nec vult solari, nec verba precantia ferre.
Jam tribus emensis defleverat ille diebus
Respuerat que cibos, tantus dolor usserat illum.
Inde noyas furias cum tot tantisque querelis
Aera complesset, cepit furtimque recedit,
Et fugit ad sylvas nec vult fugiendo videri:
Ingrediturque nemus gaudet que latere sub ornis,
Miratur que feras pascentes gramina saltus;
Nunc has insequitur, nunc cursu præterit illas.
Utitur herbarum radicibus, utitur herbis;
Utitur arboreo fructu, morisque rubeti.
Fit Sylvester homo, quasi sylvis deditus esset.
Inde per æstatem totam, nulli que repertus,
Oblitus que sui cognatorum que suorum
Delituit sylvis, obductus more ferino.

In exact conformity with this account of his madness, Merdhin, in his Avallenau, which we have, and which is one of the poems in question, exclaims,

"I am a wild, terrible screamer, affliction wounds me—raiment covers me not."

From these passages of Jeffrey, we get these particulars:

1. The chronology of Merdhin. He is drawn in company with Rodarchus, King of Cumbria, who reigned in the sixth century.

2. That he was a poet, and warrior.

3. That the death of near relations, in battle, occasioned his frenzy.

4. That he fled wild to the woods.

5. That he obtained the surname of Sylvester. All these particulars harmonize with the poems ascribed to him, and with the Welsh traditions about him.

I will quote next two passages from the poem which mentions Merdhin's wish to see Taliesin, and that Taliesin came to him.

O dilecta Soror, Thelgesinoque venire
Precipe, namque loqui desidero plurima secum.
Venit enim noviter de partibus Armoricanis,
Dulcia que dedicit sapienti dogmata Gildæ. P. 124.

Venerat interea Merlinum visere vatem
Tunc Talyesinus. P. 125.

The two bards then sing and prophesy together. Here is a full testimony to the chronology of Merlin and Taliesin. They are stated to be the contemporaries of Gildas, who flourished in

the sixth century; and we must remember, that the ancient Welsh poems also mention their conversing together.

The speech of Merlin, in p. 129, looks like a diffuse imitation of the last stanza of the Avallenau. It is the same sentiment, somewhat amplified. The Avallenau says,

"Sweet apple-tree! most sweet its produce;
It grows in the solitude of the wood of Celyddon.
It will be useless to be in competition for its fruit.
Cadwaladyr will come to the conference of the ford of Rheon;
Cynan will be in opposition, in motion upon the Saxons;
The Cymry will be triumphant; their chief illustrious;
Every one will have his right, and Britons will be joyful,
Singing to the horns of acclamation, the hymn of peace and serenity."

Afallen beren beraf ei haeron
A dyf yn argel yn Argoed Celyddon
Cyt ceisier ofer fydd herwydd ei hafon
Yn y ddel Kadwaladr i gynadl rhyd Rheon
Kynan yn erbyn cychwyn ar Saeson
Kymry a oruydd kain wydde dragon
Kaffant pawb ei deithi llawen fi Brython
Kaintor cyrn elwch Kathl heddwch a hinon.

Afall. 153.

The passage in Jeffrey is thus:

Merlinus ait—
—— Sic scntentia summi
Indicis extitit, Britones ut nobile regnum
Temporibus multis amittunt debilitate,
Donec ab Armorico veniet tcmone Conanus,
Et Cadwaladrus Cambrorum dux venerandus;
Qui pariter Scotos, Cambros et Cornubienses,
Armoricosque viros sociabunt fœdere firmo;
Amissumque suis reddente diadema colonis
Hostibus expulsis renovato tempore Bruti,
Tractabuntque suas sacratas legibus urbes,
Incipiunt reges iterum superare remotos,
Et sua regna sibi certamine subdere fato. P. 129.

This is such a palpable imitation of the Avallenau, especially if it be considered that Merlin is made to express it, that I cannot doubt that Jeffrey had it in his recollection; and if so, the Avallenau must have existed as Merlin, or Merdhin's, before Jeffrey.

This is the passage to which it would seem that Golyddan alluded, when he quoted Merdhin as predicting the restoration of the Britons.[h] To this, also, I am induced to believe Llywarch P. Moch referred, when he cited Merdhin to the same sentiment.[i]

We may also remark of this conversation, which Jeffrey states between Merdhin and Taliesin, that one of the Welsh poems, preserved as Taliesin's, is a dialogue between him and Merdhin.[j]

[h] See before, p. 503. [i] See before, p. 514.
[j] Arch. p. 48.
Two years after the above was published, Mr. G. Ellis, in 1805, printed a sum-

4. But Merdhin, who is indifferently called by his three surnames, Caledonius, Wyllt, and Sylvester, of which, the last two are synonymous, is frequently mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived in the twelfth century. (See his Tracts, published by Camden in his Anglica Normannica, &c. p. 870, 761, 839.) Giraldus says he was called Caledonius, from the wood in which he prophesied; and Sylvester, because, falling into madness, he fled to a wood, and remained there till his death, (p. 870.)

But all this impressive combination of facts is not the whole of the testimony which bears upon this curious subject.

The Welsh have a very singular collection of historical facts, which they call TRIADS. Three events which have an analogy in some point or other, are arranged together. It is certainly a very whimsical mode of commemorating events; but the actions of man are full of caprice. The fanciful rudeness of the plan may discredit the taste or judgment of its authors; but the veracity of the statements, is not affected by the singularity of the form. If the Welsh have never had a Livy, or a Thucydides; if they have made triads, instead of histories, we may blame the misdirection of their genius; but we cannot try the authenticity of a record by its taste and elegance, or what will become of our special pleading, our bills in equity, and our acts of parliament.

I put these observations to the judgment of the reader, because a gentleman has seriously adduced the oddity of the form of the triads, as a sufficient objection to their historical verity.[k] It is certainly a new discovery in criticism, that excellence of composition is a test of historical truth. If this principle be admitted, then the tales of Hawksworth, and the novels of Mad. D'Arblay, must be accredited as historical documents, because their composition is admirable, while the venerable, but rude and rustic chronicles of our ancestors must be discredited for their barbarism. On this principle, Jeffrey of Monmouth has written authentic history, because his style has been found pleasing, while

mary of the Latin poem of Jeffrey, in his specimens of early English metrical romances, vol. i. p. 73–85.

He was pleased to consider the Vindication as a successful defence of the Welsh bards.

[k] "The very form and feature of the Welsh triads, to select one example, would be contemplated as a proclamation of absurdity, if it occurred in any other language; for what can be more puerile than to build a variety of historical facts upon the number three. It certainly requires no knowledge, either of the Irish, or of the Welsh languages, to pronounce a judgment upon productions of this kind; and our regard for *historical truth* must induce us to *censure* the author who shall build on such foundations."—Critical Review, vol. xxxiii. New Arr. p. 122. The quantity of moral wisdom and valuable thought in the triads, published in the third volume of the Welsh Archaiology, will show that peculiarity of manner and great intellectual excellence are very combinable circumstances.

our ancient Bede must sink into oblivion for ever; because much absurdity, and much puerility may be traced in his legends.

But there can be no doubt, that on maturer reflection, the author of the critique will see the impropriety of his observation; because (independent of other remarks), it must not be forgotten, that the critical merit of any composition must depend, in some measure, on its use and object. Now the object of the triads, was to commemorate the events they state, and the obvious use of the form, was to enable the memory to retain them more easily. A triad is an artificial association of three unconnected events, for the purpose of aiding the memory. If the natural associations of events, according to their chronology, was sufficient to make them be recollected, why were such laborious devices as Grey's Memoria Technica invented? Has the critic forgotten the elaborate arts of the Roman orators to assist their memory? Did they not connect their topics with various objects before them when haranguing, and use other artificial associations to hinder forgetfulness? The Druids, we learn from Cæsar, made their pupils commit their tuition to memory; and that the ancient Britons should continue the custom, and should use the form of triads to assist the memory, cannot be thought either absurd or inconsistent.

I hope the reader will pardon me for a moment's digression, if I attempt to show that the form of triads is by no means so "remarkably foreign to good sense." I cannot do this better than by citing a few of the Welsh poetical triads, which the youths, who aspired to be bards, were directed to commit to memory, to direct their judgment, and assist their composition. Surely they will be allowed to contain many valuable observations, expressed with singular brevity.

The three foundations of genius: the gift of God, human exertion, and the events of life.

The three first requisites of genius: an eye to see nature, a heart to feel it, and a resolution that dares follow it.

The three things indispensable to genius: understanding, meditation, and perseverance.

The three things that ennoble genius: vigour, discretion, and knowledge.

The three tokens of genius: extraordinary understanding, extraordinary conduct, and extraordinary exertion.

The three things that improve genius: proper exertion, frequent exertion, and successful exertion.

The three things that support genius: prosperity, social acquaintance, and applause.

The three things that will insure praise: amiable manners, scientific learning, and pure morals.

The three qualifications of poetry: endowment of genius, judgment from experience, and felicity of thought.

The three pillars of judgment: bold design, frequent practice, and frequent mistakes.

The three pillars of learning: seeing much, suffering much, and studying much.

The three pillars of happiness: to suffer contentedly, to hope that it is coming, to believe that it will arrive.

The three ornaments of thought: perspicuity, correctness, and novelty.

The three embellishments of song: fine invention, happy subject, and a masterly harmonious composition.

The three properties of song: correct fancy, correct order, and correct metre.

The three ends of song: to improve the understanding, to improve the heart, and to soothe the reflection.

The three things which constitute a poet: genius, knowledge, impulse.

The three honours of a poet: strength of imagination, profundity of learning, and purity of morals.[1]

I would ask the reader, if these triads do not contain much wisdom, and also express it with emphatic conciseness?

But it is the triads which are called historical which furnish attestations of the four bards above mentioned.

The historical triads have been obviously put together at very different periods. Some appear very ancient. Some allude to circumstances about the first population and early history of the island, of which every other memorial has perished. The triads were noticed by Camden with respect. Mr. Vaughan, the antiquary of Hengurt, refers them to the seventh century. Some may be the records of more ancient traditions, and some are of more recent date. I think them the most curious, on the whole, of all the Welsh remains.

Lhwyd states, that there are two MSS. of these historical triads. One in the Red Book of Hergest, imperfect, written on parchment in the 14th century. It consists of two chapters. One simply called Trioedh, or triads. The other, entitled Trioedh y meirch, the triad of the horses.

Another MS. of the triads, written about the same time, is in the Hengurt library. There are many other MSS. of the triads in the Welsh collections. The following extract from the preface of the editors of the Welsh Archaiology, may not be inapplicably cited.

"The triads may be considered amongst the most valuable and curious productions preserved in the Welsh language; and they contain a great number of memorials of the remarkable events which took place among the ancient Britons. Unfortunately, however, they are entirely deficient with respect to dates; and, considered singly, they are not well adapted to preserve the connection of history. Yet, a collection of triads, combined together as these are, condense more information into a small compass, than is to be accomplished perhaps by any other method; and

[1] These triads are, in the ancient MS. called the Book of Bardism. I select them from Mr. Owen's preface to his Llywarch Hên, with a few slight variations in the translation.

consequently, such a mode of composition is superior to all others for the formation of a system of tradition."

The historical triads distinctly and expressly mention all the bards whose works we defend.

TRIAD 92d.

The three chief bards of the Isle of Britain.

"Merdhin Emrys:
Merdhin, the son of Morvryn, and
Taliesin, the chief of the Bards."[m]

Tri phrif fardd Ynys Prydain.

Merddin Emrys, Merddin mab Morfryn, a
Thaliesin ben Beirdd.

TRIAD.

The three princely bulls of the Isle of Britain.

"Elmur, son of Cadair:
Cynhaval, son of Argad;
Avaon, son of *Taliesin*. All three were sons of *bards*."[n]

Tri tharw unben Ynys Prydain

Elmur mab Cadair
Cynhaval mab Argad.
Afaon mab Taliesin. Tri meib beirdd oeddynt ell tri.

71st.

The three free and discontented guests of Arthur's court:
"*Llywarch Hen*, Llemenig, and Heledd."[o]

Tri thwyddedawg ansoddawc Llys Arthur.
Llywarch Hên, Lemenig, a Heledd.

86th.

The three counselling knights of the court of Arthur:
"Cynon, son of Clydno, of Eidyn;
Aron, son of Cynvarch;
and *Llywarch Hen*, son of Elidir Lydanwyn."[p]

Tri chyngoriad farchog Llys Arthur:

Cynan ab Clydno Eiddyn,
Aron ab Cynfarch,
a Llywarch Hên ab Elidir Lydanwyn.

38th.

The three accursed deeds of the Isle of Britain:

"Eidyn, the son of Einygan, who slew *Aneurin*, of splendid panegyric, monarch of the Bards; Llawgad Trwm, from the borders of Eidyn, who slew Avaon, the son of *Taliesin;* and Llovan Llawddino, who killed Urien, the Cynvarch."[q]

Tair ansad gyflafan Ynys Prydain; Eidyn a laddawd Aneurin Gwawtrydd medyrn beirdd; Llawgat Trwm, Bargawt Eidyn a laddawd Afaon mab Taliesin; a Llofan Llawdinno a laddawd Urien mab Cynfarch.

[m] Welsh Archai. vol. ii.
[n] Ib. p. 4.
[o] Ib. p. 16.
[p] Ib. p. 18.
[q] Welsh Archai. vol. ii. p. 18.

39th.

The three accursed blows of the battle-axe of the Isle of Britain.

"The blow of Eidyn, on the head of *Aneurin;*
The blow on the head of Iago, the son of Beli;
and the blow on the head of Golyddan, the Bard."

Teir anfad fwyellawt Ynys Prydain;
Bwyellawt Eidyn ym pen Aneurin,
A'r fwyellawt ym pen Iago mab Beli,
A'r fwyellawt ym pen Golyddan fardd.

These two last triads are very curious, as they not only attest the existence of Aneurin, but state the particular fact of his violent death, the criminal, and even part of his genealogy.

Thus, we perceive that the triads expressly attest the existence of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hên, and Merdhin.

I think, from all the evidence assembled under this head, I am entitled to say, "That Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hên, and Merdhin, were British Bards, who lived in the sixth century, and who left poems like those before mentioned." But although the Britons should be allowed to have such bards at this period, yet, in order that their works should have descended to us, it is requisite that we know,

V. That the Britons had the use of letters at this era.

I believe that no antiquary doubts this fact. The numerous Roman inscriptions, which have been found in the island, prove that letters were used in Britain very commonly by the Romans: and it would be somewhat miraculous, if this civilized people should have continued so long in the island without imparting their alphabet to the natives. But there are also several inscriptions yet extant, which were made by the Britons in these centuries. I will only refer to two. One is the inscription on the monumental stone raised by Samson, who lived in the sixth century,[r] to the memory of Illtutus. It was found in the churchyard of Lantwit-Major, in Glamorganshire, and may be seen in Camden's Britannia, under that county. The other is the inscription on the stone which Mr. Edward Williams, the ingenious Welsh Bard, now living, induced by a curious local tradition, searched for in 1789, and dug out of the same churchyard. It purports, that Samson prepared it as a memorial of king Iuthahel, and another. It was left on the ground, after the discovery, till the month of August 1793, when Mr. Williams procured assistance to erect it against the east side of the porch, where it may now be seen.[s]

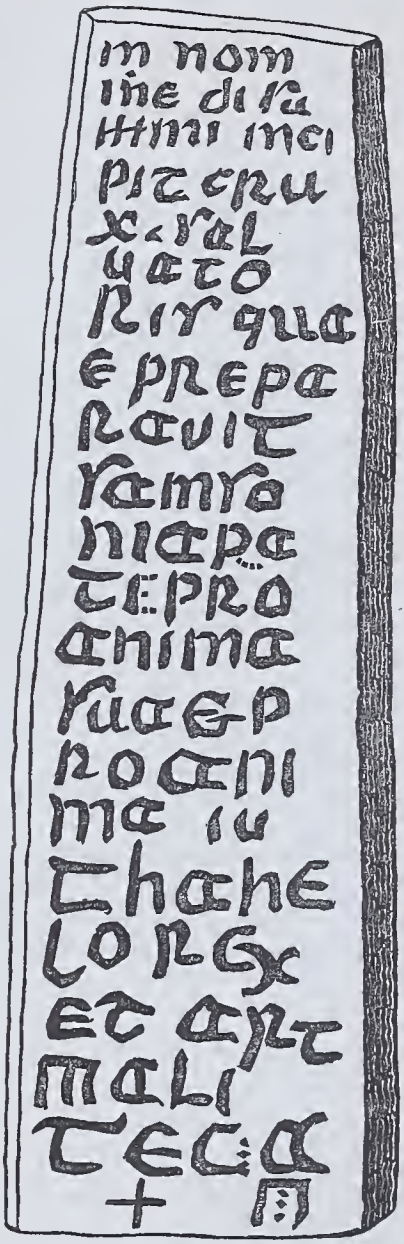
[r] He was born about 420.

[s] It may not be uninteresting to give a more particular account of the finding of this stone in Mr. Williams's own words, as it is a singular instance of the fidelity of tradition; I may also add, of Mr. Williams's intelligent curiosity.

But if there were bards in those days, who knew the use of writing; yet, is it likely that any writings of this distant, rude, and turbulent period, should have survived to our times? It must therefore be proved,

VI. That

In the summer of 1789, I dug out of the ground in *Lantwit* churchyard, a large monumental stone; it is the shaft of a cross, and its history affords a remarkable instance of the fidelity of popular tradition. About forty years ago, a very old man, his name *Richard Punter*, was then living at *Lanmais, juxta Lantwit*. He, though only a shoemaker, was more intelligent than most of his own class; he had read history more than many, was something of an antiquary, and had stored his memory with a number of interesting popular traditions. I was then about twelve or fourteen years of age; like him, fond of history and antiquities. He one day showed me a spot on the east side of the porch of the old *church at Lantwit*, where, he said, a large monumental stone lay buried in the ground, with an inscription on it to the memory of two kings. The tradition of the accident which buried it in the ground, he gave as follows: Long ago, before the memory of the oldest persons that ever he knew (and he was then about eighty), for their knowledge of it was only traditional, there was a young man at *Lantwit*, commonly called *Will the Giant*. He, at seventeen years of age, was seven feet, seven inches high; but, as is usually the case in premature and supernatural growth, he fell into a decline, of which he died at that age. He had expressed a wish to be buried near the monumental stone which stood by the porch; his wishes were complied with; the grave was dug, necessarily much larger than graves are usually, so that one end of it extended to the foot of the stone that was fixed in the ground. Just as the corpse had been laid in the ground, the stone gave way and fell into the grave, filling it up nearly. Some had a very narrow escape for their lives; but as the stone was so large as not to be easily removed, it was left there, and covered over with earth. After I had heard this traditional account, I had a great desire to dig for this stone, and many times endeavoured to engage the attention of several, and their assistance; but my idea was always treated with ridicule. In the year 1789, being at work in *Lantwit church*, and being one day unable to go on with my business for want of assistance, it being then the height of corn harvest, and not a man to be found that could give me the wanted assistance, I employed a great part of one day in digging in search of this stone, and found it. I cleared away all the earth about it. Mr. Christopher Wilkins, and Mr. David Jones, two very respectable gentlemen farmers, on seeing this stone, ordered their men to assist me, and we with great difficulty got it out of the ground, and on it we found the following inscription:



The dimensions of this stone are in length nine feet; breadth at top twenty-seven inches; at bottom twenty-eight inches; thickness fifteen inches.

VI. That writings of the sixth century have come down to us undisputed.

This is an easy task. We have still extant a numerous collection of poems, by Venantius Fortunatus, who lived in the sixth century in France. We have the history of Gregory of Tours, his contemporary. We have the heroic poem on the creation, by Dracontius, a Spanish Presbyter, also of the sixth century. We have the little poems of Columbanus, the Irishman. The poems of Alcimus Avitus, the archbishop of Vienne, on Genesis and Exodus. The works of Ennodius, bishop of Ticenensis. The historical poems, from the Old Testament, of Rusticus Helpidius, physician to the king of the Goths; and the very voluminous works of Pope Gregory; all authors of the sixth century. We have also Anglo-Saxon laws of the same times, which have reached us.

But it can also be shown,

VII. That even writings of a Briton of the sixth century, are in our hands, and suspected by no one.

This author is Gildas, a Briton; and his works are in most libraries. He wrote in Latin a little work of small merit on the British history, and an invective against the British kings and clergy, which have come safely down to us. If these Latin compositions of Gildas could weather, unhurt, all the storms of time, surely the compositions of Welsh bards, on the most interesting of all subjects to Welshmen, their struggles against their invaders, might be as fortunate. There was nothing but a little historical curiosity to preserve the reproaching monk, but all the passions, the prejudices, and the reason of Wales, were interested by their bards, and insured perpetuity to their lays. And why should time have inveterately persecuted these poems more than the works of Gildas, and the other authors whom I have named? Why should the Franks have been more interested to preserve the poems of Fortunatus, than the Welsh to perpetuate those of Aneurin or Taliesin? And if we consider the numerous Latin poems of this period, which have been transmitted to us by the monks, where is the wonder that Welsh poetry should have been transmitted to us by Welshmen?

But it can be also proved,

VIII. That in the twelfth century there were writings of old British bards extant in Welsh, which were then called *ancient* and *authentic*, and that Giraldus then found some written compositions ascribed to Merdhin, and which he believed to be his.

The evidence of Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived in the twelfth century, is complete and decisive on this subject; he says, in his

description of Wales, "This also seems remarkable to me, that the Cambrian bards, and singers, or reciters, have the genealogy of the aforesaid princes in *their ancient and authentic* books, but also written in Welsh."[a]

In this passage, Giraldus, who was born 1150, attests, that in his days the Welsh bards had authentic books, which were written in Welsh, and which were in that age deemed ancient. What is the meaning of ancient, unless it denotes a period some centuries earlier than that in which he wrote?

Giraldus does not say merely that they had ancient genealogies. He speaks of the genealogies but as a *part* of the contents of these ancient and authentic books, and these books too were books of the *bards*. They are not mentioned generally as being ancient Welsh books in Wales, but ancient and *authentic* books, which were in the possession of the Welsh bards and singers. To remark that the Cambrian bards had these books, and to call them *their books*, seem to me to intimate that the books were written by *bards*. It will be at least curious to recollect the evidence of Posidonius before the first century, that the Celtic bards sung the γενος, the genealogy of their chiefs: because, if Giraldus found the Welsh bards to have ancient books on the same topic in the twelfth century, the fact mentioned by Posidonius sanctions, very forcibly, our arguments of the antiquity of the bardic profession in this country, and gives additional credibility to what is stated in favour of the ancient Welsh literature.

In another passage, Giraldus says that King Henry the Second heard concerning Arthur, "from an *ancient* historical singer."[b] As I cannot inflict on Giraldus the disgrace of not knowing the meaning of the words he uses, I must presume from this authority that the ancient British had historical singers, that is, ancient bards who had left historical poems, which, in the days of Henry the Second, were deemed ancient, and referred to, and which, therefore, must have been some centuries old in that age.

We have another witness to the existence of old British authors in the twelfth century. William of Malmsbury, who lived in this period, says, "It is read in the *ancient* accounts of the actions of the Britons." He adds, "these things are from the *ancient books* of the Britons."[c] If such things as ancient British books had not been extant in Malmsbury's days, I cannot persuade myself that he would twice have asserted such a fact.

[a] Hoc etiam mihi notandum videtur quod Bardi Cambrenses et cantores seu recitatores genealogiam habent prædictorum principum in libris eorum antiquiis et authenticis sed etiam Cambrice scriptam.—Gir. Camb. Descript. p. 883.

[b] Rex Angliæ Henricus secundus, sicut ab historico cantore Britone audiverat antiquo.—Giraldus, as cited by Leland in his Assertio Arturi, p. 52.

[c] Legitur in antiquis Britonum gestis—hæc de antiquis Britonum libris sunt.—Wil. Malm. 3 Gale. Scrip. p. 295.

The ancient monk of Malmsbury, quoted by Leland, says of Henry, "Rex autem hoc ex gestis Britonum et eorum *cantoribus historicis* frequenter audiverat."—Ass. Art. 50.

I believe the book of Jeffrey of Monmouth, who lived also in the twelfth century, to be his own composition, and to abound with fable. But I think he would not have been foolish enough to have asserted, that he had translated from a very ancient book[d] in the British tongue, which the archdeacon of Oxford had given him, unless there had been "*very ancient books*" of the Britons in existence in his time, that is, in the twelfth century.

I think I cannot more decisively prove, that there were extant, in the time of Giraldus, poems of the sixth century, and of Merdhin, than by a literal translation of some other passages from him, on this subject.

These passages are in his "Prologus in librum tertium Vaticinium," which is printed by Usher in his "Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge."

"In the former books we inserted the predictions of Merlin Caledonius and Merlin Ambrosius, in suitable places, as occasion required. Ambrosius has been explained,[e] but *Caledonius having not yet put off his British barbarism* has remained to our times, obscure and little known. Hence it seemed to concern our diligence to draw him, by scrutinizing research, from his ancient and hidden shades, into a public and fairer splendour."[f]

"The fame only of this Merlin, surnamed Caledonius or Sylvester, has been hitherto very distinguished. The memory of his prophecies had been retained among the British bards, whom they call poets, verbally by many—in writing by very few."[g]

"Performing, therefore, the office of an interpreter, and with the assistance of some men skilled in the British language; I faithfully expressed the sentence in every respect word for word, as far as the difference of idiom would admit. But because, as in other works, so in these, the invidious art of the bards adulterating nature, has added to the true prophecies, many of their own; therefore, having thrown out and reprobated all that breathed the air of modern composition, led by the love of truth alone, the rude and plain simplicity of the ancient style attracted my mind." He proceeds to add, "I have illustrated the darkness of the barbaric tongue with the light of the Latin language."[h]

[d] See him. Ll. c. 1.

[e] Giraldus apparently alludes here to the oracles of Merlin Ambrosius, inserted by Jeffrey in his history.

[f] Quoniam in prioribus libris Merlini vaticinia tam Caledonii quam Ambrosii locis competentibus, prout res exigebat inseruimus; Ambrosio vero dudum exposito. Nondum Caledonius Britannicam exutus barbariem usque ad hæc nostra tempora latuit parum agnitus: nostræ videbatur interesse diligentiæ tam ipsum ab antiquis et occultis scrutabunda inquisitione latebris ut pulchrius elucescat in communc deducere. Usher, p. 116.

[g] Erat itaque Caledonii Silvestris solum hactenus fama percelebris; a Britan icis tamen Bardis quos poetas vocant, verbo tenus penes plurimos, scripto vero penes paucissimos vaticiniorum ejusdem memoria retenta fuerat. Ib. p. 116.

[h] Functus igitur interpretis officio peritis quoque linguæ Britannicæ viris mecum

These important passages of Giraldus prove these things,

1st. That there were, in his time, works ascribed to Merdhin, one of the four bards I argue for, which works were in writing and in the British language.

2d. That these works had in his days the character of the age of their author.—I mean that Giraldus, a Welshman, found them difficult in their language.

3d. That this Merdhin was then much famed: that many of the Welsh bards had his compositions by heart, and some, though very few, in writing.

Giraldus also states his belief, that some prophecies were ascribed to Merdhin which he had not written. But he also expresses that he distinguished these interpolations and additions by the modern air of their style.

My opinion is precisely the same with that of Giraldus. The prophetic works ascribed to Merdhin, which have come down to us, are unquestionably either interpolated or surreptitious. The fame of his being a prophet accounts for it.

The external evidence for these bards may be now closed.

I hope that I have proved,

That there were bards among the Britons in the sixth century.

That these four bards, whose works I support, then lived.

That the poems now extant were in MS. in the twelfth century, which MSS. ascribed them to these four ancient bards, and some of which MSS. we have.

That these bards were mentioned, and some of their poems were quoted, or referred to, by many British bards of various ages, from before the twelfth century through the following ages to our times.

That in the twelfth century there were writings of old British bards extant, which were then called ancient and authentic. That Giraldus in that century found some written ancient compositions then ascribed to Merdhin, and which he believed to be his, and that a Welsh bard of the thirteenth century calls a poem of Taliesin "the *ancient* song of Taliesin."[i]

I have strengthened this train of direct evidence, by showing,

That many writings of the sixth century have come down to us.

adhibitis, in quantum idiomatum permisit diversitas, verbo adverbum plurimas sententias autem in singulis fideliter expressi. Sed quoniam sicut in aliis sic in istis bardorum ars invida naturam adulterans multa de suis tanquam prophetica veris adjecit: cunctis moderni sermonis compositionem redolentibus quasi reprobatis et abjectis sola veritatis amica sermonis antiqui rudis et plana simplicitas diligenter excepta mentem allexit.—Barbaræ linguæ tenebras Latini lucc sermonis illustravi. Usher, p. 117.

[i] See before, p. 520.

That the Britons had then the art of writing; and,
That the writing of a Briton of that age, whose genuineness no one disputes, has confessedly come down to us, and yet the interest to preserve this was inconsiderable in comparison with the feeling which must have operated to perpetuate these poems.

On this evidence I submit, that unless the internal evidence of these poems is very clearly and decisively hostile to their antiquity, no reasonable man can discredit their genuineness. I proceed to consider this branch of my subject under the heads which I have already stated, p. 495, and which seem to me to be the topics that bear most upon the subject.

THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

I. That the subjects of this poetry could answer no purpose of interest in the twelfth century,

will be obvious to all who inspect them. For what are they? They are poems in praise of warriors who lived and fought in the sixth century. What profit could any one have got by praising the warriors mentioned in the Gododin? And what living chief was interested in the encomiums of Caeawg, Mynydaur, or the other persons mentioned by Aneurin? They form part of no genealogies. They had not even been Welsh princes. They were merely warriors in the north parts of the island. What interest could be reaped by any forger taking the trouble to write 920 lines on such an unfortunate conflict as that which is the subject of the Gododin? It must have been forgery for the mere toil of forgery if it was so. The same may be said of Llywarch's long poem on his Old Age, and his Address to the Cuckoo. Nor do I see, in what a bard could be benefited in throwing away so many poems on Urien, a Northern chieftain, as Taliesin has done; and, at the same time, leaving unsung so many Welsh kings and warriors, related to the existing princes of the twelfth century.

It appears to me very forcibly,

II. That the subjects of these ancient poems were the most unlikely of all others for a forger to have chosen.

We can perceive at once, why such poems as those of Ossian should be fabricated, even independent of individual advantage. In making a Fingal, an irresistible warrior—an Alexander of the third century who only moves to conquer—whose presence is so decisive of a conflict, that in compassion to the fame of other war-

riors he keeps awhile out of it—in forming such a character there is an obvious gratification of national vanity.

But the poem of Aneurin is one of the greatest humiliations of national vanity that could he exhibited. It celebrates a conflict so disastrous to the Britons, that very few escaped. It inflicts on them the disgrace of going drunk into the battle. That a bard who had fought in it himself, and had lost the friends whom he extols, should compose his elegiac dirges to their memory I can conceive. But I cannot believe, that if some centuries hence a Frenchmen should wish to forge a poem of the present day for French readers, he would choose for his subject the battle of the Nile. I do not think that an Austrian poet, who wished to impose surreptitious poems on his countrymen, would exactly write them on the battles of Hohenlinden or Marengo.

To make fables as Jeffrey has done on a great character like Arthur is conceivable. To describe a British hero as outdoing even an Alexander in military exploits; to make valour wither at his approach, and armies perish before his sword, would have clouded the fame of any poem with a suspicion, which scarcely any degree of evidence could remove. But the Welsh bards exhibit nothing of the sort. If we take up Llywarch, we find his first poem is an elegy on Geraint, a chieftain of Devonshire, who did not drive the Saxons to the sea as a vainglorious forger would have depicted, but who perished in the battle. Instead of an Ambrosius, whom history would have allowed them to have celebrated—instead of a Vortimer, from whose actions every Briton had a share of glory; we have a prince perpetually applauded who was really so insignificant as to have almost escaped the notice of history, I mean Urien of Reged. A forger would not have chosen such a hero; he would not have thought of him. But it is extremely natural, that such a character, even though obscure, should be praised by the bards whom he patronised. In their eyes and in their gratitude he was great and interesting, though on the theatre of human action he was very inconsiderable.

If a forger had chosen a subject, he would have selected the struggles against Hengist, for they were so far successful as to confine this invader to Kent; he would have selected the heroes who confronted the formidable West Saxons, that established the Anglo-Saxon monarchy; because the contests with them would have inevitably given glory: but he would not have chosen the obscure conflicts in the north, because they were precisely the least interesting and the least noticed in history of the whole.

If these poems appeared to answer any purpose of politics or religion; if they taught any peculiar notions, on either of these subjects, which the passions of the people or the interests of their

rulers in the twelfth century, required to have impressed; there would be shown a reason for the forgery.

But the moment we read these poems, we see that no object of this sort could possibly have been in the view of their authors when they composed them. What political purpose could be obtained? What interest advanced by the praises of the unfortunate Urien, Geraint, or the warriors of the Gododin? Read Merdhin's simple, yet wild and touching complaints on his madness, in his little Avellenau; and let ingenuity discover a single motive, that could have roused any bard to have forged it, or any prince to have exacted the forgery. Men do not forge without some palpable motive. These poems are so simple and so natural as to discover none.

The decisive remark on this topic appears to me to be, that if Welshmen of the twelfth century had forged these poems, it would have been an inevitable consequence, that Wales and Welshmen would have been the objects extolled. But it is singular, that Wales is scarcely mentioned in them, and the most applauded heroes are not Welshmen. Urien, on whom Taliesin has left ten poems, was from a district of Cumbria. The persons commemorated by Aneurin lived as far north as this and some more so. Llywarch has indeed given an elegy to Cynddylan and another to Cadwallon, but his longest elegy is to Urien, and another is devoted to a leader in Devonshire. They, of whom Merdhin principally talks, are also from the Northern Britons. To suppose that Welshmen should have forged to perpetuate the celebrity of other Britons, when there was abundance of Welsh heroes who demanded the patriotic lay, is surely an extravagant idea. Bards usually sing for fame and profit; and if they forged, would most probably have had the same things in view. The enemies of these poems must at least admit, that to forge such poems as these, was the most blundering way they could have chosen to the favourite temples of human wishes.

In the sixth century, these poems, besides enshrining the memory of the friends and warlike companions of the bards, must have also had the good effect of stimulating their countrymen to imitate the flattered dead, by resisting bravely the Anglo-Saxon invaders. But this great contest had been over for ages before the twelfth century; it was over before the time of Alfred; and every succeeding Saxon sovereign made the re-establishment of the British monarchy more impossible. But when the Normans had spread themselves over England, and added another warlike race to maintain the possession of the island, it is ridiculous to suppose, that any bard would have forged a prophecy of the Welsh recovering it. At the very period in which the forgery is placed, not only Wales was pros-

trate before the king of London, but even Ireland was bending to his sway.

That these poems could not have been written in the twelfth century appears to me to be clear, from

III. The manner in which Arthur is spoken of by them.

The history of Jeffrey, the composition of the twelfth century, shows us how Arthur was in those days considered. The Welsh, compelled to yield their country without hope of recovery, revenged themselves, both on the Saxons and on Europe, by creating a phantom of glory, whose gigantic majesty towered above that of every warrior who had appeared since Alexander. It would be a very curious discussion, to trace the first origin of Arthur's fabulous history, and its gradual enlargement, but it would be too digressive from the objects of this essay. I will only express my opinion, that the apparition either first appeared, or at least acquired its magnitude and its terrors in Bretagne. I believe Jeffrey to state the fact, when he says, he found the history of Arthur in a book brought from that country. Perhaps, if any of the lays or legends concerning the Daniel Dremrudd, or red visage, the Alexander of Bretagne, could be found, we might meet the prototype of Arthur.

But that Arthur's fame had acquired a gigantic shape in the twelfth century is undoubted. Alanus de Insulis, was born 1109, and he informs us, that if any was heard in Bretagne to deny that Arthur was then alive, he would be stoned: he says, "Who does not speak of him? he is even more known in Asia than in Britain, as our pilgrims returning from the East assure us both East and West talk of him. Egypt and the Bosphorus are not silent. Rome, the mistress of cities, sings his actions. Antioch, Armenia, Palestine, celebrate his deeds."[j]

I will allow to any one, that Alanus may be supposed to write hyperbolically in this passage. But Alanus was neither a Welshman nor a Briton; and therefore is decisive evidence that Arthur's fame had been surprisingly amplified before he wrote.

My argument then is, that if these poems had been forged in the twelfth century, they would have betrayed themselves by their panegyrics on Arthur. Some of them would have been devoted to this favourite of fame. In some the miraculous feats of Jeffrey's history would have appeared. The very contrary, however, is found. Not a tittle of this vast celebrity appears. He is just mentioned as distinguished and no more, and mentioned as any other warrior. I hope it will not be indecorous to cite an observation on this point from my History of the Anglo-Saxons:

j Alanus, p. 22.

"This state of moderate greatness suits the character in which the Welsh bards exhibit Arthur; they commemorate him, but it is not with that excelling glory with which he has been surrounded by subsequent traditions. The song sometimes swells with the actions of a warrior; but it was an age of warriors, and Urien of Reged seems to have employed the harp more than Arthur. Llywarch the aged, who lived through the whole period of slaughter, and had been one of the guests and counsellors of Arthur, yet displays him not in transcendent majesty. In the battle of Llongborth, which Arthur directed, it was the valour of Geraint that arrested the bard's notice; and his elegy, though long, scarcely mentions the commander, whose merit, in the frenzy of later fablers, clouds every other. As his poem was a gift to the dead, it may be supposed to possess less of flattery and more of truth in its panegyric; it speaks of Arthur with respect, but not with wonder; Arthur is simply mentioned as the commander and the conductor of the toil of war, but Geraint is profusely celebrated with dignified periphrasis.

"In the same manner Arthur appears in the Avallenau of Merdhin; he is mentioned as a character well known, but not idolized; yet he was then dead, and all the actions of his patriotism and valour had been performed; not a single epithet is added, from which we can discern him to have been that whirlwind of war, which swept away in its course all the skill and armies of Europe. That he was a courageous warrior is unquestionable; but that he was the miraculous Mars of the British history, from whom kings and nations sunk in panic, is completely disproved by the temperate encomiums of his contemporary bards."[k]

Can any one believe, that Welshmen would have forged the works of the contemporaries of Arthur and not have taken the opportunity of celebrating their favourite chieftain? Would not this be contrary to human nature? When Homer wrote his Iliad and Odyssey he made Achilles, Ajax, Diomed, and Ulysses, his applauded heroes. When Virgil penned his Æncid, he gave the lay to the presumed ancestor of the Roman race. When Macpherson wrote his Fingal, his hero was all-conquering and a Highlander.

IV. That the *subjects* and *allusions* of these poems are such as might be expected from their authors.

Aneurin's poem is upon the fatal battle of Cattraeth, in which he had combated. Its melancholy catastrophe was occasioned by the Britons commencing the contest in a state of intoxication. In this poem he seems to have had two principal objects: one

[k] History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 198, 199.

was to celebrate the warriors who had fought with him, and whose merit he sings with all the artlessness of sincerity; the other was to impress on the memory of his countrymen the cause of the disaster. It is said that Homer composed his Iliad to teach the Greeks the ruinous effects of dissension. He may have done so. But it is much more evident that one great purpose of the Gododin was to display the mischief of feasting before battle. To impress this conviction with irresistible effect, the bard is perpetually bringing in allusions, very much diversified, to the wine and mead which had been shared by his countrymen. The whole subject of the Gododin announces its genuineness.

The subjects of the poems of Llywarch Hên, are the deaths of his friend Geraint and of his patrons, Urien, Cynddylan, and Cadwallon, and upon his own old age, and the loss of his children. What can be more natural?

The poems of Taliesin on Urien and Elphin, were in honour of his two patrons. His historical elegies are on the warriors who were known to him. These I think genuine. Of the rest of the poetry ascribed to him, which is so mystical as to seem very fantastical, I can say nothing. I leave it to its fate. It is scarcely worth being rescued, unless its mythological allusions could be illustrated from other sources. They are not now intelligible.

Merdhin's Avallenau is avowedly on the gift of an orchard which he had received, but it is full of personal allusions to himself and such of his contemporaries whom he respected or dreaded. Surely all these subjects are natural topics for such bards to have chosen—too natural, too artless, for fraud to have selected.

Much of the lyric poetry of Horace is of this nature. Many of his poems are on Augustus, and some are addressed to Mecænas and others of his contemporaries.

Several remarks may be made on the allusions in these poems.

1. I will not say, that because the author's name appears in the poems ascribed to him, their genuineness is thereby demonstrated. This would be pushing the argument too far. But I may remark, that Phædrus,[l] that the ancient Ennius,[m] and that the elegant Virgil,[n] have inserted their own names in their compositions; our Cowley[o] has done the same. So have the Welsh bards of the

[l] *Phædri* libellos legere si desideras
Vaces oportet, Eutyche, a negotiis. Phœd. Fab. Prol. Lib. 3.

[m] Adspicite, O civeis, senis *Ennii* imagini formam,
Hic vostrum panxit maxuma facta patrum. His Epitaph.

[n] Illo *Virgilium* me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti. Georg. iv. 563.

[o] Leave, wretched *Cowley!* leave
Thyself with shadows to deceive. Love Given Over.

twelfth century, Gwalchmai,[p] Cyndelw,[q] and Llywarch P. Moch.[r] I am therefore entitled to say, that to find the name of the author in any poem is to find a circumstance which has often accompanied genuineness, though it does not prove it. Now the ancient Welsh bards have this feature. Then in the poems of Taliesin, the author says,

"I also am Taliesin
Head of the bards of the West."

Minnau yw Taliesin
Ben beirdd y Gorllewin.

Dyhudd. Elph. Arch. p. 21.

"I am Taliesin,
With a speech flowing as a diviner."

Mydwyf Taliesin
Areith lif Dewin.

Canu y Byd Mawr, p. 25.

In another place he mentions both his name and habitation, which is a peculiarity rather striking:

"And I, also, Taliesin,
Of the banks of the lake Ceirionydd."[s]

A minnau Daliesin
O lan llyn Geirionydd. Anrec Urien, p. 51.

So we find Aneurin mentioning himself:

"Inseparable has been lamentation and *Aneurin*."

Anysgarat vu y nad ac Aneurin. Ib. p. 9.

And,

"When the earth shall come upon *Aneurin*."

Er pan aeth daiar ar Aneurin. Ib. p. 13.

Llywarch Hên also occasionally mentions his own name:

"My wooden crook! be thou a branch contented
To support a mourning old man;
Llywarch—noted for complaints.

"My wooden crook, be thou steady,
And support me better.
Am I not Llywarch, from many remote?"

Baglan bren gangen voddawg
Cynnelyç hen hiraethawg
Llywarç leverydd nodawg.

[p] Arch. p. 194. [q] Ib. p. 207, 216. [r] Ib. 301, 322, 327.

[s] Mr. Owen informs me, that the lake of this name is a few miles west of Llanrwst, in the wildest part of the Snowdon mountains, in Caernarvonshire. There is a small ruin at one end of the lake, which is still traditionally called the House of Taliesin.

Baglan bren, bydd ystywell
A'm cynnelyç a vo gwell:
Neud wyv Llywarç lawer pell?

Owen's Llyw. 120.

"Sweetly sang the birds on the fragrant tree
Over the head of Gwen, before he was covered with sod.
He broke the armour of Llywarch Hen."

Teg yd gan yr aderyn ar berwydd bren,
Uç ben Gwen, cyn ei olo dan dywarç.
Briwai galç Llywarç Hen. Ib. 134.

So Merdhin,

"There was given to nobody at the dawn of day
What was given to *Merdhin* before he became old."

A rodded i neb yn un pylgaint
A roed i *Ferddin* cynnoi henaint.

Afallen. Arch. p. 50.

But we certainly gain a material point by having the author's name inserted in a composition. It rescues us from the doubt which must always attend anonymous poetry, whether it may not belong to some other century than that to which we ascribe it. The author's name in a poem narrows the question into this alternative. The poem, then, either must be the genuine work of the author named, or an express forgery made for the purpose of passing to the world as that author's composition. The chances of such a direct wilful forgery, are much fewer than the chances of that possible mistake to which anonymous poetry is liable. But I think that the supposition of a wilful forgery of these poems cannot be supported. I therefore submit that the poems which have the names of these bards, if they were not wilfully forged, must be genuine.

2. That authors, who were contemporaries, should mention each other in their poems, is extremely natural. Thus Horace notices Virgil more than once,[t] and Cowley inscribed a poem to Sir William D'Avenant. This is not indeed a seal of genuineness, which cannot be counterfeited, but it does not strike my mind as one of those obvious precautions which a forger of the twelfth century would use. I therefore adduce this circumstance as very favourable to the genuineness of these poems. Thus Aneurin mentions Taliesin:

[t] Molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerint gaudentes rures Camœnæ.

Lib. I. Sat. 7.

Navis, quæ tibi creditum
Debes *Virgilium*. Lib. I. Carm. 3.

He also mentions Virgil in his Art of Poetry, line 55; and in his journey to Brundusium, line 40.

"I, *Aneurin*, knew
What is known to *Taliesin*,
Who participates in mind."

Mi a wn vi Aneurin
Ys gwyr Taliesin,
Oveg cyvrenhin. God. p. 7.

In the same natural manner Taliesin notices Aneurin in his poems:

"*Aneurin!* I know his name,
With his genius of flowing panegyric;
And I am *Taliesin*,
On the borders of the lake of Ceirionydd;
May I be blind in age,
Or in the anguish of death,
If I praise not Urien."

A wn i enw Aneurin, gwawdrydd awenydd,
A minnau Daliesin,
O lan llyn Geirionydd;
Ny daliwyf yn hen
Ym dygyn angau angen
Oni molwyf Urien. Tal. Anrec Urien, p. 51.

So Taliesin composed a dialogue between himself and Merdhin, and thus mentions both in it:

"Since I, Merdhin, am after Taliesin,
Equally common will be my prophecy."

Canys mi Myrtin gwydi Taliesin
Bydded cyffredin fy darogan.
Ymdidan, Arch. p. 48.

3. Another trait of genuineness is, that they speak of events which happened in the age in which they lived, as passing under their own eyesight.

Thus Taliesin, on the battle of Gwenystrad, where Urein Reged commanded, who we know flourished in the sixth century, exclaims,

"In the pass of the ford *I saw* the ghost-like men
Dropping their arms in pallid misery."

Yn nrws rhyd *gwelais* i wyr lledruddion
Eirf dillwng rhag blawr gofidon.

"*I saw* Urien's brow covered with rage,
When he attacked the enemy by the white stone of Calysten."

Gweles i ran reodig gan Urien
Pan amwyth ai alon yn llech wen Galysten.
Tal. Gwenyst, p. 52.

Llywarch thus frequently shows a personal acquaintance with the events he describes. Thus on Geraint's battle:

At Llongborth *I saw* the noisy tumult,
The glory biers,
And men red from the onsets of the foe.

In Llongborth *I saw* the weapons
Of the warriors dropping blood.

I saw the edges striking together,
Men in terror, and blood upon the brow,
From Geraint, the great son of his father.

In Llongborth *I saw* tumultuous struggling
On the stones—ravens at their feast,
And on the chieftain's brow a crimson gash.

. . . . I *saw* a confused running
Of men together, and blood on the feet.
"Ye that are the men of Geraint, make haste."[u]

There is certainly an air of reality in this description. It does not consist of general phrases which are the common appendages of poetical battle. The images selected seem taken from the tumultuous circumstances of a conflict, which the bard actually witnessed.

The personages mentioned in this battle decide its chronology. The bard styles Geraint the son of Erbin, and he mentions Arthur as the commander of the Britons:

At Llongborth were slain to Arthur
Valiant men, who hewed with steel.
He was the emperor and director of the toil.[v]

[u] Yn Llongborth gwelais drydar
Ac elorawr yn ngwyar
A gwyr rhudd rhag rhuthr esgar.

Yn Llongborth gwelais i arvau
Gwyr a gwyar yn dincu.

- - - - Gwelais gymminad
Gwyr yn ngryd a gwaed ar iad
Rhag Geraint mawr mab ei dad.

Yn Llongborth gwelais drabludd
Ar fain brain ar goludd
Ac ar gran cynran manrudd.

- - - - Gwelais i breithred
Gwyr ynghyd a gwacd ar draed
A vo gwyr i Eraint brysied. Arch. p. 101.

[v] Yn Llongborth llas i Arthur
Gwyr dewr cymmynynt a dur
Ammherawdyr llywiawdyr llavur. Arch. p. 102.

Thus the chief features of this elegy attests its genuineness.

In his elegy on Urien Reged, we meet with the same personal assertions, which it is natural for genuine poems to contain:

> I bear a head at my side; the head of Urien;
> The mild leader of his army—
> Upon his white bosom is the sable raven.[w]

In his elegy on Cynddylan we meet with an idea which it is unlikely that any but the real author of the poem should have conceived. Cynddylan had fallen against the victorious Saxons, and the first image which occurs to his friend and bard is, that his domains and palace are on fire. He sees the flames arising—he anticipates the calamities which the victorious foe will pour upon the country—he calls upon the maidens of Wales to behold the ravage, and to recollect the misery which will attend the married state from the loss of husbands, children, and property:

> Stand out, ye virgins, and behold the territory of Cynddylan,
> The palace of Pengwren! Is it not in flames?
> Wo to the youthful who wish for social ties.[x]

This is followed by another trait that seems to have been borrowed from real nature. It is that the bard recollects a tree—a favourite object—and expresses his hope that it will escape in the devastation:

> One tree, around which the twining woodbine clasps,
> Perhaps will escape—
> But what God wills, be it done![y]

In the Gododin of Aneurin, there are also expressions which indicate that the events passed in his sight. There seems much of the particularity of genuineness in these lines:

> I beheld the scene from the highland of Odren:
> A sacrifice round the omen-fire which they brought down.
> I saw it as usual on the town of Fledegein,
> And the men of Nwython toiled to excess.
> I saw men in complete order, by the dawn, from Addoen,
> And the head of Dyfnwal ravens were consuming.[z]

[w] Pen a borthav ar vy nhu; Pen Urien
Llary, llyw ei llu
Ac ar ei vron wen fran ddu. Arch. 103.

[x] Sevwç allan vorwynion, a syllwç werydre Cynddylan
Llys Pengwern neud tandde
Gwac ieuainc a eiddynt brodre. Arch. 107.

[y] Un pren a gwyddvid arno,
O dianc ys odid
A vyno Duw dervid. Arch. 107.

[z] Gweleis y dull o ben tir Odren
Aberth am goelcerth a disgynnyn
Gweleis ocdd cynnevin ar dref Ffledegein

Taliesin also avows his personal acquaintance with the events he narrates:

> Conspicuously before the sons of Llyr at the outlets of Henvelen;
> *I saw* the oppression of the tumult, and wrath and tribulation:
> The weapons glittered on the splendid helmets
> Conspicuously before the Lord of Fame in the dales of the Severn,
> Before Brochwel of Powys, who loved my muse.
>
> Arch. p. 66.

> Ceint rac meibion Llyr yn ebyr Henfelen
> Gweleis treis trydar ac asar ac anghen
> Yd lethrynt lasnawr ar bennawr disgywen
> Ceint rhag udd clodeu yn noleu Hasren
> Rhag Brochwel Powys a garwys fy Awen.
>
> Taliesin, p. 66.

4. Many passages may be noticed in these poems which seem to have been taken from objects and incidents then really existing, and which could hardly have occurred to the mind of a fraudulent impostor, especially in those rude ages, when the artful precautions of literary deceit were very little understood.

Urien had a sister named Eurddyl. It was natural, that on Urien's assassination, Llywarch, his friend, should think of the grief which the catastrophe would occasion to his sister, and that the bard should mention the circumstance in his elegy on Urien; accordingly he twice alludes to her feelings:

> Eurddyl will be disconsolate to-night,
> In Aber Lleu Urien was slain.[a]

It seems to me to be likewise a genuine, but not an obvious circumstance, that in the night after the battle in which his patron Cynddylan fell, the bard should feel himself interrupted by the screams of the birds of prey over their dismal repast. Their cries recall to his recollection his friend, whose remains were at their mercy:

> Eagle of Eli, thou dost scream loudly to-night;
> In the blood of men thou dost eagerly swim—
> He is in the wood—heavy is my grief.[b]

Llywarch speaks of an event as having happened on the preceding night. This is a phrase which would hardly have been used in a surreptitious poem:

> A gwyr Nwythion rygodesyn
> Gweleis gwyr dullyawr gan aur addevyn
> A phen Dyfnwal a breich brein ae cnoyn. Aneurin, p. 18.
>
> [a] Handid Eurddyl avlawen hcnoeth,—
> Yn aber Llcu lladd Urien. Ll. Hen, Arch. 105.
>
> [b] Eryr Eli, gorelwi hcno,
> Yn ngwaed gwyr gwynnovi;
> Ev yn nghoed, trwin hocd i mi. Ll. Hcn, Arch. 109.

Gwen, by the Llawen, watched
Last night, with the shield uplifted—
As he was my son, he did not retreat.[c]

Is not the following passage the description of a man who had beheld the object he mentions ?

When Pyll was slain, *gashing was the wound,*
And the blood on the hair seemed horrible.[d]

There is much natural representation in the passage of his elegy on Urien, of the confused state of his army after their leader's fall:

On Friday I saw great anxiety
Among the baptized embattled hosts,
Like a swarm without a hive.[e]

The account of the pursuit made after Urien's murderer is also very natural:

There is commotion in every region,
In search of Llofan with the detested hand.[f]

The real Llywarch, seated in the mansion of Urien, when he wrote his elegy, might allude to it as before him, in the manner he does in the following verses, but the images would hardly have occurred to an impostor:

Many a hunting dog and towering hawk
Have been trained on this floor,
Before Erlleon became polluted.

This hearth—ah! will it not be covered with nettles!
Whilst its defender lived
It was accustomed to petitioners.

This hearth, will it not be turned up by swine!
It has been more accustomed to the clamour of men
And the circling horns of the banquet.[g]

[c] Gwen wrth Lawen ydd wyliis
Neithwyr, a'r ysgwyd ar ygnis;
Can bu mab i mi ni ddiengis. Ll. Hen, 116.

[d] Pan las Pyll oedd tywyll briw
A gwaed ar wallt hyll. Ibid. 117.

[e] Dyw Gwener gwelais i ddiwyd mawr
Ar vyddinawr bedydd
Haid heb vodrydav hy bydd. Ibid. 105.

[f] Cyrchyniad yn mhob bro
Yn wysc Llovan Llawddifro. Ibid. 106.

[g] Llawer ci geilic a hebawc wryenic
A lithiwyd ar y llawe
Cyn bu Erlleon llawedrawr.
Yr aelwyd hon neus cudd dynad
Tra vu vyw ci gwarcheidwad
Mwy gorddyvnasai eirchiad.
Yr aelwydd hon neus cladd hwch
Mwy gorddyvnasai elwch gwyr
Ac am gyrn cyveddwch. Ibid. 106.

The topics of a forger are more general than these, and more remote from individual reality.

The images of a light fall of snow—of the warriors advancing over it to the combat; but of Llywarch staying at home, from age, have the semblance of reality in these lines:

> Scarcely has the snow covered the vale—
> The warriors are hast'ning to battle.
> I shall not go: infirmity will not let me.[h]

In the poems of Taliesin, there are some passages which seem taken from the life. I would refer to the Mead Song already quoted, on this subject, and will also adduce another passage on his son:

> Avagdda, my son, also,
> The blessed Lord caused him to be formed.
> In the mutual contention of songs,
> His wit was superior to mine.[i]

This seems a very natural turn of thought for a parent proud of his son.

The apostrophe of Aneurin to the son of Clydno, may be also mentioned:

> He would slay the ravagers with the swiftest blade:
> Like rushes would they fall before his arm.
> Son of Clydno! of extended fame: I will sing to thee
> With praise without bound, without end.[j]

When the same poet, after celebrating the valour of a hero, calls by name on some persons who were present at the battle as witnesses to the truth of his panegyric, it seems to me not to be an artificial thought:

> When Caradoc hastened to the conflict,
> Like the boar of the wood fiercely he would tear.
> The bull of battle—he fell'd them down in the struggle.
> He would allure the wild dogs with his hand.

[h] Otid ciry toid ystrad
Dyvrysiant cedwyr i gad
Mi nid av anav ni'm gad. Ll. Hen, 119.

[i] Afagddu fy mab innue
Dedwydd Dofydd rhwy goreu
Ynghysamryson cerddeu
Oedd gwell ei synwyr no'r fau'. Taliesin, p. 68.

The bards frequently contended with each other for pre-eminence, and their patrons adjudged prizes to the superior genius. An instance of these contentions in the twelfth century, was the competition of Cyndelw with Seisyll, for the chair of Madoc, prince of Powys. The poem in the Welsh Archaiology, p. 210, is upon this struggle. In the fifteenth century these contentions were very unfrequent. In the above passage, Taliesin alludes to those of his times.

[j] Ef laddei oswydd a llafn llymmaf
Mal brwyn yt gwyddynt rac y adaf
Mab Clytno clothir canaf y ty
Or clot heb or heb eithaf. Aneur. p. 9.

My witness is Owen the son of Eulad,
And Gwrien, and Gwyn, and Gwriat.[k]

The following account of the escape of the bard from this destructive battle, may be also noticed as an artless indication of the author of the poem being a contemporary and witness of the scene he narrates:

Men went to Cattraeth; they were notorious.
Wine and mead, from gold, were their liquors:
Three heroes, and three hundred and sixty wearing the golden torques.
They were of those who hastened after excess of liquor.
There escaped only three from the power of their swords.
Two war dogs from Aeron and Cynon,
And I—from my blood-spilling by the value of my blessed muse.

From the passage which I shall next cite, it would seem that Cenau, the son of Llywarch Hên, had once released Aneurin from a prison. In mentioning this warrior, it was very natural that the bard's gratitude should remember and record the incident to which he had been so much indebted; but I do not think that the thought would have occurred to a fraudulent impostor, as the author of the Gododin must have been, if he was not Aneurin:

From the power of the sword, illustrious to protect—
From the fierce prison of earth he brought me;
From the place of death; from an unlovely land,
Cenau, the son of Llywarch, energetic and bold.[m]

The expressions which Aneurin, before this, used concerning the misfortune to which he here alludes, have an appearance of reality unsuitable to imposture:

I am not turbulent, or self-willed;
I will not revenge my destiny—
In the earthy house,
With the iron chain

[k] Pan gryssyei Garadawc y gat
Mal bacdd coet trychwn trychiat
Tarw beddin yn trin gomynyat
Ef lithyci wyd gwn oe anghat
Ys vy nhyst Ewein vab Eulat
A Gwrien a Gwyn a Gwriat. Aneur.

[l] Gwyr a acth Gattraeth buant en wawc
Gwin a med o eur vu eu gwirawd
Blwyddyn yn crbyn wrdyn deawd
Triwyr a thri ugcint a thrichant eurdorchaud
Or saul yt grysiasant uch gormant wiraut
Ny diengci namyn tri o wrhydri ffossawt
Deu gatci Acron a Chenon dayar awt.
A minneu om guaetfreu gwerth vy guennaut. Aneur. 4.

[m] Onerth y cleddyf claer vy hamuc
O garchar anwar daear ym duc
O gyvle angheu o anghar dut
Ceneu vab Llywarch dihafarch drut. Aneur. 8.

About the top of my two knees,
From the mead, from the festive horns,
From the host at Cattraeth.[n]

It would seem, from this passage, that the bard had been taken prisoner at this unfortunate battle.

It would be intruding too long on the patience of the reader, to discuss this subject in its full extent. I will therefore only notice,

5thly, Those allusions which relate to the personal feelings of these bards. Fictitious poems seldom touch on this topic, because it is not easy to counterfeit true feeling. I can still less suspect any one before the twelfth century to have thought of counterfeiting it.

In the poems of Taliesin upon Urien, there is a perpetual expression of gratitude, which is far more likely to be found in a composition addressed to a living patron, whom such sentiments would gratify, than to have been used in forged poetry.

Several of Taliesin's panegyrical odes close with these earnest phrases of attachment. I will cite three:

I also, Taliesin—
May I be blind in age,
Or in the anguish of death,
If I praise not Urien.[o]

In the future severe death of necessity,
May I not be in smiles,
If I praise not Urien.[p]

I am not increasing,
But into age I am departing:
Yet in the severe death of necessity,
May I not be in smiles,
If I praise not Urien.[q]

[n] Nyt wyf vynawc blin
Ni'ddialav vy ordin
Yn y ty deycrin
Catuyn heyernin
Am benn vy deulin
O ved o vuelin
O Gattraeth wnin. Aneur. 7.

[o] A minneu Dalyesin—
Ny dallywyf yn hen
Ym dygyn aghen
Oni moluyf Uryen. Talies. 51.

[p] Ym dygn angeu angen
Ni byddif im dirwen
Na molwyf Uryen. Ibid. 55.

[q] —— Nad wyf cynnydd
Ac yn y fallwyf hen
Ym dygn angeu angen
Ni biddif ym dyrwen
No molwyf Urien.[r] Ibid. 55.

Other expressions of gratitude may be noticed:

There is superior happiness
For the illustrious in fame; for the liberal of praise;
There is superior glory,
That Urien and his children exist,
He reigns the supreme, the sovereign Lord.[r]

Urien of Reged, the most generous that is, and will be;
And that has been since Adam; Urien, of the amplest sword.[s]

Another paragraph on Urien is:

I am an old wanderer—
I am of cheerful talents—
Silence would be envy.
Be mine the praise of Urien.[t]

All these expressions are favourable to the argument of the genuineness of the poetry.

Many personal feelings occur in Llywarch's poetry, which attest their own genuineness. I will cite only a few.

In his elegy on his patron Cynddylan, who fell in battle, he says:

The hall of Cynddylan is gloomy this night;
Without fire; without a family—
My overflowing tears gush out.

The hall of Cynddylan pierces me to see it
Without a covering; without a fire:
My general is dead, and I myself alive.[u]

The self-reproach of the last line is striking! Very natural is the following reflection:

[r] Ys mwy llawenydd
Gan glodfan clodrydd
Ys mwy gogoniant
Fod Urien ai blant
Ae ef yn Arbennig
Yn oruchel wledig. Talies. 55.

[s] Urien o Reget hael ef syd
Ac a vyd
Ac a vu yr Adaf letaf y gled. Ibid. 51.

[t] Wyf carddcnhin hen
Wyf cyfreu lawen
Athaw y dygen
Meu molawd Urien. Ibid. 40.

[u] Ystavell Cynddylan ys tywyll heno
Heb dan heb deulu
Hidyl mau yd gynu
Ystavell Cynddylan a'm gwan ei gweled
Heb doed, heb dan
Marw vy nglyw byw my hunan. Ll. Hen, 114.

Brethren I have had, who were free from evil,
Who grew up like the saplings of the hazel—
One by one they are all departed![v]

In his elegy on his old age, and on the loss of his children, he has many very interesting passages:

Before I appeared on crutches, I was comely:
My lance was the foremost of the spears;
——— I am heavy—I am wretched.[w]

Old age is scoffing at me,
From my hair to my teeth;
And the eye which the young ones loved.[x]

I think there is much beauty in the following image of the helplessness of age:

This leaf, is it not blown about by the wind?
Wo to it for its fate!
Alas! it is old.[y]

There is much nature in the following passages, if we conceive them to have been written by the real Llywarch, whose life extended to a long period:

The four most hateful things to me through life,
Have met together with one accord:
Cough, age, sickness, and grief.
I am aged—I am lonely. I am decrepit—cold—
After having enjoyed the bed of honour.
I am rash—I am outrageous.
They who loved me once, now love me not.
Maidens love me not. I am resorted to by none;
I cannot move myself along—
Ah, death! wilt thou not befriend me![z]

[v] Brodyr ambwyad ni vall
A dyvynt val gwyail coll
O un i un edynt oll. Ll. Hen, 112.

[w] Cyn bum cain vaglawg bum eirian
Oedd cynwayw vy mhar
—— wyv trwm wyv truan. Ibid.

[x] Yn cymmwedd y mae henaint a mi
O'm gwallt i'm daint
A'r cloyn a gerynt yr ieuaint. Ibid. 115.

[y] Y ddeilen hon neus cynnired gwynt
Gwae hi o'i thynged
Hi hen. Ll. 115.

[z] Vy mhedwar priv-gas erymoed
Ymgyvarvyddynt yn unoed
Pas a henaint haint a hoed.

Wyv hen wyv unig wyv anelwig, oer,
Gwedy gwely ceinmyg.

There is much of a genuine appearance in Aneurin's expression of his feelings in this passage:

Miserable am I after the fatigue of the conflict,
To suffer the pangs of death in sensibility!
Twice heavily afflicted am I, to have seen
The falling of our men in all directions,
And to have felt the anxious sigh and grief
For the valiant men of the social land:
For Rhuvaun, for Gwgawn, Gwiawn, and Gwylyget![a]

In Merdhin's Avallenau, there is also much display of natural feelings appropriate to his character. The allusion to his insanity is interesting:

I myself am a wild horrible screamer;
I am pierced with horrors—I am covered by no raiment![b]

The following passages very forcibly display his situation and feelings:

Gwendydd does not love me—she never greets me.
I am hated by the minister of the favours of Rhydderch.
I have ruined his son and his daughter.
Death relieves all—why does it not visit me?[c]

Since Gwenddolau, no prince honours me,
No pleasure allures me, no fair one cheers me;
Yet in the battle of Arderydd I wore the golden torques,
Before I was disastrous to her who has the appearance of the swan.[d]

Wyv ehud wyv anwar
Y sawl a'm caroedd ni'm car
Ni'm car rhiancdd nim cynnired neb
Ni allav ddarymred
Wi o angau na'm dygred. Ll. Hen, 115.

[a] Truan yw gennyf gwedy lluddet
Goddef gloes angheu trwy agcyffret
Ac eil trwm truan gennyf vy gwelet
Gogwddai an gwyr ny pen o draet
Ac ucheneit hir ac eilyuet
Yn ol gwyr pybyr temyr tutuct
Rhuvawn a Gwgawn Gwiawn a Gwylyget.
Aneur. 12.

[b] A minnau wyf gwyllt gorthryfiad
Im cathrudd cythrudd nim cudd dillad.
Merddin, Afall. 151.

[c] Mi nim car Gwenddydd ac nim hennyrch
Wyf cas gan wasawg gwaesaf Ryddyrch
Ry rewiniais iei fab ef ai ferch
Angeu a ddwg pawb pa rag nam cyvairch.
Merd. 152.

[d] A guedi Gwenddoleu neb rhiau nim peirch
Nim gogawn gwarwy nim gofwy gordderch
Ac yngwaith Arderydd oed aur fy ngorthorch
Cyn i bwy aelaw heddiw gan eiliw cleirch.
Ib. 152.

I heard the rumour in the first dawn of the day,
That the minister of the favours of Meuwyd,
Twice, thrice, and four times in one day——
Oh Jesus! why did not my destruction come,
Before it happened to my hand to destroy the son of Gwendydd.[e]

After predicting that Arthur shall re-appear, and Gwenhwyvar be punished, he exclaims,

Worse has befallen me, without hope of deliverance.
The son of Gwendydd is slain—my hand did it.[f]

I will close this head of my subject by remarking what appears to me to be a striking instance of identity of composition in the works of Llywarch Hên. Most authors have a style, a manner peculiar to themselves. The poems of Llywarch Hên display such a peculiarity, and as all of them contain it, I will adduce it as a proof that they all spring from one author, which is a circumstance of no small consideration in the question of their genuineness.

It is a favourite habit with Llywarch Hên, when an idea has occurred to him, which he feels to be interesting, to dwell upon the idea for a considerable time, and to recur to it several times before he leaves it. Thus, in his poem on his age, his attention having been excited by the staff which supported him, he begins seven stanzas successively with an address to it, calling it, "Baglan bren," "my wooden crook." P. 114.

In the poem on his children, which is connected in the MSS. with that on his age, (but in my opinion very improperly, as they are clearly two distinct poems,[g]) the idea of his son Gwen occurs to him. He immediately pursues it for six stanzas, beginning each with his son's name. P. 116.

In his elegy on Cynddylan, he begins fourteen stanzas with his friend's name. The recollection of Cynddylan's hall, and its deserted appearance, in consequence of the prince's fall, afterwards comes into his mind, and he begins several stanzas with allusions to it, as he afterwards alludes to the Eagle of Eli, and the churches of Bassa, p. 108, 109.

In his elegy on Urien, the same practice is observable. He

[e] Chwedleu a gigleu yn nechreuddydd
Rysorri gwassawg gwaesaf Meuwydd
Dwywaith a theirgwaith pedeirgwaith yn undydd
Och Iesu! na ddyfu fy nihcnydd
Cyn dyfod ar fy llaw llaith mab Gwendydd.
Merd. 152.

[f] Gwaeth i mi a ddcrfydd heb ysgorfa
Lleas mab Gwenddydd—fy llaw ai gwna.
Ib. 152.

[g] The poem on his old age contains (I think) only the first twenty stanzas. I think it then ceases, and that what follows is a distinct and separate poem on the loss of his children, which should be printed separately.

describes himself as having the head of Urien at his side, and he repeats the image for thirteen stanzas.

His elegy on Geraint contains twenty-four stanzas, all commencing with one of three phrases. "Rhag Geraint gelyn" introduces three stanzas. "Yn Llongborth gwelais" begins twelve stanzas, and the first line of the next stanza is common to all that follow.

I do not adduce this peculiarity as a poetical beauty. It is certainly not the offspring of taste, or imagination, but is a trait which identifies all these poems to be the works of one author; and this author, from the poems themselves, appears to have been Llywarch Hên. I think I can account for this peculiarity by saying that alliteration was the rage of the Welsh bards, as I shall presently show, and that in this peculiarity Llywarch was striving to show how many varieties of thoughts he could put together under the same idea, and connect with the same words, To begin several stanzas with saying "the hall of Cynddylan," is the same idle play of mind, as to begin several words with the same letters. How much of these practices sprang from the Druidical contrivances to assist their memory while they taught their youths so many verses,[h] without committing them to writing, cannot now be determined.

Aneurin and Merdhin have this habit so much, as to show it to be a characteristic of the poetry of that day. But Llywarch's poems have it to an unexampled excess, which stamps them all with the same mark.

V. On the language of the Bards.

On the language of these bards, it is very favourable to the genuineness of their poems, that though they are written in Welsh, they have not been found intelligible by many modern Welshmen. Evans, who has published an essay on the Welsh poetry, mentions this several times. He says of the Gododin, "by reason of its great antiquity, it is not easily understood," p. 17. Again, "many of Taliesin's poems, on account of their great antiquity, are very obscure, as the works of his contemporaries are," p. 18. In speaking of the poem of another bard of these times, he again complains of the obscurity and difficulty of these venerable remains. p. 49. He says of the best antiquaries and critics in the Welsh language living in his time, that "they all confess that they do not understand above one half of any of Taliesin's poems," p. 54.

The difficulty of understanding these poems, which Evans so strongly states, and which so many Welshmen have felt and

[h] Cæsar says of the Druids, "magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur." —L. vi. c. 13.

lamented, is just what would be found in genuine poems of the sixth century. I adduce it as an attestation of their genuineness. It is not indeed an insuperable difficulty, because the means to overcome it are open to every one. The writings of one age are the best guides to our understanding those of a preceding. They who are conversant with the poems of the fourteenth century, will understand those of the twelfth, and all who have carefully exercised themselves in the compositions of the twelfth century, will, by patient labour, comprehend and read those of the sixth. Dr. Owen Pughe, whose leisure has been devoted to the ancient literature of his country, has facilitated its study to every one by his new dictionary of its language, in which the diction of the old bards is particularly attended to, and illustrated. The circumstance of the difficulty of the language to modern Welshmen, is surely an important feature of genuineness. On this topic, however, it would be indecorous in me not to speak very diffidently. Welshmen are the only competent judges on this curious point.

It is certainly indispensable to the genuineness of these poems,

VI. That their historical allusions should be true.

As far as I have examined these poems, their historical allusions seem to me to be singularly true. I say singularly, because they present none of the fables which we meet with in Jeffrey.

I consider it as a very remarkable circumstance, that the Welsh bards, and the most valuable of the triads, express or imply a train of history very unlike, and sometimes very contradictory to, that of Jeffrey. Such is the difference, that if Jeffrey's facts on many occasions be true, the Welsh bards must be forgeries. If, however, the world be right in its opinion, that Jeffrey is the fabler, then the dissimilarity between him and the bards is a striking circumstance in favour of the poems.

I have alreay observed, that they completely negative the wonderful history of Arthur. In abiding this test, they stand a very severe and perilous one, from which, if they had been fabricated, they could not have escaped.

They present another trying test of their genuineness in their general subjects. If they had been only on love adventures, or love complaints, descriptions of nature, or mere effusions of sentiment, they could not have been examined on these grounds, because such topics may belong to one age, as well as to another. But historical poems on men and incidents contemporary with the bards, are such as forgery can never well execute from the individual minutiæ they require, and by which they can be detected the more easily. Will any one impeach them on this side, which, if they were factitious compositions, would be their weakest?

It would be a task too long for this essay, to show the justice of all the allusions point by point. I will only add some general observations, and wait for the attack before I make the defence.

1. As far as authentic history goes, it proves that there were such persons as those to whom many of these poems are addressed, or who are mentioned in them. I mean Urien, Geraint, Cadwallon, Cynddylan, Cian Gwyngwn, Rhydderch, Gwendolau, Gwen, Cunedda, Aeddan, and others.
2. The British states in the north of the island, which they particularize, or imply, present a curious train of real historical facts.
3. The numerous little independent kingdoms in other parts of the island, which they also imply, and the civil discords to which they allude, were historical facts.
4. Llywarch's elegy on Urien turns chiefly on his murder. That he was assassinated can be proved from other authorities.

An historical objection has been raised against the Welsh bards, to which a mistake gave rise. The objection is, that the Welsh bards call the English, Allmyn.

The objection is this. The term Allmyn obviously corresponds with the Latin Alemanni, but "at the supposed period of the bards, the term Allemanni, and Allemannia, were almost restricted to modern Switzerland." The statement is, that the word passed in late times from the French language into the Armorican, and thence into the Welsh. The inference is, that poems using this word must have been written much posterior to the sixth century, because the term Allemannia was not applied to all Germany till a much more recent period.

The answer is, that the objection does not apply to the four bards I have mentioned, because *none* of them use the term *Allmyn*. It is Golyddan, not Taliesin, who uses the word Allmyn.

Neither Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hên, nor Merdhin, has the word Allmyn. Aneurin, in speaking of the invaders, calls them Saeson. Taliesin has also Saeson, and sometimes Eingl. Sometimes he uses the descriptive name of Alltudion, or foreigners. He once has the word Germania, and once Saxonia. Llywarch has Sais, Saeson, and once Franc. Merdhin has Sacson and Franc in his Avallenau, the only one of his poems that I think free from interpolation.

The objection therefore does not impeach the genuineness of these four bards.

I am not, therefore, under a necessity of saying any more on this subject. But as if it be applicable, it will tend to discredit the poem of Golyddan, of which I think favourably, I will make a few remarks on the subject.

To suppose that the Welsh bard used the term Allmyn as the French use the term Allemands, that is, as the general designation of the German people, or with the full sense of the word in the eighteenth century, is to create a difficulty on purpose to make it an objection. The word, as used by the bard, has no such meaning; and if it has not, the objection is nothing.

The bard, in speaking of the invaders, sometimes calls them Allmyn. This is the simple fact. The only question upon it is, what, or whom does he mean by the term? I will presume that the Latin word Allemanni was in his mind when he used it. But who were the Allemanni, not in the thirteenth century, but in the sixth?

The Allemanni made themselves celebrated by many wars against the Romans and their allies. In 360, and 365, their invasions of Gaul were dreadful, and must have diffused their name in terror through Britain, and every country adjacent.

In 496, they assailed the Francs and Clovis. "From the source of the Rhine to its conflux with the Mein and the Moselle, the formidable swarms of the Allemanni commanded either side of the river. They had spread themselves into Gaul, over the modern provinces of Alsace and Lorraine." Gib. iii. 563.

From this formidable position they invaded the kingdom of Cologne, and the battle of Tolbiac ensued, in which they contended with the Francs for the alternative of empire or servitude. After a long and varying conflict, the Allemanni were totally and irrecoverably defeated. Some fled to other countries, as they who were placed in Rhætia,[i] and with the Ripuarii, and the rest, were subjected to the Francs.

Thus we see that at the end of the fifth century, the great and formidable nation of the Allemanni was humbled for ever. Whether on their conquest by Clovis, any sailed down the Rhine to Britain, as a part travelled to Rhætia, is not stated. But I submit that an indignant British bard would with pleasure use their name to stigmatize the invaders of his country, because in representing them as Allemanni, as those celebrated warriors whom the Francs had at the epoch of the Saxon invasions defeated and dispersed, he strongly exposed them to the contempt of the Britons. Nothing was better fitted to rouse their valour than to have it believed that the invaders were fugitives themselves. Conflicting parties frequently give each other abusive names, which become at last almost historical terms; witness the Cavaliers and Roundheads.

That it was really used as a term of opprobrium, appears to me more probable from the meaning which the Welsh language afforded to the expression. Allmyn signifies foreigners, as well

[i] Marc. ii. 16.

as Allemanni. The most usual name for foreigners, in Welsh, was alltudion, from *all*, another, and *tud*, a country; but the word allmyn has the same import, for *men*, and *man*, is the Welsh for place. Therefore, just as all-tud meant another country; so, all-man, another place, was nearly its synonyme.

In the same spirit Milton applied the word Gallus to Salmasius, because it admitted of other allusions besides its obvious meaning.

I think the passages of Golyddan, in which allmyn is connected with alltudedd prove the pun which he intended to make opprobrious:

Ef gyrhaut allmyn i alltudedd 156.

"He would have driven the foreigners to a foreign place."

So,

Allmyn ar gyrchwyn i alltudydd. 159.

"The foreigners removing to a foreign place."

The word allmyn being understood to denote foreigners as well as Allemanni. Thus it was a contemptuous paronomasia used by an individual, to convey strong opprobrium, and also to give that alliteration to the line, of which the Welsh bards were so fond.

VII. That the manners which they express are consistent.

In the poems of Ossian we certainly meet with an elegance of sentiment, a refined tenderness and delicacy of feeling wholly incompatible with the period to which Ossian is assigned. The Welsh bards may suffer with the cultured taste for the avowal; but certainly this objection cannot be urged against these poems. These bards were warriors, their songs commemorate warriors, and their feelings and sentiments are wholly martial. I believe there is not one tribute to love in the whole series of the ancient ones. Friendship and grief, and gratitude to patrons, occupy many stanzas; but Venus and Cupid have not received a single compliment. All this is very natural for the turbulent and disastrous period in which these poets lived. In more tranquil times, beauty obtained the most elegant wreaths of the Welsh laurel. Love has sighed in Welsh as profusely as in French, and much new imagery, and much originality of sentiment, abound in the bardic poems of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

As this essay is intented to be concise, I will only select three specimens of the reality of the costume of manners which these poems exhibit. Aneurin, in describing Caeog, a British hero, mentions:

Gwefrawr godrwyawr torchawr am ran.

"With wreaths of amber twined round his temples."

This singular fact of the ancient Britons wearing amber beads, is confirmed by many beads of amber being found in the barrows on Salisbury plain, which have been recently dug. I understand that in several of these graves, pieces of amber, like beads, have been met with; and in one, as many beads were found as would have made a wreath. These are in the possession of Mr. Cunnington, of Heytesbury, who has explored many tumuli during last summer, and whose curious museum of British antiquities, as arrowheads, urns, &c. found in these barrows, is highly worthy the notice of the antiquary.[j]

Another part of the British costume which they notice, is the wearing the golden torques. Llywarch mentions it, p. 135:

> Four and twenty sons I have had
> Wearing the golden wreath, leaders of armies.

Aneurin mentions it several times:

> Of all who went to Cattraeth, wearing the golden torc, or wreath,
> On the business of Mynydauc, courteous to his people,
> There went not, among the Britons
> Of Gododin, a man of war superior to Cynon.

He states, that in the battle of Cattraeth there were

> Three hundred and sixty-three who had the golden torques.

In attestation of the reality of this ornament, I cannot do better than cite again from Gibson's Camden the following passage, though it was quoted in the Anglo-Saxon History:

"In 1692, an ancient golden torques was dug up near the Castle of Harlech, in Merionethshire. It is a wreathed bar of gold, or perhaps three or four rods jointly twisted, about four feet long, flexile, but naturally bending only one way, in the form of a hat-band. It is hooked at both ends. It is of a round form, about an inch in circumference, and weighs eight ounces." Gibson's Additions to Camden, p. 658, Edit. 1695.

I consider the use of mead, which is mentioned in several of the poems as the drink of their feasts, and of horns as the drinking-vessels, as circumstances of consistent manners: so are the allusions to transmigration, which abound in Taliesin, and many appropriate traits in Aneurin and Llywarch. But on this point I ask the adversaries of the poems to make out objections.

VIII. That the form and composition of the poems suit their period.

If they exhibited a complex, or even a regular epic fable, or any mode of arrangement that critical rules would approve; if

[j] In one barrow were found beads of amber and jet of various sizes, but corresponding with two horn rings, to which the strings that tied them were probably appended. Wreaths of this sort are also described in Douglass's Nenia Britannica.

they were dressed in an elegant costume, or betrayed any skilful polish of manners or sentiment, we might have some room for suspicion. But they have nothing of this sort; they are as inartificial, as humble in design, and as rude in execution, as scepticism could desire. They show us the real wilderness of nature, with all the discordant mixture of occasional fecundity and intervening aridity. Flowery meads, and cheerless heaths; bursts of light, and the most chilling gloom perpetually succeed each other, without any careful disposition, or judicious contrast. They display no order but that of the natural association of such ideas as they express. If they sing of battles, the heroes are praised without art, and the conflicts are described without method. Not a trace of the fine models of Greece or Rome, not a single imitation of their imagery or their poetical architecture can be discerned. They are just such compositions as such bards, in such an age, would be expected to write. Many traits of glowing poetry abound. Much of the inspired bard will be seen, but no contrivance, no taste, no delicacy, no art, no polish. The Gododin of Aneurin, the longest of the poems, is a very distinguished monument of antiquity, and its internal evidence is peculiar and strong. It is not of easy construction, because its text is much injured; and because it contains much lyrical measure, intermixed with the full heroic rhyme, and with the singular ornaments of Welsh poetry, of which I shall hereafter speak. The expressions are oftentimes very concise, its transitions very rapid and frequent, its diction strong and figurative; and sometimes made more difficult by the peculiar compound words in which the poet indulges, and which the Welsh language with great facility admits. Though a heroic poem of 920 lines with one subject, it exhibits a strong character of genuine unpolished irregularity. It hath no elegant and artful introduction or invocation: the bard was a warrior, and had fought in the conflict he describes. He was commemorating friends and fellow-soldiers; he had to state what he saw; there is therefore no reflective and refined address. He bursts at once into his subject, and begins it with describing not his plan or purpose, but one of his heroes.

From its genuineness it has also no regular, well-disposed fable; no careful concatenation of events, no well-placed or skilfully contrasted incidents; the poem is like a real native forest, wild, impressive, and picturesque, but very devious and irregular. It is rather poetic memoranda of a disastrous conflict, penned by a friend, who had witnessed its events in all the confusion in which they had occurred, than a well-conceived, and artfully arranged series of individual conflicts, like the poems of Homer, which though genuine, as to the author, yet contain incidents which the poet's invention has arranged as it pleased.

The Gododin abounds with strong and frequent bursts of feeling highly natural to its alleged author, but which are not so likely to have been shown in a forged poem, where the author would have to support an artificial character. One topic of this sort which pervades the poem, is that incident which occasioned the loss of the battle; I mean the inebriety of the Britons: to this the bard is perpetually alluding. As he notices the friends who fell around, he cannot drive from his memory the chief cause of their calamity: this was extremely natural.

The poem suddenly opens with the presence of a mounted warrior, whom the bard contemplates and describes:

Gredyv was a youth
Vigorous in the tumult.
A swift, thick-maned steed,
Was under the thighs of the fair youth.
A shield light and broad,
Hung on the slender fleet courser.
His sword was blue and shining;
Golden spurs and ermine adorned him.[k]

But the poet contemplates him only to sing his elegy; from the next lines we find Gredyv was one of the victims of the day.

It is not for me,
To envy thee.
I will do nobler to thee;
In poetry I will praise thee.
Alas! sooner will the bloody bier arrive,
Than nuptial festivity.
Sooner will the ravens have food,
Than the dear friend of Owen
Enjoy a family.
Perishing in his abode under the ravens
Is the courser, by the valley,
Where the son of Marco was slain.[l]

[k] Gredyf gwr oed gwas
Gwhyr am dias
Meireh mwth myngvras
Y dan mordhuyt mygr was
Ysguyt ysgafn llydan
Ar bedrein mein buan
Cledyvawr glas glan
Ethy aur a phan.

[l] Ny bi ef a vi
Cas y rhof a thi
Gwell gwnaf a thi
Ar wawt dy voli
Cynt i waet clawr
No gyt i neithiawr
Cynt y uwyd i vrein
Noc yr argynrein
Cu cyveillt Euein
Cwl y vot y dan vrein
March ym pa vro
Ladd un mab Marco.

From this warrior, the bard turns immediately to commemorate another, who appears to have been a great favourite, as many stanzas are devoted to him:

Caeawg instantly the foremost wherever he came,
The portion of mead from the chief lady had held—
The point of his shield was pierced. When he heard
The shout, he gave no protection. He pressed on,
Nor did he retire from the battle when the blood flowed around.
Like rushes he cut down the men. He would not depart.
The Gododin relates not on the ground of Mordai
Before the tents of Madoc when he returned,
The return of more than one in a hundred.
Caeawg the overwhelmer, raised his spear;
He was like the attack of an eagle on the strand when allured.
His promise was a token; most beloved.
He nobly executed his purpose: he retreated not
From the army of Gododin. He lay hid—
Valiant to urge the conflict, he was exalted in it.
But neither his figure nor his shield preserved him;
He was not able to survive the excessive bruises
From the blows of the embattled host.
Caeawg the leader, with the countenance of a wolf,
With amber wreaths twined over his eyebrows.
Fatal was the amber, the ornament of the banquet.
Oh! that he had disdained the strife of the wallowing men;
When Gwyned came to the north to share
The counsel of the son of Ysgyran.
Caeawg the leader, armed in the shout,
Though he is not now the hero ardent for deeds of blood,
To share in opening the front of the arrayed forces,
He overthrew five bands before his blade.
Of the men of Deira and Bernicia, the dreadful ones!
Twenty hundred of these perished in an hour!
Ah! sooner shall the wolf have flesh than thou a wedding;
Sooner shall the raven have prey than thou repose again.
Sooner shall the hurdle come with the mangled from the bloody earth.—
This was the dismal price of the mead in the pale disastrous hour.
And yet by the skilful he shall be extolled, while there exists a singer.[m]

[m] Caeawc cynhaiawc men y dehai
Diphun ymlaen bun medd a dalhei
Twll tal i rodawr yn y elywei
Aur ni roddei naud meint dilynei
Ny chyliei o gamhawn yn y verei
Waet mal brwyn gomynai gwyr nyt elhei
Nys adrawdd Gododin ar lawr mordei
Rac pebyll Madawc pan atcor ei
Namyn un o gant yn y delei
Caeawc Cynnyvint eyvlat erwyt
Ruthyr Eryr yn y lyr pan lithiwyt
Yamot a vu not a garwyt
Gwell a wnaeth y arvacth ny giliwyt
Rac bedin Ododin o deehwyt
Hyder gymmell ar vreithell vanawyt
Ny nodi nac ysgeth nag ysgwyt
Ny ellir anet rhy vaethuwyt
Rac ergit cadfannau catwyt

The fate of these two heroes, occasions him to advert to the cause. He proceeds to mention that the Britons had been feasting too plentifully before the battle:

The warriors went to Gododin full of laughter,
To bitter conflict with the clashing swords.—
Short interval of joy indeed!
The son of Botgard lamented it.—Manly was his arm.
But they went in a mass. Their punishment was complete
Both old and young—the bold and the powerful.—
The certain death of the conflict pierced them.
The warriors went to Gododin a laughing phalanx,
Soon the embattled host rose against them, in unlovely contest.
They flew with blades shining, without din,
The puissant column with spears alive, moved on.
They went to Cattraeth.—Loquacious were their hosts,
Pale mead had been their feast, and was their poison.
Three hundred with machines were in array.
But what a calm succeeded to their joy?
They went in a mass, their punishment was complete;
The certain death of the conflict pierced them through.[n]

Caeawc cynhorawc bleidc maran
Gwefrawr godrwyawr torchawr am ran
Bu guefraur gucrthvaur guerth gwinvan
Ef gwrthodes gwrys gwyr discrein
Yt dyffci Wyned a gogledd ei rann
O gyssul mab ysgyran
Ysgwyd wr ancyfan
Caeawc cynhorawc arvawc yggawr
Cyn od iw y gwr gwrd eggwyawr
Cyvran yn racwan rac bydinawr
Cwydei pym pymunt rac y llafnawr
O wyr Dewyr a Bryneich dychrawr
Ugeincant eu divant yn unawr
Cynt y gig y vleid nog yt e neithiawr
Cynt e vud y vran noc yt y elawr
Cyn noe argyurein c waet y lawr
Gwerth med ynghcyntcdh gan liwed awr
Kyneid hir ermygir tra vo cerdawr.

[n] Gwyr a aeth Ododin chwerthin ognaw
Chwerwyn trin a llain yn ymduliaw
Byrr vlyned yn hed udynt yndaw
Mab Botgat gunaeth guynyeth gunith e law
Cyt eiwynt y lanneu y benytyaw
A hcn a ieueing a hydyr a allaw
Dadyl diheu angeu yn eu treiddiaw
Gwyr a aeth Ododin chwerthin wanar
Digynny ei emm bydin trin diachar
Wy ledi a llavnawr eb vawr drydar
Colovn glywr reithvyw rodi arwar
Gwyr a aeth Gattraeth ocd ffraeth y lu
Glasved eu hancwyn ac gwcnwyn vu
Trychant trwy beiriant yn cattau
A gwedy elwch tawelwch vu
Cyt elwynt y lanncu y benytu
Dadyl dieu angeu y eu treudu

These are the first seventy-three lines of the Gododin, and will serve as sufficient specimen of its style and character.

The name of Aneurin has stood very high in the estimation of his countrymen: but all human greatness is relative. The luminary of the sixth century, which shone with transcendent lustre in a rude country, where all around was dark and dreary, will appear but a cloudy orb, when it is presented to our notice in the noontide radiance of modern intellect. We must not approach the ancient Welsh bards as the competitors for the wreath of a Pindar or a Gray. These poets were the offspring of highly cultivated ages; while the ancient Welsh bards were but the descendants of rude ancestors, possessed indeed, for centuries, of the singular institution of Druidism or Bardism, but yet composing for a barbarous people, and confined to the narrow benefit of a local education.

Whoever reads these very ancient poems with attention, will be struck with a very great disparity between their versification and the intellect they display. The versification is formed on one of the most peculiar, difficult, and artificial systems conceivable, and it is executed as elaborately as it was designed.

To instance only from the Gododin—

One of the practices by which its versification was governed, was rhyme. This is essential to the poetry. All the poems of the ancient bards are rhymed at the end of the line; nor is the rhyming in couplets, which is comparatively easy, but the same rhyme is carried on for several lines. Thus in these final rhymes in p. 1.

dehai	erwyt	maran
dalhei	lithiwyt	am ran
clywei	garwyt	gwinvan
dilynei	giliwyt	discrein
verei	dechwyt	rann
elhei	vanawyt	ysgyran
mordei	ysgwyt	angcyfan
atcorei	vaethuwyt	
delei	catwyt	

The same rhyme is sometimes carried on to great length, In p. 9, there are twenty-three lines together rhyming with *in:* and in p. 7, there are eighteen lines in *enn.*

But besides these final rhymes, they also studied to introduce other rhyming syllables dividing the words of every line. Thus,

Cae*awc* cynhai*awc* men y dehai
Di*phun* ymlaen *bun* medd a dalhei

This practice was sometimes extended to three rhymes in the line, as

Gwef*rawr* Godrwy*awr* torch*awr* am ran—
Blwydd*yn yn* erb*yn* ur*dyn* deawd—
Dadyl di*eu* an*geu* y *eu* treudu—

In all these examples the rhymes are on final syllables.

In addition to these difficult peculiarities, was also the habit of alliteration; or of making two or more words in the line begin with the same letter. Thus in the first line,

Gredyf gwr oed gwas.

In the third and fourth,

Meirch mwth myngvras
Y dan mordhuyt mygr was.

Sometimes it was used profusely, as in this line,

Bu bwyt brein bu bud y yran.

These alliterations are almost as incessant as their final rhymes.

Nor were they content with confining their alliterations to the commencing letter, but they often extended them to syllables, making a sort of alliterative rhymes. Thus in two lines,

Bu *gue*fraur *gue*rthvawr *gue*rth gwinvan
Ef *gwr*thodes *gwrys gwyr* discrein.

Sometimes it happened, or was contrived, that the same line should exhibit the commencing alliterative rhymes, and the final syllable rhymes.

Mab Botgat *guaneth guanyeth gu*nith e law
Ny mynws *gwrawl gwydawl* chwegrwn.

In selecting these difficulties of the ancient Welsh versification, I state those only which struck me as an Englishman. I believe there are many other niceties, perceptible and precious to Welsh bards and critics.

That such slavish attention to the incessant consonancy of syllables, could never be exercised without a sacrifice of the most valuable qualities of poetic thought, must be felt by all to whom the lays of Parnassus are familiar. I was therefore not surprised, to find the works of the Welsh bards, beneath my expectations as poems. But I must pay the tribute due to the genius of Aneurin, to say, that notwithstanding the oppressive trammels in which he marched; and notwithstanding the gloom, disasters, and confusion of the period in which he lived, his Gododin has many passages which for glowing expression, striking metaphor, genuine feeling, and poetic imagery, must please and interest in every age.

My opinion of the *poetry* of Taliesin's works, is by no means consistent with his general fame. His power of versification indeed, excites my surprise; it seems to have been as easy for him to rhyme in all sorts of measures, as for others to write prose, and he introduces frequently, even in his shortest measures, the peculiarities of bardic consonancy. Some of his poems are in

what I would call the full heroic rhyme, like the Mead Song already quoted, (p. 512,) others in short rhymed metres of various lengths. But though he was certainly accomplished in all the arts of bardic versification, he is not very distinguished for genuine poetry of thought and imagery. Sometimes indeed the poet bursts out, as in the following description of the gleam of the steel points of weapons, which is very original and picturesque:

I saw mighty men,
Who thronged together at the shout!
I saw blood on the ground,
From the assault of swords.
They ting'd with blue the wings of the dawn,
When they threw off the ashen spears.[o]

Several passages of this sort may be found, but he has not always much connection of subject, and very often much bardic mythology appears. This is in nothing more conspicuous than in his allusions to his own transmigrations. As this is a curious subject, I will detain the reader's attention for a short time upon it.

Among the Welsh remains is a MS. of poetical triads. The MS. has been entitled, Barddas; or, the Book of Bardism, or, Cyvrinac Beirdd Ynys Prydain. The triads were collected together at different periods.[p] Some of them state the bardic doctrines about the metempsychosis. These triads of course,

[o] Gweleis wyr gorsawr
A Ddygyrchynt awr
Gweleis waed ar llawr
Rhag rhwthr cleddysawr
Glesynt esgwyll gwawr
Esgorynt yn waewawr. Talies. p. 40.

[p] That the reader may have some idea of the book from which I am going to quote, I think it right to insert some extracts from its prefaces, with which Mr. Owen has favoured me.

The book was last transcribed and revised by Edward Davydd, who died 1690. His original MS. is yet extant, in the library of Llan Haran, in Glamorganshire, now the property of Mr. Turberville. The collection was made before him, by Llywelyn Sion who flourished in 1580, and died in 1616. I will give a translation of a part of the Welsh preface of D. Davydd, and after that some extracts from the preface of the former collector, Llywelyn Sion; Mr. Owen has only added, in parentheses, the dates of the persons and things mentioned therein.

E. Davydd's Advertisement.

"Arranged by Edward Davydd, of Margam, in Morganwg, out of the books of bards and learned teachers, lest the materials should become lost; and more particularly the books of Meiryg Davydd, (1560, presd.) Davydd Llwyd Mathew, (1580, disc.) Davydd Benwyn, (1560 presd.) and Llywelyn Sion of Llangewyz, (1560, disc. and presd. 1580,) who were bards graduated of the chair, according to the privilege and custom of the bards of the Isle of Britain; chiefs of science, under the authority of the county and sovereign of all the lordships of Morganwg, Gwent, and Euas.

"This arrangement was adjudged to be just, according to the primitive character

only prove that the bards of the middle ages had these notions, but it is highly probable, that what they believed on this point,

of vocal song, and the usage of the primitive bards of the Isle of Britain; and was sanctioned in the congress of vocal song, held at Bewpyr Castle, in Morganwg, on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Whitsuntide, in the year 1681, under the protection of Sir Richard Basset, Knight, Lord of the place, and under the proclamation and notice of a year and a day, through Morganwg, Gwent, and Euas.

"The chiefs of song there, were Charles Bwttwn, Esq. Davyz ir Nant, (1680, presd.) Edward Davyz, of Margam, (1620, disc. 1660 presd.): associated with them were the following poets and bards, according to the privilege and custom of the Isle of Britain, being teachers of critical judgment:

"And this, in the name of God, and all Good.

"Hywel. Lewys
John Roberts
Thomas Lewys
Davydd Edward
Sion Padam
Morgan Grufydd
Dav. Ivan Sion
Charles Dav. Mercdydd
Hopcin Llywelyn
Llcision Evan
Jenkin Richards
Bleddyn Sion
Samuel Jones, Clerk."

Beginning of Edward Davydd's Preface.

"As I have from my youth taken a delight in the study of bardism, and to search the books of the bards and the best teachers, and more especially the books of the oldest bards of Wales; and also considering the injunctions given to the bards in the congress of Caerdyv, (1620,) which was held in the castle there, through the protection, license, and command of the Lord William Herbert, that they should search out, and establish anew the old order and regulation of the art of song and its relations, and as to the privileges and customs of the bards of the Isle of Britain, I fully gave up myself to the enterprise of trying whether I could contribute any kind of benefit to the design."

Extracts from the Preface of Llywelyn Sion, o Langewydd.
(1580, disc. Died, 1616.)

"The authors, teachers, and judges who sanctioned this system and code, were the Druids and bards, after they had come to the faith in Christ; and they composed on the nine canons, that is, the nine primary principles of vocal song, and on the recurrent pause, the hupyrt and warrior triplet, which were with them metres of authority. Afterwards came Ancurin, Taliesin, Merddin, and others, who were primary bards of the Isle of Britain, who gave unanimous judgment with respect to song, and formed additional metres from the nine primary canons, namely, the two Toddaids, Englyn, Proest, Triban Cyrç, Llostawdyl, Clogyrnaç, and Cyngog; and afterwards were devised all the other metres, until they formed twenty-four in number, each of which originated from a particular and different character, irrelevant to the principles of each other; and more than that number, of such a nature, there cannot be of metrical principles.

"In the congress of Caermarthen, (1450,) heterogeneous principles were introduced into the system, by the pertinacity of Dawydd ab Edmwnd. This induced Gwilym Tew, (1460, presd.) Iouan ab Hywel Swrdwal, (1430, disc.) and J. Getthin, ab J. ab Llcision, (1430, pres.) to oppose such an innovation, and they proclaimed a congress under the notice of a year and a day, to be held on the mountain of Garth Maelog, and in addition to that, they obtained the authority of the country, and Lord Richard Nevill, as the lord paramount of Morganwg; and in that congress the bards of Morganwg, Gwent, and Euas, entered their protest, and repelled the regulation of Caermarthen, as repugnant to the privileges and customs of the bards of the Isle of Britain. From that time forwards, the three provinces before mentioned, maintained by one consent, their primitive regulation of science, and after-

they derived from their ancestors, and as we know that the Druids believed in transmigration, we may consider them as the source of the opinions.

They mention three regions of existence, which it is very curious to observe, they denominate cylchau, or circles.[q]

In the *cylch y Ceugant*, or the circle of the all-enclosing circle, there was nothing either alive or dead but God (Duw), and he only could pervade it. The circle of *Gwynvyd*, or felicity, is that which men are to pervade after they have passed through their terrestrial changes. But the circle of *Abred*, or evil, is that in which human nature passes through those varying stages of its existence, which it must undergo, before it is qualified to inhabit the circle of felicity.

All animated beings have three states of existence to pass through. The state of Abred, or evil in Annwn, or the great deep; the state of freedom, in the human form, and the state of love, which is happiness, in the nev, or heavens. All beings but God, must therefore undergo three angen, or necessities: they must have a beginning in Annwn, or the great deep: a progression in Abred, or in the state of evil, and a completion in the circle of felicity in heaven.

In the evil state of Abred there are three angen, or necessities. There must be *existence* in its least possible degree, which is its commencement. There must be the *matter* of every thing, from which proceeds increase, or progression of existence, which

wards was obtained the authority for an exclusive congress for these three districts, through the grant of King Henry the Seventh. In the congresses that were held by virtue of this authority, it was given in judgment, and established as a rule, that the old system, with its regulation and principles of science should be maintained; and from that time to this, there had been continued in Morganwg a complete opposition to the regulation of Caermarthen; with an injunction upon the members to search out the ancient practice and regulation of science. But there were not then nearly so many metres in use, because they were not had in common practice; afterwards, however, many were found out, as may be seen in the books of Gwilym Tew, and William Edwad, who were bards of the chair of Morganwg. Since then Lewys Morganwg, (1500, dised. & presc. 1520,) has written amply and more explicitly respecting the metres and the nature of their composition in his book of bardism. Subsequent to this, the bards of the three districts were summoned together in the castle of Caerdyv, under the protection and license of the Lord William Herbert, where a congress was held, (1529,) wherein judgment was given, with order and regulation of the science of song.

"Some time afterwards, Meiryg Davydd, (1520, dised. 1560, presd. died, 1600,) compiled a book of bardism to his lord, Sir Edward Lewys, of the Van, in which there is seen a faithful view of the art of song, as to its nature and design. This book, I Llywelyn Sion o Langewydd, obtained; and from it I extracted nearly all that is in this book, except the verses by way of exemplifications, which I collected from here and there, out of books, and from different bards, and composed some myself, as well as I could; and in this book of my compiling is seen the system of Morganwg as to vocal song, and its various relations."

[q] We cannot avoid recollecting here, that the great Druidical temples of Stonehenge and Avebury, the smaller remains in Cornwall, that formerly in Jersey, now removed to Lord Conway's park, and others, exhibit *circles* of stones, as the essential form of their structure.

cannot be in the other states; and there must be the *forms* of all things, whence discriminating individuality.

The three necessary causes of the state of Abred, are to collect the matter of every nature, to collect the knowledge of every thing, and to collect power to destroy Gwrth, (the opposing,) and Cythraul,[r] and to divest ourselves of evil. Unless every state of being be thus passed through, there can be no perfection.

The three chief infelicities attached to the state of Abred are, that we incur necessity, oblivion and death; and these things are the divine instruments for subduing evil (drwg), and Cythraul. The deaths which follow our changes are so many escapes from their power.

Humanity must necessarily suffer, change, and choose, and as it has the liberty of choosing, its sufferings and changes cannot be foreseen.

In passing through the changes of being, attached to the state of Abred, it is possible for man, by misconduct, to fall retrograde into the lowest state from which he had emerged.

There are three things which will inevitably plunge him back into the changes of Abred. Pride; for this he will fall to Annwn, which is the lowest point at which existence begins. Falsehood, which will re-plunge him to Obryn,[s] and Cruelty, which will consign him to Cydvil:[t] from these he must proceed again in due course, through changes of being, up to humanity.

From this exposition, we see that the Bardic transmigration was from Annwn, through the changes of Abred to the felicity of heaven. These changes never ended till man had fitted himself for heaven. If his conduct in any one state, instead of improving his being, had made it worse, he fell back into a worse condition, to commence again his purifying revolutions.

Humanity was the limit of the degraded transmigrations. All the changes above humanity were felicitating.

To acquire knowledge, benevolence, and power, is the object of the human state; and these, as they require liberty and choice, cannot be attained in any state previous to humanity. Knowledge, benevolence, and power, are the arms by which Drwg and Cythraul are to be subdued. Humanity is the scene of the contest.

I will now only add, that to have traversed every state of animated existence, to remember every state and its incidents, and to be able to traverse every state that can be desired for the sake

[r] Cythraul is the British name for the devil. It means the destroying principle. It may have been derived from the ancient mythology of the nation: I have therefore preserved the name in the text.

[s] Obryn literally means "something nearly equivalent." It therefore implies a degraded transmigration adequate to the fault committed.

[t] This literally means "a corresponding animal," or a transmigration into some ferocious animal.

of experience and judgment, is that consummation which can only be attained in the circle of felicity. In this circle man will be still undergoing rotations of existence, but happy ones, because God only can endure the eternities of the circle of infinity without changing. Man's happy changes in the circle of felicity, will exhibit perpetual acquisition of knowledge, beautiful variety, and occasional repose.[u]

He may visit again the scenes of humanity for his pleasure, but cannot incur any moral depravity.

Such is the bardic doctrine of transmigration, as it appears in the Book of Bardism. How far it transmits the tenets of the druids on this subject, or what modifications Christianity introduced, cannot now be ascertained.

By recollecting this doctrine of transmigrations we may understand many passages of Taliesin. His Hanes Taliesin is a recital of his pretended transmigrations; and when we read in his other poems, that he has been in various animal shapes, as a serpent,[v] a wild sow, a buck, or a crane, and such like, we must call to mind, that those scenes of existence in Abred, which were between Annwn and humanity, were the changes of being in the bodies of different animals. One great privilege of the being who was far advanced in his progression to the circle of felicity was, to remember all the states through which he had passed. Taliesin seems to have been eager to establish his claims to such a successful probation. He is perpetually telling us what he has been. Oblivion was one of the curses of Abred; the recovery of memory was a proof that Drwg and Cythraul began to be overcome. Taliesin therefore as profusely boasts of his recovered reminiscence, as any modern sectary can do of his state of grace and election.

There is so much of Taliesin's poetry which no one can understand, that I cannot but place him, in point of intrinsic merit, below the other bards, although, in the estimation of his countrymen, he seems to have been ranked in a superior class.

His Cad Goddeu, the Battle of the Trees, is eminently incomprehensible, and so are others. That I may not be thought to condemn him unjustly, I will beg leave to present the reader with his poem, called Preiddeu Annwn, the Spoils of Annwn. If its allusions are at all historical, they are too much involved in mythology to be comprehended. In his Mead Song, there is a

[u] Copious extracts from the Book of Bardism, which contains these tenets, may be found at the end of the second volume of Mr. Edward Williams's poems, with translations. I cannot speak of this gentleman without mentioning his talents with high respect; nor without recommending him earnestly to the attention of his wealthy countrymen. His age enforces the claims of his genius.

[v] Wyf sarph, p. 27—bum bwch—bum banhwch—bum garan, p. 44.

connected train of thought. In the following poem, all connection of thought seems to have been studiously avoided.[w]

PREIDDEU ANNWN.

Praise to the Lord, supreme ruler of the high region,[x]
Who hath extended his dominion to the shores of the world.
Complete was the prison of Gwair in Caer Sidi,
Through the anger of Pwyll and Pryderi,

[w] It is, however, fair to remark, that if the Mabinogion and all the Welsh remains were to be accurately studied, it is probable, that enough might be gathered from them to elucidate some of the allusions of Taliesin to the opinions, tales, and traditions of his day. This would make intelligible many passages now obscure.

[x] Golych wledig pendefig gwad ri
Pe ledas y pennaeth tros draeth mundi
Bu cywair carehar Gwair ynghaer Sidi
Trwy dybostol Pwyll a Phryderi.
Neb cyn nog ef nid aeth iddi
Yr gadwyn dromlas cywirwas ai cedwi
A rhac Prieddieu Annwn tost y geni
Ac yd frawd parahawd yn barddwedi
Tri lloneid prydwen ydd aetham ni iddi
Nam saith ny dyrraith o Gaer Sidi
Neud wyf glod geymyn eerdd o chlywir
Ynghaer Pedryfan pedyr y chwelyd
Ynghynueir or pair pan leferid
O anadl naw morwyn goehynnessid
Neu pair pen annwfn pwy *uynud*
Gwrym am ei oror a Mererid
Ni beirw bwyd llwrf ni rydyngid
Kleddyf lluch lleawc iddaw rhyddychid
Ac yn llaw Lleminawg ydd edewid
A rhag drws porth Uffern llugyrn lloscid
A phan aetham ni gan Arthur trafferth ilethrid
Namyn saith ni ddyrraith o Gear Vediuid
Neud wyf glod geimyn eerdd glywanawr
Ynghaer Pedryfan Ynys Pybyrddor
Echwydd a Muchydd cymysgettor
Gwin gloyw eu gwirawd rhag ei gosgordd
Tri lloneid Prydwen ydd aetham ni ar for
Namyn saith ni ddyryraith o Gaer Rigor
Ni obrynaf lawyr llen llywiadur
Tra chaer wydr ni welsynt wrhyd Arthur
Tri ugeint canhwr a sefi ar y mur
Oedd anawdd ymadrawdd ai gwiliadur
Tri lloneid Prydwen yd aeth gan Arthur
Namyn saith ni ddyrraith o Gaer Goludd
Ni obrynaf i lawyr llaes eu eylchwy
Ny wyddant hwy py ddydd peridydd pwy
Py awr ym meinddydd y ganed Cwy
Pwy gwnaeth ar nid aeth dolau Defwy
Ny wddant hwy yr yeh brych bras ei benrhwy
Seith ugein eygwn yn ei aerwy
A phan aetham ni gan Arthur afrddwl gofwy
Namyn saith ni ddyrraith o Gaer Vandwy
Ni obrynaf lwyr llaes ei gevyn
Ni wddant py ddydd peridydd pen
Py awr ym meinddydd y ganed perchen
Py fil a gatwant ariant y pen
Pan aetham ni gan Arthur afrddwl gynhen

No one before him went to it.
A heavy blue chain held the faithful youth,
And before the spoils of Annwn gloomily he sings:
And till doom shall continue in his lay.
Thrice the fulness of Pridwen, we went into it.
Except seven, none returned from Caer Sidi.

Am I not a candidate for fame to be heard in the song?
In Caer Pedryfan, four times revolving,
In the first word from the caldron when it was expressed
From the breath of nine damsels it began to be warmed.
Is it not the caldron of the chief of Annwn, in its fashion
A ridge round its edge of pearls!
It will not boil the food of a coward not sworn
A sword bright flashing to him was brought
And in the hand of Llaminawg was left,
And before the passage of the gate of Uffern (or hell)
The horns of light were burning.
And when we went with Arthur, in his labours like lightning,
Except seven, none returned from Caer Vedivid.

Am I not a candidate for fame in the song to be listened to?
In Caer Pedryvan, in the isle of Pybyrddor,
The twilight and the jet of night moved together,
Bright wine their beverage before their hosts;
Three times the fulness of Prydwen we went on the sea,
Except seven, none returned from Caer Rhegor.

I will not have merit from the multitude with the ensign of the governor;
Beyond Caer Wydr they beheld not the prowess of Arthur;
Three times twenty hundred men stand on the wall,
He will be unprotected who converses with its sentinel.
Three times the fulness of Prydwen we went with Arthur,
Except seven, none returned from Caer Coludd.

I will not have merit from the multitudes with trailing shield,
They knew not on what day, or who caused it,
Nor what hour in the splendid day Cwy was born;
Nor who made that he went not to the meanders of Defwy:
They knew not the brindled ox, with his thick headband,
Seven score knobs in his collar.
And when we went with Arthur of mournful memory,
Except seven, none returned from Caer Vandwy.

I will not have merit from the multitudes of drooping courage;
They knew not what day the chief was caused,
Nor what hour in the splendid day the owner was born;

Namyn saith ni ddyrraith a Gaer Ochren
Mynaich dychnud fal cunin cor
O gyfranc uddydd ai Gwiddanhor
Ai un hynt gwynt ai un dwfr mor
Ai un ufel tan twrwf diachor
Myneich dychnud fal bleiddawr
O gyfranc uddydd ai gwyddyanhawr
Ni wddant pan ysgar deweint a gwawr
Neu wynt pwy hynt pwy ei rynnawdd
Py *va* ddifa py dir a plawdd
Bed Sant yn ddifant o bet allawr
Golychaf i wledig pendefig mawr
Na bwyf trist Crist am gwaddawl. P. 45.

What animal they keep of silver head.
When we went with Arthur of mournful contention;
Except seven, none returned from Caer Ochren.
Monks pack together like dogs in the choir,
From their meetings with their witches;
One has the course of the wind, one the water of the sea,
One the burning of the fire, of unbounded tumult.

Monks pack together like wolves,
From their meetings with their witches,
They know not when the twilight and the dawn divide.
Nor what the course of the wind, nor who agitates it,
In what place it dies, on what region it roars,
The grave of the saint vanishing from the foot of the altar.
I will pray to the Lord the great Supreme,
That I be not wretched—may Christ be my portion.[y]

Could Lycophron or the Sibyls, or any ancient oracle be more elaborately incomprehensible?

In his historical poems Taliesin is more level to our perceptions.

When he sounds his harp in praise of Urien we can understand and applaud the lay. I will give a specimen of this in his

DADOLWCH URIEN.

The Reconciliation with Urien.

Be the lion the most implacable![z]
I will not revile him.

[y] See a note on this poem in the Appendix.

[z] Lleu uydd echassaf
Mi nyw dirmygaf
Urien yd gyrehaf
Iddaw yd ganaf
Pan ddel fyngwaeslaf
Cynwys a gaffaf
Or part hgoreuhaf
Y dan eilassaf
Nid mawr nim dawr
Byth gwehelcith a welaf
Nid af attadynt ganthynt ni byddaf
Ni ehyfarehaf fi gogledd
Ar mei teyrnedd
Cyn pei am laweredd
Y gwelwn gynghwystledd
Nid rhaid ym hoffedd
Urien nim gommedd
Llwyfenydd diredd
Ys meu eu rheufedd
Ys meu y gwyledd
Ys meu y llaredd
Ys meu y deliedeu
Ai gorefrasseu
Medd o fauleu
A da dieisieu
Gan deyrn golau
Haelaf rygigleu
Teyrnedd pob Iaith

But Urien I will approach,
And to him I will sing.
When he who is my assurance comes,
I shall obtain superintendence,
Of the most excellent part,
Under the flow of melody.
The endless lineage which I see
Concerns me not much;
I shall not go to them nor be with them,
I will not address myself to the north,
But to my sovereigns
First, if there should be multitudes about
That I might see mutual pledging;
Their affection is not necessary to me,
For Urien will not refuse me
The lands of Llwyfenydd.
Mine will be their riches,
Mine will be their wilds,
Mine will be their produce,
Mine will be their beauties;
And their luxuries,
Mead out of bugles,
And good inexhaustible,
From a splendid prince.
The most generous that has been heard of
The kings of every language,
To thee are all captive.
For thee there will be mourning when thy death shall be certain,
Whilst it would menace me.
After possession I will declare,
That there was none I could better love;
As far as I could know.
At times I behold
The extent of what I shall obtain.
Excepting to God most high,
I will not renounce
Thy royal sons
The most generous of men.
Their shafts resound

It oll ydynt gaith
Rhagot yt gwynir ys dir dy olaith
Cydef mynnasswn
Gwedy helu henwn
Nid oedd wel a gerwn
Hyd ys gwybyddwn
Weithian y gwelaf
Y meint a gaffaf
Namyn y Duw uchaf
Nis dioferaf
Dy deyrn Veibon
Haelaf dynedon
Wy canau eu hysgyron
Yn nhiredd eu galon
Ac yn y vallwyf hen
Ym dygyn angeu angen
Ni byddaf im dirwen
Na molwyf Urien. P. 59.

In the lands of their foes;
And until I shall wither old,
In my severe death of fate;
I shall not be happy,
Unless I am praising Urien.[a]

As Taliesin's poem on the battle of Argoed Llwyfain has been much alluded to by the bards of the middle ages, I will also cite it. Flamddwyn is a word implying *flamebearing*, and is supposed to have been the name by which the Britons distinguished Ida. It is certain that Ida fought in this quarter.

BATTLE OF ARGOED LLWYFAIN.

In the morning of the day of Sadwrn was a great battle[b]
From when the sun emerged till it flamed on high;
Flamddwyn hastened quickly with four bodies
To encompass Goddeu and Reged:
He spread from Argoed to Arfynydd.
They retained not life till the day expired.
Flamddwyn demanded with great impetuosity,
"Will they give hostages, are these ready?"
He was answered by Owen, uprising the blow,
"They will not give them, they are not, shall not be ready,
And Cheneu, son of Coel, would be like an irritated lion
But he would withhold hostages from any one."

[a] I have been much indebted to Mr. Owen for his assistance in my Welsh translations. In every difficulty of construction I have taken his opinion as my guide.

[b] Y bore Dduw Sadwrn Cad fawr a fu
Or pan ddwyre Haul hyd pan gynnu
Dygrysowys Fflamddwyn yn bedwarllu
Goddeu a Reged i ymddullu
Dyfwy o Argoed hyd Arfynydd
Ni cheffynt ciryoes hyd yr undydd
Atorelwis Fflamddwyn fawr drybestawd
A ddodynt yngwystlon a ynt parawd
Yr attebwys Owain ddwyrain ffossawd
Nid dodynt nid ydynt nid ynt parawd
A cheneu mab Coel byddai Cymwyawg lew
Cyn attailai owystl nebawd
Atorelwis Urien Udd yr echwydd
O bydd ynghyfarfod am garennydd
Dyrchafwn eidoed odduch mynydd
Ac ymporthwn wyneb odduch emyl
A drychafwn beleidr odduch ben Gwvr
A chyrchwn Fflamddwyn yn ei luydd
A lladdwn ag ef ai gyweithydd
A rhag Gwaith Argoed Llwyfain
Bu llawer Celain
Rhuddei frain rhag rhyfel Gwyr
A gwerin a grysswys gan einewydd
Arinaf y blwyddyn nad wyf Kynnydd
Ac yn y fallwyf hen
Ym dygn angeu angen
Ni byddif ym dyrwen
No molwyf Urien. P. 53.

Urien, the lord of peaceful cultivation, exclaimed,
"Being assembled for our kindred,
Let us elevate our banners above the mountains,
And push forward our forces over the borders,
And lift our spears over the warriors' heads,
And rush upon Flamddwyn in his army,
And slaughter with him and his followers."
From the battle of Argoed Llwyfain was many a corpse
The ravens were fed from the war of men,
And the multitude hastened with the tidings.
I will celebrate the year,
I am not increasing,
But in age am declining,
Yet in the severe death of necessity,
I shall not be in smiles,
Unless I am praising Urien.

Of Taliesin's poetry we may say, in general, that his historical poems are valuable: his others are obscure; but as they contain much old mythology and bardic imagery, they are worth attention, because some parts may be illustrated and made intelligible.

We may now consider the chief objections urged against these poems.

FIRST OBJECTION.

They have used rhyme; but rhyme, say the objectors, was not known to Europe in the sixth century. "The only opinions which now divide the learned on this subject" are, "whether the use of rhyme originated from the Saracens, who took possession of Sicily, in the year 828, or arose among the Italian monks in the eighth century." But "it is certain, that it was totally unknown to the ancient language of Europe."[c]

This has been the great objection, the most confidently relied upon, and the most vehemently pressed against the genuineness of these poems. I own when I first heard of it, it sounded very formidably to me. If this account of the use of rhyme was true, the Welsh bards must have been given up. I therefore took some trouble to inquire into its correctness.

I found that this peremptory opinion, about the use of rhyme, was a complete delusion. I stated the fruit of my researches in two essays which were last year read before the Antiquarian Society. They have been since printed in its Transactions.

By decisive and authentic examples from authors who were there quoted, the use of rhyme was traced, from age to age, into the fourth century. It was shown that it was used in Latin poetry in the very century in which these bards lived, and in the centuries preceding. The subject was pursued into the classical

[c] Critical Review, Jan. 1800.

times. I intimated the reasons and the authorities which supported the opinion of Muratori, that rhyme was an appendage of the vulgar unmetrical poetry of the Romans. And I showed its great antiquity in the languages of China, Hindostan, and Judea, as well as Arabia.

My examples of rhyme between the ninth century and the fourth, were taken from these authors:

Ninth Century,	Otfrid.
Eighth Century,	The Song on the Lombards.
	Boniface.
	Leobgytha.
	Cæna.
Seventh Century,	Aldhelm.
	The Frankish Song.
	Eugenius.
	Drepanius Florus.
	Columbanus.
And in the Sixth Century,	Venantius Fortunatus.

Of this author I cited two rhyming poems, and pointed out several rhyming passages in his other works. The first essay will be added to this Appendix.

In my second essay I showed the use of rhyme in the fourth century, in the poem of St. Austin against the Donatists. In his short preface to this poem, St. Austin says:

"Volens etiam causam Donatistarum ad ipsius humillimis vulgi et omnino imperitorum atque idiotarum notitiam pervenire et eorum quantum fieri posset per nos inhærere memoriæ, psalmum qui eis cantaretur per Latinas literas feci sed usque ad v literam, tales enim abdecedarios appellant, tres vero ultimas omisi," &c.

The Psalm begins thus:

"Abundantia peccatorum solet fratres conturbare,
Propter hoc Dominus noster voluit nos præmonere
Comparans regnum cælorum, reticulo misso in mare
Congreganti multos pisces, omne genus hinc et inde,
Quos cum traxissent, ad littus tunc cœperunt separare,
Bonos in vasa miserunt, reliquos malos in mare
Quisquis recolit Evangelium, recognoscat cum timore
Videt reticulum ecclesiam, videt hoc seculum mare
Genus autem mixtum Piscis, justus est cum peccatore,
Seculi finis est littus, tunc est tempus separare.
Quando retia ruperunt, multum dilexerunt mare,
Vasa sunt sedes sanctorum, quo non possent pervenire."[d]

Twenty similar stanzas of twelve lines each follow the preceding, all ending in *e*, and each stanza beginning with a successive letter of the alphabet as far as *v*.

[d] Austin's Works, vol. vii. p. 3. Lyons, 1586.

Thus the objection that the Welsh bards are forgeries, because their poems are rhymed, is completely overturned. Rhyme was in being in Europe long before they rhymed.

After these facts, can we avoid smiling when we read such a passage as this?

"We would assume opposite grounds, and pronounce at once, that the use of rhyme *presents mathematical demonstration* that those poems are glaring forgeries."[e]

How an *historical* fact, even if it had been as the critic thought, could make a *mathematical*[f] demonstration, he has yet to explain! But whatever sort of demonstration he meant, the facts, as to the use of rhyme, instead of proving the poems to be forgeries, are auspicious to their genuineness.

SECOND OBJECTION.

The next objection, which has been so triumphantly used is this:

But Giraldus "does not even mention the use of rhyme among his countrymen; or if it at all existed, he considered it as rude and rustic when compared with alliteration. Any reader will perceive, that this implied neglect in the one case, or positive censure in the other, could never have been expressed by a writer so ardent for the glory of his country, to the actual condemnation of all its illustrious bards. It follows, therefore, that all those pieces ascribed to the early Welsh poets, *are posterior to the days of Giraldus.*"[g]

In support of these objections, a passage of Giraldus is quoted, the import of which is, that the Welsh poets were chiefly fond of such ornaments as alliteration. Giraldus adds, "a Welsh poet, therefore, would thus have expressed himself:"

Digawn duw da y unic
Wrth bob crybwylh parawd.[h]

This objection is not a fact, but an inference, and the reasoning stands precisely thus:

Giraldus does not either mention rhyme, or considered it as rude and rustic;

But Giraldus was ardent for the glory of his country:

Therefore he would not have condemned rhyme if the ancient bards had used it, and therefore all the rhymed pieces ascribed to the early Welsh poets are *posterior* to the days of Giraldus.

[e] This gentleman seems to have been fond of this emphatic epithet; for after assuming, and then asserting, that the poems in question were unknown to Nennius, Geoffrey and Caradoc, he says, "we may conclude with a *mathematical* certainty that they are modern fabrications." Surely *historical* certainty and *mathematical* certainty are not quite identical.

[f] Critical Review, January, 1800, p. 22. [g] Ibid. p. 23. [h] Ibid.

The logician will not admire the closeness of this reasoning, as applied to a question of fact. To determine the genuineness of these poems by Giraldus's estimation of rhyme, is as correct a method of reaching the truth, as it would be to decide against the genuineness of Drydens' rhymed tragedies, because modern critics prefer blank verse. It is also a modern discovery in criticism, that if an author thinks the ancient poems of his country rude and rustic, he therefore affirms them to be forgeries. The critic argues, that because Giraldus thought the use of rhyme rude and rustic, therefore these ancient poems which are rhymed are forgeries.

If a reasoner ask, why is this inference made? the objector's answer is, that a writer so ardent for the glory of his country, would not by such terms as rude and rustic, have condemned its illustrious bards. Therefore these poems could not have existed in the time of Giraldus. This sort of reasoning is in fact an assertion, that the poetry which a patriotic writer calls rude and rustic, cannot be the works of the ancient bards of his country.

But Horace, though a patriot, never hesitated to describe the poems of Ennius or Lucilius as rude and rustic, and yet he thought them genuine. Our Lydgate and Chaucer are rather rude and rustic, and yet no writer, however ardent for the glory of old England, would suspect, that in so considering them, he was impeaching their genineness.

Nothing can more strongly show the inapplicability of the objection than the fact, that we have the authority of Giraldus himself, to prove that the works of the old bards of his country, which he actually deemed genuine, he, yet, did think rude and rustic in the strongest sense. The very words in which he speaks of Merdhin's poetry are, "Britannicam barbariem," "British barbarism"—I have already quoted the passage. He does more: he uses the very phrase of the objector; he calls the style, "the *rude* and plain simplicity of the ancient style," and again, "the darkness of the barbaric tongue."[i]

But the critic means to insinuate, that Giraldus either did not know that rhyme was used in Welsh poetry, or thought such rhymed poetry rude and rustic. It happens, unfortunately for such an insinuation, that *every* Welsh bard of *every* age used rhyme. Rhyme is essential to Welsh poetry. The poems of many bards, in the days of Giraldus, yet exist, and they are all rhymed. Could Giraldus then mean to decry rhyme, to depreciate such poetry as used it, to hint that it was not genuine? The moment any gentleman looks over the first volume of the Welsh Archaiology and finds 584 pages of poems in double columns all

[i] Sermonis antiqui *rudis* et plana simplicitas—barbaræ linguæ tenebras.—See before.

rhymed and all written before the fourteenth century, he might answer the question himself on the mere probability of the case.

But Giraldus can also answer this question for himself. So far is it from being true, that Giraldus was ignorant that his countrymen used rhyme, that Giraldus expressly mentions that they *do* use rhyme; and what is more—what is scarcely credible—he mentions this fact in the very passage which the angry critic adduces to prove the contrary. I am averse to use harsh words, and will therefore make no observations on this circumstance. It may have arisen from some casual mistake. The beginning of the passage of Giraldus, as the critic translates and quotes it, is, "they are so subtle and ingenious in their songs, verses, and set speeches, that they produce, in their native tongue, ornaments of wonderful and exquisite invention in the words and in their sentences."[j]

Now the words translated, "songs, verses, and set speeches," are in the original "*cantilenis rythmicis*, et dictamine," not *songs, verses*, but *rhymed songs*. So that Giraldus, instead of discrediting rhymed poems, as the critic asserts, begins the passage by saying, that it is of the rhymed songs that he speaks, and that it is these rhymed songs which possess the ornaments that he proceeds to applaud.[k]

[j] In cantilenis, rythmicis, et dictamine tam subtiles inveniuntur ut mire et exquisitæ inventionis lingua propria tam verborum quam sententiarum proferant exornationes. Unde et poetas (quos Bardos vocant) ad hoc deputatos in hac natione multos invenies, juxta illud poeticum:

Plurima concreti fuderunt carmina Bardi.

Præ cunctis autem Rhetoricis exornationibus annominatione magis utuntur, eaque præcipue specie, quæ primas dictionum literas vel syllabas convenientia jungit. Adeo igitur hoc verborum ornatu, duæ nationes Angli scil. et Cambri in omni sermone exquisito utuntur, ut nihil ab his eleganter dictum, nullum nisi rude et agreste censeatur eloquium si non schematis hujus lima plene fuerit expolitum, sicut Britannice in hunc modum.

Digawn duw da y unic
Wrth bob crybwylli prrawd.

Anglice vero,
God is together gammen and wisdome. In Latino quoque haud dissimiliter eloquio eandem exornationem frequens est invenire in hunc modum. Virgilius,

Tales casum Cassandra canebat,
Et illud ejusdem ad Augustum.
Dum dubitet natura marem, faceret se puellam
Natus es o pulcher pene puella puer.

In nullis tamen linguis quas novimus, hæc exornatio adeo utin prioribus duabus est usitata.—Girald. Cambria Descript. p. 889, 890, ap. Camd. Anglica Hibernica, &c. Francf. 1601.

[k] There can be no doubt, that cantilenis rythmicis, in the twelfth century, meant rhymed songs. There can be as little doubt, that to omit the word rythmicis entirely in the translation and to substitute for it the word verses, and to produce the passage thus wrongly translated as an authority that Giraldus does not even

One of the examples, which I cited in the Essay on Rhyme, read in the Antiquarian Society, and which I have not seen elsewhere quoted, will, I think, illustrate the meaning of the word *rythmicis* in Giraldus, and the true application of his passage.

Aldhelm, the celebrated bishop of the West Saxons, who died 709, in his Treatise on Virginity, has this passage: "ut non inconvenienter carmine *rythmico* dici queat."[l] Here we find the same adjective, rythmicus, used, as by Giraldus. The example which Aldhelm immediately annexes proves that it exactly corresponds with our word rhymed. The example is,

Christus passus patibulo
Atque læti latibulo
Virginem virgo virgini
Commendabat tutamini.

This is precisely a cantilena rythmica composed to the full taste of Giraldus. It has the annominatio which he loved, just as it frequently occurs in Welsh poetry.

There is another proof that Giraldus knew well the use of rhyme among his countrymen. The two Welsh lines cited by Giraldus—

Digawn Duw da y unic

and

Wrth bob crybwylh parawd.

are two distinct unconnected lines, part of two old *rhyming* stanzas which occur in a poem which is ascribed to the tenth century. The complete stanza, containing the first line, is,

A glyweisti a gant Duinnie
Milur doeth detholedic
Digaun Duw da y unic.[m]

The other lines Giraldus, or his transcriber, has not quoted so correctly. The complete stanza is,

A glyweisti a gant Anaraut
Milur donyauc ditlaut
Reit wrth amhwyll pwyll paraut.[n]

As the last line stands in the printed Giraldus, it is obviously miscopied. Giraldus adduced it as a specimen of the annominatio, but as it is printed in his work,

Wrth bob crybwylh paraud.[o]

mention the use of rhyme among his countrymen, was improper. I may remark, that cantilenis rythmicis, in the MS. in the Cotton Library, has not in the printed copy a comma between them.

[l] Aldhelm de Virgin. p. 297. Wharton's edition.

[m] See the whole poem in the Welsh Archaiology, p. 172. [n] Ibid.

[o] In the MS. of this tract of Giraldus, in the Cotton Library, Domitian A, I. p. 122. This line is thus quoted:—rbyn dibuilh puilh paraut. This is somewhat nearer the true line than the printed one.

Where is the annominatio? In the real line which I have quoted, we see it in the two similar letters of pwyll and paraut, and in the similar sounds of *amhwyll* and pwyll.

Let us not then be told that Giraldus is evidence that rhyme was not used by the Welsh bards.[p]

What is it then, which Giraldus really says, in the passage so ostentatiously, but so mistakingly quoted? It is this: that the Welsh bards in their rhymed songs had those ornaments which he calls of wonderful and exquisite invention in the words and in their sentences; and of which he particularizes the annominatio; he does not say, that they had these ornaments without rhyme, but that in their rhymed songs they cultivated these ornaments. Now this statement is precisely the real truth. The Welsh poems of all ages are rhymed, but have also those alliterative ornaments of which Giraldus was so fond.

It was not poems with rhyme, which Giraldus called rude and rustic, but it was the poetry which was without alliteration. The alliteration was the beauty which no poems omitted, but such as were rude and rustic.

Therefore, besides the misconstruction of the cantilenis ryth-micis, the critic has clearly mistaken the sense of the passage. Giraldus was speaking of alliteration—he quotes Welsh passages which have it, an old English line that has it, and he proceeds to quote two passages of Virgil which have also alliteration. Now, if it had been true, that the old bards had not used alliteration, then the epithets "rude and rustic" would have applied to them.

But the fact is, that the old bards abound with alliteration, though not so frequently as the poets of the following ages, in whose works it is almost incessant. I will now adduce instances in Taliesin and others, of that annominatio which Giraldus so much esteemed.

Creadur cadarn cyn dilyw—
Ar meirch mawr modur mirein eu gwedd—
Meddwer Maelgwn Mon ag an meddwa—
Med hedleid moleid molud i bob tra.

These occur with several others in one page.

[p] It is curious to observe, how much stress has been laid on the fancied ignorance of Giraldus of rhyme in Welsh verse. Mr. Malcolm Laing, in his Dissertation on Ossian's Poems, annexed to his History of Scotland, very decisively says, vol. ii. p. 436, speaking of rhyme, "In Welsh poetry, it *was unknown to Giraldus Cambrensis* in the twelfth century a *sufficient* proof that the rhymes of Taliesin and the Welsh bards are a more recent forgery." I am much surprised, that any gentleman of character, should speak so positively upon Welsh poetry without knowing any thing about it. Independent of the above proofs from Giraldus himself that he knew of rhyme; how could it be unknown to him, when Meilyr, Gwalchmai, Cynddelw, Owain Cyveiliawg, Llywarch P. Moch, David Benvras, and Elidyr Sais; all men of great genius and reputation, were using it in all their poems in Giraldus's lifetime?

So Llywarch Hen. In his first elegy are,

A gwedy gawr garw bwylliad—
A gorvod gwedy gorborth—
Gwyr ni giliynt rhag ovn gwaew—
A gwyr rudd rhag ruthr Geraint.—

With several more.

Merddin also uses it, though more sparingly,

Yn gyfoed gyfuch gyhyd gymmaint
Trwy fron trugaredd y tyseddaint.

Thus we find the ancient bards actually exhibit not only rhyme, but also these ornaments which Giraldus so much applauded. Of course the passage of Giraldus, which has been so much relied upon, is, in no respect, hostile to their genuineness.

I pass by the objection that Nennius, Jeffrey, and Caradoc, do not mention these bards, because I have already shown, that Nennius and Jeffrey, and many Welsh writers of the age of Caradoc expressly mention them.

I know but of one more objection, which requires to be answered, and I approach it with respect, because it has been also urged by men of candour and judgment.[q]

It is in substance this; we find these poems placed in the sixth century, and we find none occurring before the twelfth century. This leaves an interval so suspicious, as to operate very strongly against the genuineness of any poetry earlier than the twelfth century. This objection is a fair one and calls for a satisfactory answer. I hope to give such a one by proving these things.

1. That there are some few poems of the centuries between the sixth and twelfth yet in being.
2. That many bards are recorded to have existed during this interval.
3. That the ravages of time are capricious, and that similar chasms occur in the literary history of other countries.

1. Of the seventh century we have the small poems preserved to us of Meigant,[r] Elaeth,[s] and Tysilio.[t] Of the eighth century, there is one poem of Golyddan,[u] and two of Cuhelyn.[v] There is also a little piece of the Llevoed of the tenth century,[w] and there are some anonymous pieces which seem to belong to the tenth and eleventh.[x]

[q] See Monthly Review of the Welsh Archaiology.
[r] An elegy on Cyuddlyam and an ode. Welsh Arch. p. 159, 160.
[s] Moral Triplets, p. 161.
[t] A Religious Dialogue, p. 162.
[u] The Destiny of Britain, p. 156.
[v] Two Religious Odes, p. 164, 180.
[w] The Journey of Life, a Moral Piece, p. 154.
[x] As the Dialogue between Arthur Cai and Glewwyld, Welsh Arch. p. 167.
The Englynion y Clyweit, or a collection of the sayings of the earlier bards, p. 172,
The Dialogue between Arthur and Gwenhwyfar, p. 175.
The Dialogue between Arthur and Eliwlod, p. 176.
The Dialogue between Trystan and Gwalchmai, p. 178.
And some fragments.

2. The laws of Howel Dha show a regular and much-respected establishment of bards in the tenth century, as I have already mentioned.[y] This is a proof, which cannot be controverted, that bards did flourish during the interval which has been thought so unfavourable.

But other documents furnish us with the names of several of these bards. A triad mentions Avan Verddig, the bard of Cadwallon, the son of Cadvan[z] and Dygnnelw, the bard of Owain, the son of Urien. Of the other bards who lived in the sixth century, the aphorisms of six have been preserved: Idloes, Ysgafnell, Ciwg, Ystyfan, Heinin, and Cennyd.

Hast thou heard what Idloes sang,
A man mild and amiable in his life:
"The best quality is to preserve manners."[a]

Hast thou heard what Ysgavnell sang,
The son of Dysgyvundod, the impulse of battle?
"The poor will not be presented with gifts from afar."[b]

Hast thou heard what Ciwg sang,
The completely wise bard of Gwynhylwg:
"Who possesses discretion has a long sight."[c]

Hast thou heard the saying of Ystyfan (or Stephen),
The bard of Teilo of quick reply:
"Man covets, but God distributes."[d]

Hast thou heard the saying of Heinin,
The bard of the Bangor of Llanveithin:
"The brave will not be cruel."[e]

The saying of Cennydd, the son of Aneurin, has been already given.[f]

[y] See before, p. 542.

[z] Archaiol. vol. ii. p. 64.

[a] A glyweisti a gant Idloes
Gwr gwar, hygar ei einoes:
"Goreu eynneddv eadw moes."

Cited by Mr. Owen in his *Cambrian Biography*, p. 194, and his *Dictionary*, voce Moes.

[b] A glyweisti a gant Ysgafnell,
Vab Dysgyvundaut Ratgymell:
"Nyt anregyt tlaut o bell."
Englyn. y Clyweit. W. A. 173.

[c] A glyweisti a gant Ciwg,
Bardd eyweirddoeth Gwynhylwg:
"Perchen pwyll pell ei olwg."
Ibid another MS. copy not yet printed.

[d] A glyweisti çweidyl Ystyfan,
Bardd Teilaw atteb bwan:
"Dyn a çwennydç; Duw a ran." Ibid.

[e] A glyweisti çwedyl Heinin,
Vardd o vangor Llanveithin:
"Gwrawl ni vydd ddysgethrin." Ibid

[f] See before, p. 503.

In the ninth century were Cynllwg and Geraint the Blue Bard, who have left these aphorisms:

Hast thou heard the saying of Cynllwg,
A hoary bard of extensive sight:
"He enjoys good, who has not evil."[g]

Hast thou heard the saying of the Blue Bard,
Giving social counsel:
"Better the favour of a dog than his hate."[h]

In the tenth century several bards have had their observations on life preserved to us.

Hast thou heard the saying of Myvenydd,
A bard with a genius fond of books,
"There is no good governor but God."[i]

Hast thou heard the saying of Divwg,
The bard of old Morgan Morganwg:
"Who seeks not good may expect evil."[j]

Didst thou hear the saying of Idwallon,
A hoary old man, resting on his staff:
"With the ignorant hold no dispute."[k]

3. Nothing is more remarkable and often more lamentable in literary history, than the apparent capriciousness with which the ravages of time appear to have been exerted on ancient MSS. Many valuable works have perished, and some worthless ones have escaped. The books of some periods and of some countries have disappeared and others have survived, without any adequate reason for either event. No argument can therefore have less force than this. We may as well interrogate Time, why his production of human genius is so irregular as to exact critical demonstration why his ravages upon its labours have been so inconstant and partial.

In every country this partial destruction of literature is appa-

[g] A glyweisti çwedyl Cynllwg,
Vardd llywd, llydan ei olwg:
"Cavas dda ni çavas ddrwg."
Englyn. y Clyweit. W. A. 173.

[h] A glyweisti çwedyl y Bardd Glas,
Yn rhoi cyhghor eyweithas:
"Gwell cariad y ei noi gas." Ibid.

[i] A glyweisti çwedyl Myvenydd,
Bardd llyvreugar ei wenydd:
"Namyn Duw nid madlywydd." Ibid.

[j] A glyweisti çwedyl Divwg,
Bardd hên Vorgan Morganwg,
"Na çais y da, aroed y drwg." Ibid.

[k] Cambrian Biography, p. 195.

rent. What a chasm exists in the works of Grecian genius before Homer and after him. Such a perfect exhibition of human talent must have been preceded by many productions of the poetic art. But where are they? and what has become of the works which followed? Homer stands sublime, like a towering island in an expansive ocean. Hesiod is a little islet near him, but there is scarce any thing else to connect him with his ancestors or successors. But because Homer and Hesiod shone in one age, and Eschylus, Sophocles, and Pindar, in a later period, we are not so unjust as to brand the Iliad of the one, or the Works and Days of the others as surreptitious productions. In Judea, David, Solomon, and Isaiah, shone with excelling merit. But what a darkness between Moses and David, and Solomon and Isaiah? Another interval of gloom succeeded after the prophets, and the author of Ecclesiasticus appeared. After another interruption, came Josephus and Philo, and what a Cimmerian midnight since!

Where are the historians and poets of Phenicia, Carthage, and Egypt? We know that many existed and wrote; we know that two of these nations were the tutors of Greece, and the other of Rome; and yet all their literary compositions, however curious, or however meritorious, have passed away from human knowledge, like the clouds which dropped their treasures on their fields; like the myriads of population which swarmed in their cities, and established their fame.

We have the Frankish poetry of Otfrid in 850, and we scarcely know the names of any other Frankish poets, who came after him in the centuries immediately following. Shall he be therefore discredited? What chasms exist in the literature of Persia, Arabia, and Hindustan?

The ebbs and flows of intellect and literature in every nation appear very capricious, and obey no fixed rules.

Our own country has abounded with these vicissitudes. While the Romans were with us, the national mind must have been ameliorated. The Saxons came, and mental darkness followed. The sun of intellect streaked the gloom of its orient rays, and Bede, Alcuin, and others adorned the Saxon name. The furies of the north shrouded the hemisphere with their tempests, and priests even forgot to read their services. Alfred reigned, and in glorious beam burst through the stormy cloud, called forth by his magic voice, and irradiating his paths. A premature evening succeeded; the faint light which glimmered afterwards soon disappeared in the Norman midnight. But the dawn of reason again returned; it struggled with the interposing clouds; it increased; it diminished; it burst forth at last with new fervour, and a settled radiance has now spread around, which every century augments, and which the course of nature promises to perpetuate.

The same accidents have occurred to the British poetry. The Druids had, as Cæsar attests, a great quantity of verses, and of course had poets, whose names and productions have perished for ever. Of all those who were afterwards distinguished, during the Roman residence, little else than a few names remain. In the sixth century, some poets of eminent genius shone, whose works have come down to us. Of those who flourished in the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, we know little, and have very few remains; yet, we can ascertain that bards then both lived and sang. At last, in the twelfth century, the genius of Welsh poetry broke out in new lustre, which increased through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But for the last two ages, what has become of it? Another chasm has taken place, like that between the sixth and the twelfth, of which we are living witnesses.

To complete the argument in behalf of these poems; there remains only to show, that the forgery could not have been practised without the detection: that there is nothing extraordinary in these poems being genuine; that they are attested by a stream of national belief, and that any scepticism about them has been of recent origin.

Of these four points, the two last are so notorious, that I shall only assert them without the fear of contradiction; very little need be added on the others. Whoever considers the nature of the bardic system; that no one was admitted to be a bard but after a regular initation and tuition, and that so many bards, in every age, existed competitors for fame and distinction, must perceive that so much poetry, as to occupy 580 pages of double columns, could not be forged without speedy detection.

We have proved by undeniable evidence and reasoning, that the Welsh had bards in the sixth century, and in particular these individual bards. Is it then any thing extraordinary that poets should write poetry; and if poetry was written, is it a miracle that part of it should descend to us? Let us recollect, that the insignificant tract of Gildas has survived, and let us cease to be surprised that a nation, fond of its bards, should preserve some of their compositions.

END OF THE VINDICATION.

ESSAY

ON THE

ANTIQUITY OF RHYME IN EUROPE.

It has been lately asserted, that "the *only* opinions which now divide the learned on this subject, are, whether the use of rhyme originated from the Saracens, who took possession of Sicily in the year 828, or arose among the Italian monks in the eighth century."[a]

Both these opinions may be shown to be incorrect; a few facts will prove that rhyme was much earlier in existence. It is also declared to be "*certain* that it was totally unknown to the ancient languages of Europe."[b] This opinion is as erroneous as the others.

The most important specimen of rhyme, between the years 800 and 900, is Otfrid's Paraphrase on the Gospels, written in the Franco-theotisc language. The author lived in the middle of the century. It occupies 380 folio pages, and is all in rhyme, generally very exact. The work will be found in the first volume of Schilter's Thesaurus. It was originally printed by Flacius, Basil, 1571, 8vo.

There is extant a letter of Otfrid to Leutbert, archbishop of Mentz, prefixed to his paraphrase, in which he explains his reasons for undertaking this work. He says, that some worthy persons, offended at the obscene songs of the laics, had particularly requested him to write part of the Gospels in the vernacular Theotisc language, that the singing of this might supersede the others. They told him that many heathen poets, as Virgil, Lucan, and

[a] Critical Review, Jan. 1800, p. 22. [b] Ib.

others, had written much in their native language, while the Frankish nation had been very tardy in expressing the divine word in its own tongue. Otfrid adds, that, impelled by this importunity, he had composed a part of the Gospels in the Frankish language, that they, who had dreaded the difficulty of a foreign tongue, might read the sacred word in their own.

If these were the motives of Otfrid in this composition, is it not most probable that it was not only written in the vernacular language, but in the popular form of his nation? If rhyme had not been a great companion of Frankish poetry, is it likely that he who wrote a poetical work to supersede the use of their popular songs, would have composed it in rhyme? If rhyme had been then a novelty in France, would he not in this letter have apologized for introducing it into the Franco-theotisc language? Would he not have given his reasons for departing from its popular style? On the contrary, he expresses himself as if he had composed his work in the usual poetical form of his countrymen.

Indeed, that rhyme was the usual companion of their poetry seems to be clearly deducible from another of his phrases. In describing the peculiarities of the Franco-theotisc language, he says, "it perpetually seeks rhyme." "Schæma omoeteleuton assidue quærit." This remarkable expression, seems to me to have the force that rhyme was much in use in its poetry; for certainly the Franco-theotisc language is not so peculiarly musical, as to seek or tend to rhyme more than any other.

Otfrid's aim was popularity. But if the Francs had not used rhyme, he could have reached his aim more certainly by using the ancient metres of his country, than by the difficult labour of writing so large a work in rhyme. I should also conceive, that if rhyme had then been a novelty in the Frankish language, Otfrid could have scarcely used it with so much ease and perfection. Yet, though his work has no fewer than 380 pages, it exhibits the use of Frankish rhyme in a remarkably easy, fluent, and harmonious manner.

There is another proof that rhyme was an appurtenance of ancient Frankish poetry. In the life of St. Faron, bishop of Meaux,[c] which was written by Hildegarius, another bishop, who lived in the same century with Otfrid, the successes of Chlotarius the Second, against the Saxons in the year 622, are mentioned. The author adds, "on this victory a public song (juxta rusticitatem,) in the rustic manner, was in every one's mouth, the women joining in the chorus."

He then gives this extract from the song which we shall find to be rhyme:

[c] See it in Bouquet's Recueil, vol. iii. p. 505.

"De Chlotario est canere rege Franconum,
Qui ivit pugnare in gentem Saxonum,
Quam graviter provenisset missis Saxonum
Si non fuisset inclytus Faro de gente Burgundionum."

He adds, that at the end of the song was,

"Quando veniunt missi Saxonum in terra Francorum,
Faro ubi erat princeps——
Instinctu Dei transeunt per urbem Meldorum
Ne interficiantur a rege Francorum."

After these quotations he says: "We choose to show (rustico carmine), in rustic verse, how famous he was deemed."

This rustic verse we see was rhymed verse. Does not this confirm the inference I have made from Otfrid, that rhyme was an appendage of the popular poetry of this people? This song was made in the year 622.[d]

Another instance tempts me to suspect that rhyme was not unknown to the ancient languages of Europe. The ancient song, once so popular in Gothland, which narrates the emigration of the Lombards, and which ends with their humiliation by Charlemagne, is thus mentioned by Stephanius: "Among the inhabitants of Gothland, a very ancient song was formerly sung in rhyme in their vernacular language, in which the circumstances concerning the emigration of the Lango-bardi are celebrated more truly and accurately than by Paulus Diaconus." He afterwards says, "from the last verse it may be understood that this song was made after the close of the Lombard empire, while Charlemagne was reigning so extensively in Germany and Italy." Charlemagne died in 814. This poem is in exact rhyming couplets, of which the first may be adduced as a specimen:

"Ebbe oc Aage de Hellede fro
Siden de for hunger aff skaane dro."[e]

If this song was written at the close of the eighth century, as Stephanius intimates, I presume it was in the customary style of the national poetry The vernacular poetry of every country more commonly follows ancient rules and forms than it adopts new unusual, and difficult modes.

That rhyme arose among the Italian monks of the eighth century, will be found an untenable opinion, if we inspect the works of those who wrote poetry in that and the succeeding centuries.

[d] It was remarked by Pelloutier in his history of the Celts.
[e] Stephanius in Saxonem, 181.

The first that may be mentioned is Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary, who went to convert the uncivilized Germans, and who perished about the year 755. He closes a letter to Nithard with fourteen rhyming couplets. I will cite the two first as a specimen:[f]

"Vale fratres florentibus
Juventutis cum viribus
Ut floreas cum domino
In sempiterno solio."

One of his correspondents, Leobgytha, also uses them. She ends a letter to Boniface with four rhyming lines. She says she learnt the art from Eadburga his pupil.[g] Cona, another of his correspondents, adds to a letter to Lullus, six hexameters, which rhyme in the middle.[h]

Before Boniface lived Aldhelm, one of the bishops of the West Saxons. He was most highly esteemed by his countrymen as a poet. His death is placed in 709, and therefore his works properly belong to the preceding century, because in that he must have principally lived. Lullus, the contemporary of Boniface, says to a friend, "I pray you to direct to me some little works of Bishop Aldhelm, either of prose, metre, or rhyme." (Seu prosarum, seu metrorum, seu rythmicorum.)[i]

Whether either of the long rhyming poems annexed to Boniface's letters, and which have at the end the words "finit carmen Aldhelmi,"[j] were written by Aldhelm, I will not determine; but the three lines, which Simon of Durham quotes from him, rhyme in the middle.[k] The two lines which Ducange cites[l] from his treatise De octo Vitiis, are a rhymed couplet. The verses which he made at Rome, and which are given by Malmsbury,[m] contain several rhymes, as well as some lines which do not rhyme. I can only speak of his poems by these fragments, because I have not seen any of his whole poems, of which some are yet extant.

But we have Aldhelm's own evidence that rhyme was used in his time. On looking into his prose treatise on Virginity, I perceived that he had two rhyming couplets, which he expressly calls rhyme. His words are, "ut non inconvenientur CARMINE RYTHMICO dici queat," 'as may be expressed, not unsuitably, in rhymed verse.'[n] The verses are:

[f] 16 Magna Bib. Pat. d. 49.
[g] Ib. p. 62.
[h] Ib. p. 91.
[i] Ib. p. 51.
[j] Ib. p. 75, Edit. Paris, 1654.
[k] Twisden's decem Script. p. 112.
[l] 1 Gloss. Med. Lat. p. 923.
[m] 3 Gale's Script. p. 343.
[n] P. 297. Wharton's Edition. This use of rhyme by Aldhelm had not been remarked before.

"Christus passus patibulo
Atque læti latibulo
Virginem virgo virgini
Commendabat tutamini."

Here is a very striking example of rhyme in an author, who chiefly lived in the seventh century. It may be suspected from the introductory words "dici queat," that they are of Aldhelm's own composition, written in a momentary whim of making a rhyme. The same caprice seems to have seized him in several other parts of this little treatise, for rhymes often occur in it, as p. 342, p. 344, p, 362, and in other places. See also another specimen of his rhyme, quoted in p. 381 of this volume, on the Anglo-Saxons, which also exhibit a poem of Bede, of which the first part is in rhyme, p. 399.

Other authors of the seventh century have rhyme. Eugenius was a Spanish bishop who died 657. His little poem on the inventors of letters is in rhyme.[o] In his poem on Old Age, rhyme is also frequent. Sometimes, as in the beginning of it, the rhymes are alternate; sometimes they are triplets; sometimes couplets. It has also several middle rhymes. His Monosticha on the Plagues of Egypt has also much rhyme.

Drepanius Florus was another poet of this century who used rhyme. He lived about 650. His Paraphrase of the twenty-seventh Psalm consists of stanzas of four lines. Some of these are partly rhymed.[p] The two following are wholly so:

"Audi precantis anxia
Pater super me murmura
Dum templa cœli ad ardua
Elata tollo brachia.

"Hic namque virtus inclita
Plebis beatæ premia:
Hic ipse Christo profiua
Servat salutis gaudia."

His poem De Cereo Paschali contains fifty lines of which seventeen rhyme at the end, and sixteen in the middle.[q]

To the beginning of this century belongs the rhymed poem of another author, as he is placed by Usher[r] and Fabricius.[s] He is Columbanus the Irishman. There have been more than one either of the same name or of one very similar. But the person who was an abbot in Gaul, and afterwards in Italy, died in 615, according to Fabricius. He was the author of a few poems

[o] Published in Rivinius Pat. Hispan. Lips. 1656.
[p] 16 Mag. Bib. p. 738.
[q] Ibid. p. 729.
[r] Vet. Epist. Hib. p. 7.
[s] Bib. Med. Lat. i. p. 1125.

oftentimes printed. The structure of some is singular and capricious. The one with which I am concerned consists of forty-one rhymed couplets of Latin verse.

Leyser says, "it does not seem to be of this age." He gives no reason for his opinion. I presume the rhyme was one cause of his doubt, and its not having appeared before Usher, and its being unknown to Goldastus, who published the poems of Columbanus, were other causes of scepticism. The rhyme, however, can be no objection, because I have already proved that rhyme was used in this age. As to Goldastus not knowing it, the facts are, that Goldastus did publish it, without knowing that he did so; I mean without knowing it to be a poem. After the poetry of Columbanus, Goldastus edited two of his letters, as he called and thought them; one of which is the rhymed poem in question. It is curious, that neither Goldastus, Usher, Leyser, nor Fabricius, discerned that this letter of Columbanus was a poem. Usher says the bishop of Kilmore first remarked it to him. This is surprising, as it is very exactly rhymed. Goldastus therefore actually published it in 1604, among his Parænetici Veteres.[t]

But where did Goldastus get it? He informs us: "We saw two copies of this in the library of our monastery: one of good antiquity (bene antiquum), but anonymous; another copy, not less ancient, but far preferable in this respect, that it expressed the author's name."[u]

Goldastus also published with it another short composition, which he took from a very old MS. communicated to him by the superior of the Abbey of St. Gall, entitled, "Incipit Epistula Sci. Columbani." This, though not professedly in rhyme, yet, like Aldhelm's work, has much rhyme interspersed in it, as

"Quæ quotidie fugis
Et quotidie venis:
Quæ veniendo fugis,
Et fugiendo venis;
Dissimilis eventu
Similis ortu
Dissimilis luxu
Similis fluxu."

In some other passages, words of like endings seem to be purposely placed together, which Aldhelm's example entitles us to say, was done by a mind acquainted with rhyme.[v]

It will be fair to say that this letter, the rhymed poem, and the other poetry of Columbanus, have great identity of subject

[t] P. 146. It is in its poetic shape in Usher's Sylloge Epist. Hib. p. 9.
[u] Goldastus, p. 153. [v] See it in Goldastus, p. 143; in Usher, p. 7.

and thought, which favours the idea that they belong to one author.

Leyser places the death of Columbanus in 598, or 595; Fabricius in 615. On either computation he belongs more to the sixth century than to the seventh.

But we can adduce another evidence that rhyme was used in the sixth century; I mean Venantius Fortunatus, the bishop of Poitou. He was a very fertile poet. In 565 he celebrated the nuptials of Sigebert and Brunechild, and died about 600. One of his poems is a Hymn to the Baptized, published by Martene in his De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus, from a MS. of the cathedral church of Poitou. Fabricius has reprinted it in his Bibliotheca Mediæ Latinitatis, t. ii. 544. As it belongs to a period so early, I will give the three first stanzas:

"Tibi laus perennis auctor
Baptismatis sacrator
Qui sorte passionis
Das præmium salutis.

"Nox clara plus et alma
Quam luna sol et astra
Quæ luminum corona
Reddis diem per umbram
Tibi laus.

"Dulcis, sacrata, blanda,
Electa, pura, pulchra
Sudans honore mella
Rigans odore chrisma
Tibi laus."

There is also another poem of this author handed down to us, which is in rhyme. It is an Elegy on Leontius. I quote it from the Bibliotheca Magna Patrum of Paris, tom. viii. p. 776. It has twenty-three stanzas, of four lines each. The three first stanzas are:

"Agnoscat omne seculum
Antistitem Leontium
Burdegalense præmium
Dono superno redditum.

"Bilinguis, ore callido
Crimen fovebat invidum,
Ferens acerbum nuncium,
Hunc jam sepulcro conditum.

"Celare se non pertulit,
Qui triste funis edidit,
Et si nocere desiit
Insana vota prodidit."

As this author usually affected the classical metres, which appear to have stood highest in estimation in all Latin poetry, we must not expect many of his poems to be rhymed. He gives us, however, abundant indications of a mind acquainted with rhyme, and occasionally indulging the propensity to use it. His Quatrain to Bishop Felix is rhymed.[w] In another poem of twenty-two lines, eight are rhymed couplets.[x] In four others alternate lines are rhymed, as in some of our stanzas, and five have middle rhymes.

In one of his poems on Lupus, the first four lines have three rhymes in *as;* the second four lines have three rhymes in *us;* and the third four lines have three rhymes in *is.* The rest of the poem contains also much rhyme in every four lines. Half of the lines of this poem are also rhymed in the middle.

In several others of his poems, rhymes apparently intentional and sought for may be noticed.

The use of rhyme has been now traced up to the middle of the sixth century. And in reaching this period, it is impossible I can forget that contemporary with Fortunatus were the Welsh bards whom I have mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon History, Taliesin, Aneurin, Myrzin, and Llywarch Hen.

The works of these bards have been just printed in their original language in the Archaiology of Wales, by some very public-spirited Welshmen. I understand that a copy has been presented to this society. On referring to them, gentlemen will find that these poems are also in rhyme.

When I first became acquainted with these valuable and venerable remains, I intimated that they made a new theory of the origin of rhyme necessary. I was answered, that the origin of rhyme was a decisive proof that they were supposititious. This assertion was seconded by those I have already alluded to, that rhyme was unknown to the ancient languages of Europe, and that the *only* questions now were, whether the use of rhyme originated with the Saracens, who took possession of Sicily in 828, or among the Italian monks in the eighth century. If these assertions were just, of course the authenticity of the Welsh bards was shaken. I had myself no desire to support them if they were forgeries, and therefore applied myself to examine ancient works, to discover when rhyme really began to be used in Europe. In this paper I have traced it to the very century in which the Welsh bards lived. I will not pursue it higher now, that I may not intrude too long on the patience of this indulgent society. At another opportunity I will beg permission to state what has occurred to me on the use of rhyme before the sixth century. It may be also curious

[w] P. 785. [x] P. 708.

to inquire if it was at all known to the Greeks and Romans, and what are the most reasonable conclusions as to its origin in Europe.[y]

[y] The essay on the last topics may be seen in the Archaiologia, vol. xiv. p. 187. These two essays were read before the Society of Antiquaries, on the 21st and 28th of January, and the 24th of June, 1802. In the last I quoted the poem of St. Austin, against the Donatists, which consists of 270 lines, all rhyming in *e*. He was born in 354, and died in 430. He states that he wrote it to be remembered and sung among the vulgar. This makes it probable that the Romans used rhymes in their vulgar ballads. This poem of St. Austin, and the preceding quotation from Aldhelm, overthrow the former opinions, that rhyme originated from the Arabs, or from the Italian monks of the eighth century.

THE END.